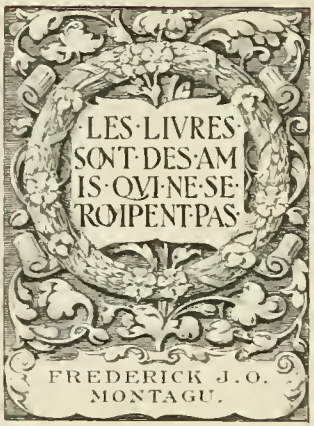
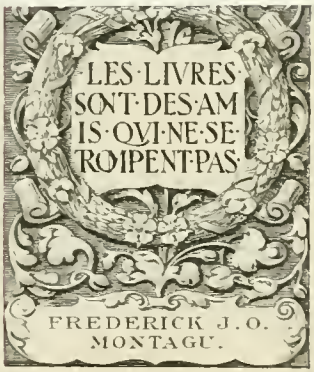
THE LIBRARY


LES·LIVRES
SONT·DES·AM
IS·QVI·NE·SE
ROIPENT·PAS
FREDERICK J. O.
MONTAGU.

THE LIBRARY
OF
THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES

FREDERIC THOMAS BLANCHARD
ENDOWMENT FUND



THE

WORKS

OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND

WILLIAM WARBURTON,

LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

LONDON,

PRINTED BY JOHN NICHOLS:

AND SOLD BY T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.

MDCCLXXXVIII.

*PR
3757
W7
1788
v.2

THE

DIVINE LEGATION

OF

MOSES.

IN NINE BOOKS.

VOLUME THE SECOND:

CONTAINING

BOOKS III. and IV.

85[illegible]3

CONTENTS

OF

THE THIRD BOOK.

BOOK III.

PROVES the neceſſity of the doctrine of a future ſtate to ſociety, from the opinion and conduct of the ancient ſages and philoſophers, p. 1—261.

SECT. I.

TESTIMONIES of ancient ſages and philoſophers, concerning the neceſſity of the doctrine of a future ſtate to civil ſociety, p. 1—8.

SECT. II.

THAT none of the ancient philoſophers believed the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, though, on account of its confeſſed neceſſity to the ſupport of religion, and conſequently of civil ſociety, all the theiſtical philoſophers ſedulouſly taught it to the people. The ſeveral ſenſes in which the Ancients conceived the permanency of the human ſoul explained. Several general reaſons premiſed, to ſhew that the ancient philoſophers did not always believe what they taught, and that they taught the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments without believing it: Where the principles that induced the ancient ſages

to

to make it lawful to deceive for public good, in matters of religion, are explained, whereby they are seen to be such as had no place in the propagation or genius of the Jewish *and* Christian *religions. In the course of this enquiry, the rise, progress, perfection, decline, and genius of the ancient* Greek *philosophy, under its several divisions, are considered and explained,* p. 8—30.

SECT. III.

ENTERS on a particular enquiry into the sentiments of each sect of philosophy on this point. The division and succession of their schools. The character of Socrates; *and of the* new *and* old Academy. *The character and genius of each sect of the grand* Quaternion *of theistic philosophy, the* Pythagoric, *the* Platonic, *the* Peripatetic, *and the* Stoic: *shewing that not one of these believed the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments. The character of* Tully, *and his sentiments on this point. The original of the ancient fables, and of the doctrines of the* Metempsychosis *and* Metamorphosis, *occasionally enquired into and explained,* p. 30—85.

SECT. IV.

SHEWS, in order to a fuller conviction, that the ancient philosophers not only did *not, but that they* could not possibly *believe a future state of rewards and punishments, because two metaphysical principles, concerning the nature of* God, *and of the* human soul, *which entirely overturn the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, were universally held and believed by all the* Greek *philosophers. These doctrines examined and explained: In the course of this enquiry, the true genius of the ancient* Egyptian *wisdom explained; and their pretended philosophy, as delivered by the later* Greek *writers, shewn to be spurious. The section concludes with the use to be made of this remarkable fact (of the ancient philosophers not believing, and yet sedulously teaching, a future state of rewards and punishments) for the support of our main question,* p. 85—141.

SECT.

SECT. V.

THIS account *of the ancient philoſophy, ſo far from being prejudicial to Chriſtianity, that it greatly credits and recommends it. Proved from the miſchiefs that attend thoſe different repreſentations of paganiſm, in the two extremes, which the defenders of religion are accuſtomed to make: where it is ſhewn that the difference in point of perfection, between the* ancient *and* modern *ſyſtems of morality, is entirely owing to Chriſtianity*, p. 141—146.

SECT. VI.

THE atheiſtical pretence of religion's being an invention of ſtateſmen, and therefore falſe, clearly confuted, and ſhewn to be both impertinent *and* falſe. *For that, was the Atheiſt's account of religion right, it would not follow that religion was* falſe, *but the* contrary. *But the* pretence *falſe and groundleſs, religion having exiſted before the civil magiſtrate was in being*, p. 146—213.

APPENDIX *and* NOTES *to the Third Book*, p. 214—261.

CON-

CONTENTS

OF

THE FOURTH BOOK.

DEDICATION *of Books IV. V. VI. to Lord Mansfield*, 1765, p. 263—275.

DEDICATION *to the Jews*, 1740, p. 276—291.

PREFACE *to Books IV. V. VI.* 1740, p. 242—298.

PREFACE *to the Edition of* 1758, p. 299—335.

BOOK IV.

PROVES the high antiquity of the arts and empire of Egypt; *and that such high antiquity illustrates and confirms the truth of the* Mosaic *History*, p. 337—739.

SECT. I.

INTRODUCTION, shewing that the universal Pretence *to Revelation, proves the* Truth *of* some, *and particularly of the* Jewish, 337—346.

SECT. II.

ENTERS on the third Proposition. *Some general reflections on the high antiquity of* Egypt; *and of the equal extravagance of both parties in their attempts to advance or depress that antiquity*, p. 347—354.

SECT.

SECT. III.

THE high antiquity of Egypt *proved from Scripture:——And from the ancient* Greek *hiſtorians, ſupported and confirmed by Scripture. In the courſe of this inquiry the riſe and progreſs of the art of medicine is treated of and explained,* p. 354—387.

SECT. IV.

THE high antiquity of Egypt *proved from their* Hieroglyphics. *Their nature, original, and various kinds, explained. Proved to be the original of the art of* Onirocritics *or interpretation of Dreams, and likewiſe of* Brute-worſhip. *In this inquiry is contained the hiſtory of the various modes of information by* Speech *and* Writing: *And of the various modes of ancient idolatry, in the order they aroſe from one another,* p. 387—461.

SECT. V.

SIR Iſaac Newton's *chronology of the* Egyptian *empire confuted, and ſhewn to contradict all ſacred and profane antiquity, and even the nature of things. In the courſe of this Diſſertation the cauſes of that infinite confuſion in the ancient* Greek *hiſtory and mythology are inquired into and explained,* p. 491—565.

SECT. VI.

PROVES that Moſes *was ſkilled in all the learning of* Egypt, *and the* Iſraelites *violently inclined to all their ſuperſtitions.—That the Ritual Law was inſtituted partly in oppoſition to thoſe ſuperſtitions, and partly in compliance to the People's prejudices.—That neither that Ritual nor* Moſes's *Learning is any objection to the divinity of his Miſſion—But a high confirmation of it. In which* Herman Witſius' *arguments to the contrary are examined and confuted; and the famous Prophecy in the twentieth chapter of* Ezekiel *explained and vindicated againſt the abſurd interpretation of the Rabbins and Dr.* Shuckford, p. 565—653.

NOTES *on the Fourth Book,* p. 654—739.

THE

THE DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES DEMONSTRATED.

BOOK III.

SECT. I.

IN the beginning of the laſt book, I entered upon the proof of my ſecond propoſition; namely, THAT ALL ANTIQUITY WAS UNANIMOUS IN THINKING THAT THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS WAS NECESSARY TO THE WELL BEING OF SOCIETY: And the method I laid down for it, was, 1. To ſhew *the conduct of Legiſlators, and the founders of civil policy.* 2. *The opinions of the wiſeſt and moſt learned of the ancient Sages.*

The CONDUCT OF THE LEGISLATORS hath been fully examined in the laſt book.

II. THE OPINION OF THE ANCIENT SAGES, is the ſubject of the preſent.

THEY too, as well as the Lawgivers, were unanimous in this point, how diſcordant ſoever and at variance amongſt themſelves, in other matters. Whatever Syſtem of Policy the Hiſtorian favoured; whatever Theory of Nature the Philoſopher eſpouſed;

THIS always remained an unqueſtionable principle. The favourer of arbitrary power deemed it the ſtrongeſt bond of blind obedience; and the friend of civil liberty, the largeſt ſource of virtue and a public ſpirit. The Atheiſt, from the vaſtneſs of its ſocial uſe, concluded religion to be but an invention of State; and the Theiſt, from that confeſſed utility, laboured to prove it of divine original.

To give the reader a detail of the diſcourſes, where this truth is owned and ſupported, would be to tranſcribe Antiquity: for, with *this* begins and ends every thing they teach and explain of Morals, Government, human Nature, and civil Policy. I ſhall therefore content myſelf with two or three paſſages, as a ſpecimen only, of the general voice of ancient Wiſdom.

Timæus the Locrian, a very early Pythagorean, well practiſed in Affairs, and, in Plato's opinion, of conſummate knowledge in philoſophy, diſcourſing on the remedies to moral evil, after having ſpoken of the uſe of philoſophy to lead well tempered minds to happineſs, by teaching the meaſures of juſt and unjuſt; adds, that, for intractable ſpirits civil Society was invented; which keeps men in fear by the coercions of Law and Religion: "But if we come "(ſays he) to a perverſe ungovernable diſpoſition, there, puniſh-"ments ſhould be applied; both thoſe which civil laws inflict, "and thoſe which the terrors of religion denounce againſt the "wicked from above and from below: as, that ENDLESS PUNISH-"MENTS attend the remains of unhappy men; and all thoſe tor-"ments, which I highly applaud the Ionic poet for recording from "ancient tradition, in order to cleanſe and purify the mind from "vice *."

That ſage hiſtorian, Polybius (whoſe knowledge of mankind and civil Government was ſo celebrated, that Rome preferred him to the auguſt employment of compoſing laws for Greece, now

* — Εἰ δὲ κά τις σκληρὸς καὶ ἀπειθὴς, τούτῳ δ' ἐπέσθω κόλασις, ἃ τ' ἐκ τῶν νόμων καὶ ἃ ἐκ τῶν λόγων σύνηνται ἐπάγουσα δείματά τε ἐπωιδάνια καὶ τὰ καθ' ᾅδου, ὅτι κολάσιες ἀπαραίτητοι ἀπόκεινται δυσδαίμοσι τελέοις· καὶ τἄλλα ὅσα ἐπαινέω τὸν Ἰωνικὸν ποιητὰν, ἐκ παλαιᾶς ποιεῦνται τὼς ἐναγέας. Περὶ ψυκᾶς κόσμῳ. Timæus, p. 23. in Opuſculis Myth. Eth. et Phyſicis, Cantabr. 1671, 8vo.

become

become a province to the republic) ſpeaking of the excellence of the Roman Conſtitution, expreſſeth himſelf in this manner: "But "the ſuperior excellence of this Policy, above others, manifeſts "itſelf, in my opinion, chiefly in the religious notions the Ro- "mans hold concerning the Gods: that thing, which in other "places is turned to abuſe, being the very ſupport of the Roman "affairs; I mean THE FEAR OF THE GODS, or what the Greeks call "*ſuperſtition*; which is come to ſuch a height, both in its influence "on particulars, and on the public, as cannot be exceeded. This, "which many may think unaccountable, ſeems plainly to have "been contrived for the ſake of the Community. If, indeed, one "were to frame a civil Policy only for wiſe men, it is poſſible this "kind of Inſtitution might not be neceſſary. But ſince the mul- "titude is ever fickle and capricious, full of lawleſs paſſions, and "irrational and violent reſentments, there is no way left to keep "them in order, but by the terrors of FUTURE PUNISHMENT, and "all the pompous circumſtance that attends ſuch kind of fictions. "On which account the Ancients acted, in my opinion, with "great judgement and penetration, when they contrived to bring "in theſe notions of the Gods, and of a FUTURE STATE, into the "popular belief; and the preſent age as inconſiderately, and ab- "ſurdly, in removing them, and encouraging the multitude to "deſpiſe their terrors. For ſee now the conſequence: in Greece, "the man who is entruſted with the public money (to paſs by "other matters) though it be but of a ſingle talent, and though "he give a ten-fold ſecurity in the moſt authentic form, and before "twice the number of witneſſes which the Law requires, cannot "be brought to diſcharge his engagements; while, amongſt the "Romans, the mere RELIGION OF AN OATH keeps thoſe, who "have vaſt ſums of money paſſing through their hands, either in "the public adminiſtration or in foreign legations, from the leaſt "violation of their truſt, or honour. And whereas, in other "places, it is rare to find a man, who can keep his hands clean, or

" forbear plundering his Country; in Rome it is as rare to take any " one offending in this kind. That every thing which exists is " subject to mutation and decay, we need not be told; the unal- " terable nature of things sufficiently informs us of this truth. But " there being two ways, whereby every kind of Policy is ruined " and dissolved; the one from WITHOUT, and the other from " WITHIN; that destruction, which cometh from without, can- " not be constantly avoided by any human provision: but then, " there are known and efficacious remedies for those evils which " arise from within *." .

Polybius says literally, There are two ways by which a state is brought to dissolution, from without and from within: *that* from without is uncertain and little known; that from within is known and certain. By which words he must mean what I make him to say, as appears by what he immediately subjoins, where he shews how the power of the Great, when degenerated into tyranny, may be checked by the people: whose opposition to power produces, as it happens to be well or ill managed, either the best or worst form of government, a Democracy or Ochlocracy.

* Μεγίστην δὲ μοι δοκεῖ διαφορὰν ἔχειν τὸ Ῥωμαίων πολίτευμα πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον, ἐν τῇ περὶ θεῶν διαλήψει. Καί μοι δοκεῖ τὸ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ὀνειδιζόμενον, τοῦτο συνέχειν τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα· λέγω δὲ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν· ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐκλελόγισται καὶ παρεισῆκται τοῦτο τὸ μέρος παρ' αὐτοῖς εἴς τε τὰς κατ' ἰδίαν βίους καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως, ὥστε μὴ καταλιπεῖν ὑπερβολήν· ὃ καὶ δόξειεν ἂν πολλοῖς εἶναι θαυμάσιον· ἐμοί γε μὴν δοκοῦσι τοῦ πλήθους χάριν τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν πολίτευμα συναγαγεῖν, ἴσως οὐδὲν ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ὁ τοιοῦτον τρόπον· ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶν πλῆθός ἐστι ἐλαφρὸν καὶ πλήρες ἐπιθυμιῶν παρανόμων, ὀργῆς ἀλόγου, θυμοῦ βιαίου, λείπεται τοῖς ἀδήλοις φόβοις, καὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ τραγῳδίᾳ τὰ πλήθη συνέχειν. Διόπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ δοκοῦσί μοι τὰς περὶ θεῶν ἐννοίας, καὶ τὰς περὶ τῶν ἐν ᾅδου διαλήψεις οὐκ εἰκῇ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν εἰς τὰ πλήθη παρεισαγαγεῖν· πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον οἱ νῦν εἰκῇ καὶ ἀλόγως ἐκβάλλειν αὐτά. Τοιγαροῦν χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ τὰ κοινὰ χειρίζοντες, παρὰ μὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἐὰν τάλαντον μόνον πιστευθῶσιν, ἀνύπευθυνοι ἔχοντες δέκα, καὶ σφραγῖδας τοσαύτας, καὶ μάρτυρας διπλασίους, οὐ δύνανται τηρεῖν τὴν πίστιν· παρὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις οἱ καλά τε τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς πρεσβείας πολύ τι πλήθος χρημάτων χειρίζοντες δι' αὐτῆς τῆς καλῆς τὸν ὅρκον πίστεως, τηροῦσι τὸ καθῆκον. Καὶ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις σπάνιόν ἐστιν εὑρεῖν ἀπεχόμενον ἄνδρα τῶν δημοσίων, καὶ καθαρεύοντα περὶ ταῦτα· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις σπάνιόν ἐστι τὸ λαβεῖν τινα πεφωραμένον ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ πράξει. Ὅτι μὲν ἔν πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν ὑπόκειται φθορὰ καὶ μεταβολή, σχεδὸν οὐ προσδεῖ λόγου· ἱκανὴ γὰρ ἡ τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκη παρασῆσαι τὴν τοιαύτην πίστιν· δυοῖν δὲ τρόπων ὄντων καθ' οὓς φθείρεσθαι πέφυκε πᾶν γένος πολιτείας, τοῦ μὲν ἔξωθεν, τοῦ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς φυομένου· τὸ μὲν ἐκτὸς ἄστοχον ἔχειν συμβαίνει τὴν θεωρίαν· τὰ δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν πεπραγμένην. E Polyb. Historiarum, lib. vi. c. 54, 55.

This

This long paſſage deſerves our attention, and for many reaſons. Polybius was a Greek, and, as all good men are, a tender lover of his Country, whoſe ancient glory and virtue were then faſt on the decline, and the Roman mounting to its meridian. The melancholy reflections, ariſing from this view of things, were always uppermoſt in his thoughts: ſo that ſpeaking here of the great influence which Religion had on the minds of the Romans, he could not forbear giving his countrymen a leſſon, and inſtructing them in what he eſteemed the principal cauſe of their approaching ruin; namely, a certain libertiniſm, which had ſpread amongſt the PEOPLE OF CONDITION, who, aſhamed of the ſimplicity of their Anceſtors, and deſpiſing the ignorance of the People, affected a ſuperior penetration, which brought them to regard, and prepoſterouſly to teach others to regard, the reſtraints of religion as illuſory and unmanly. This he confirms by ſhewing the ſtrong influence religion hath on the morals of men. But to underſtand what follows, *of the two ways by which a ſtate comes to ruin, from without and from within*, which ſeems to be brought in a little abruptly, we muſt ſuppoſe, that thoſe, to whom the hiſtorian addreſſes himſelf, had objected, *That it was not a want of piety amongſt themſelves, but the force of the Roman arms without, which had broken the power of Greece; and that this diſaſter they were patiently to ſubmit to, becauſe all empires have their ſtated periods.* Let us ſuppoſe this, and the political reflection on the fall of States will have a high propriety, and cloſe connection with what preceded. It is to this effect: "I agree with you, ſays Polybius, that evils, coming ſuddenly on a State from without, cannot be eaſily warded; but then, thoſe ariſing from within, as they are commonly foreſeen, have their remedies at hand. Now I take our misfortunes to have proceeded from *theſe*: for had not a neglect of religion depraved the manners of the Greeks, Rome had wanted both pretence and inclination to invade us, and Greece would have continued able to ſupport its own ſovereignty: therefore your trite aphoriſm *of the mutability of human things* is here altogether miſapplied."

But

But had this great man lived only one age later, he would have found large occaſion of addreſſing this very admonition to the Romans themſelves; when the ſame libertine ſpirit fore-ran and contributed to the deſtruction of *their* Republic; and religion had ſo loſt its hold of thoſe, whom, in the time of Polybius, it ſo entirely poſſeſſed, that Cæſar could dare, in full Senate, with a degree of licence unexampled in Antiquity, to declare, that the doctrine of a *future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments* was all a groundleſs notion. This was a dreadful prognoſtic of their approaching ruin.

If this great politician then may deſerve credit, it would be worth while for our *People of condition* to look about them, and compute their gains by ſuch a conduct: thoſe of them I mean, if any ſuch there be, who profeſs to love their Country, and yet as publicly deſpiſe the Religion of it. One of them, who did both in an eminent degree, and who would ſubſtitute a TASTE, inſtead of a *future ſtate*, for the government of the world, thus expreſſeth himſelf: "Even *conſcience*, I fear, ſuch as is owing to *religious* "*diſcipline*, will make but a ſlight figure, where this TASTE is ſet "amiſs. Amongſt the vulgar perhaps it may do wonders: a *devil* "and a *hell* may prevail, where a *jail* and a *gallows* are thought "inſufficient. But ſuch is the nature of the liberal, poliſhed, and "refined part of mankind; ſo far are they from the *mere ſimplicity* "*of babes and ſucklings*, that, inſtead of applying the notion of a "future reward or puniſhment to their immediate behaviour in ſo"ciety, they are apt much rather, through the whole courſe of "their lives, to ſhew evidently that they look on the pious nar"rations to be indeed no better than children's tales and the amuſe"ment of the mere vulgar *." I will not now aſk, Where was the *religion*, but where was the *civil prudence* of this great patriot? For if it be indeed true, as he confeſſes, that *amongſt the vulgar a devil and a hell may prevail, where a jail and a gallows are thought*

* Characteriſtics, vol. iii. p. 177. edit. 3.

inſuf-

inſufficient; why would this *lover of his country* take off ſo neceſſary a reſtraint on the manners of the multitude? If he ſays he would not, I aſk, why then hath he publicly ridiculed it? Or was it indeed his intention to make all his fellow-citizens MEN OF TASTE? He might as well have thought of making them all LORDS *.

So abſurd and pernicious is the conduct of the Free-thinkers, even admitting them to be in the right. But if, inſtead of removing the rubbiſh of ſuperſtition, they be indeed ſubverting the grounds of true religion, what name muſt be given to this degree of madneſs and impiety?

On the whole, I fear we are in no right way. Whether in the Public too we reſemble the picture this ſage hiſtorian hath drawn of degenerated Greece, I leave to ſuch as are better ſkilled in thoſe matters to determine.

The great *Geographer*, whoſe knowledge of men and manners was as extenſive as the habitable globe, ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe: "The multitude in ſociety are allured to virtue by thoſe enticing "fables, which the poets tell of the illuſtrious atchievementsof "ancient heroes, ſuch as the labours of Hercules and Theſeus; and "the rewards conferred by the Gods, for well-doing. So again, "they are reſtrained from vice by the puniſhments, the Gods are "ſaid to inflict upon offenders, and by thoſe † terrors and threatnings which certain dreadful words and monſtrous forms imprint "upon their minds; or by believing that divine judgements have "overtaken evil men. For it is impoſſible to govern women and "the groſs body of the people, and to keep them pious, holy, and "virtuous, by the precepts of philoſophy: this can be only done "by the FEAR OF THE GODS; which is raiſed and ſupported by "ancient fictions and modern prodigies. The Thunder therefore "of Jupiter, the Ægis of Minerva, the Trident of Neptune, the "Thyrſus of Bacchus, and the Snakes and Torches of the Furies,

* See note [A] at the end of this Book.

† See note [B], at the end of this Book.

"with

"with all the other apparatus of ancient theology, were the en-"gines which the Legiſlator employed, as bugbears, to ſtrike a "terror into the childiſh imaginations of the Multitude *."

Laſtly, Pliny the elder "owns it to be expedient for Society, "that men ſhould believe, that the Gods concerned themſelves in "human affairs; and that the puniſhments they inflict on offen-"ders, though ſometimes late indeed, as from Governors buſied in "the adminiſtration of ſo vaſt an Univerſe, yet are never to be "evaded †." Thus He, though an Epicurean; but an Epicurean in his ſenſes: from whom we hear nothing of the mad ſtrains of Lucretius, "That all religion ſhould be aboliſhed, as inconſiſtent "with the peace of mankind."

SECT. II.

BUT to give this matter its full evidence, it will be proper to ſet together the PUBLIC PROFESSIONS, and the PRIVATE SENTIMENTS of the ancient THEISTICAL PHILOSOPHERS: who, notwithſtanding they were for ever diſcourſing on the doctrine of *a future ſtate* of rewards and puniſhments, to the People, yet were all the while ſpeculating in private on other and different principles. A conduct which could proceed from nothing, but a full perſuaſion that this *doctrine* was the very vital part of Religion; and the only ſupport of that influence, which divine worſhip hath on the minds of the Multitude.

* Οἵ τε πολλοὶ τῶν τὰς πόλεις οἰκούντων εἰς μὲν προτροπὴν ἄγονται τοῖς ἡδέσι τῶν μύθων, ὅταν ἀκούωσι τῶν ποιητῶν ἀνδραγαθήματα μυθώδη διηγουμένων· οἷον Ἡρακλέους ἄθλους, ἢ Θησέως, ἢ τιμὰς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν νεμομένας,—εἰς ἀποτροπὴν δὲ, ὅταν κολάσεις παρὰ θεῶν, καὶ φόβους, καὶ ἀπειλὰς, ἢ διὰ λόγων, ἢ διὰ τύπων ἀώρων τινῶν προσδέχωνται, ἢ καὶ πιστεύωσι περιπεσεῖν τινας. Οὐ γὰρ ὄχλον τε γυναικῶν, καὶ παντὸς χυδαίου πλήθους ἐπαγαγεῖν λόγῳ δυνατὸν φιλοσόφῳ, καὶ προσκαλέσασθαι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, καὶ ὁσιότητα, καὶ πίστιν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ διὰ δεισιδαιμονίας· τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἄνευ μυθοποιΐας, καὶ τερατείας. Κεραυνὸς γὰρ, αἰγὶς, καὶ τρίαινα, καὶ λαμπάδες, καὶ δράκοντες, καὶ θυρσόλογχα τῶν θεῶν ὅπλα, μῦθοι· καὶ πᾶσα θεολογία ἀρχαϊκή· ταύτα δ' ἀπεδέξαντο οἱ τὰς πολιτείας καταστησάμενοι μορμολύκας τινὰς πρὸς τοὺς νηπιόφρονας. Strabo, Geogr. l. i.

† Verum in his Deos agere curam rerum humanarum credi, ex uſu vitæ eſt; pœnaſque maleficiis aliquando ſeras, occupato Deo in tanta mole, nunquam autem irritas eſſe. Hiſt. Nat. i. ii. c. 7.

Now,

Now, though after reading their *hiſtory*, reflecting on their *characters*, and examining their *writings* with all the care I was able, it appeared to me, that theſe men believed nothing of that *future ſtate* which they ſo induſtriouſly propagated in the world; and therefore on this, as well as other accounts, deſerved all that aſperity of language with which they are treated by the *Sacred writers*; yet the contrary having been long and generally taken for granted, and their real opinions often urged by our ableſt divines, as conformable and favourable to the Chriſtian doctrine of a future ſtate; I ſuſpect that what I have here ſaid, will be exclaimed againſt as an unreaſonable and licentious *paradox*.

But, for all this, I do not deſpair of proving it a certain, though an unheeded, *truth:* and then I ſhall hope my reader's pardon for the length of this enquiry, as it is of no ſmall moment to ſhew the ſenſe Antiquity had of the *uſe* of a future ſtate to Society: and as, in ſhewing that uſe, I ſhall be able to clear up a very important point of antiquity, doubly obſcured, by length of time and perverſity of contradiction.

But, before I enter on the matter, I ſhall, in order to abate the general prejudice, explain what is meant by that FUTURE STATE, which, I ſuppoſe, the THEISTICAL PHILOSOPHERS did not believe. And this the rather, becauſe the contrary opinion has continued the longer unqueſtioned, through the lax and ambiguous uſe of the term. Thus, becauſe it was evident, that all, or moſt of the theiſtical philoſophers *believed*, as well as taught, the *immortality*, or rather the *eternity* of the *ſoul*, men, tied down to the aſſociations of modern ideas, concluded that they believed, as well as taught, the doctrine of a *future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments*.

To make the reader, therefore, maſter of the queſtion, it will not be unfit, juſt to diſtinguiſh the ſeveral ſenſes, in which the Ancients conceived the PERMANENCY of the human ſoul; and to reſerve the explanation of them, and aſſignment of them to their proper authors, for another place.

This *permanency* was either,

I. *A* SIMPLE EXISTENCE *after this life:* or,

II. EXISTENCE IN A STATE OF REWARD AND PUNISHMENT, *according to men's behaviour here.*

Each of theſe was two-fold.

Simple exiſtence was either,

I. AN IMMEDIATE REFUSION OF THE SOUL, ON DEATH, INTO THE UNIVERSAL NATURE or TO' 'EN, FROM WHENCE IT PROCEEDED:

Or, II. A CONTINUANCE OF ITS SEPARATE AND DISTINCT EXISTENCE, ON DEATH, FOR A CERTAIN PERIOD, BEFORE ITS REFUSION INTO THE TO' 'EN, IN A SUCCESSIVE TRANSITION THROUGH VARIOUS ANIMALS, BY A NATURAL AND FATAL, NOT MORAL DESIGNATION.

Exiſtence in a ſtate of rewards and puniſhments was either,

I. A STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, *IMPROPERLY* SO CALLED; WHERE HAPPINESS AND MISERY WERE THE NATURAL AND NECESSARY CONSEQUENCES OF VIRTUE AND VICE; NOT POSITIVELY SO, OR BY THE FREE DESIGNATION OF WILL:

Or, II. A STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, *PROPERLY* SO CALLED; WHERE THE HAPPINESS AND MISERY CONSEQUENT ON VIRTUE AND VICE, WERE THE POSITIVE AND FREE DESIGNATION OF WILL, AND NOT THE NECESSARY CONSEQUENCES OF THINGS.

The LAST is that notion of a future ſtate, ſo uſeful to Society, which all the Lawgivers, Prieſts, and Philoſophers publicly taught and propagated; and which the People throughout the whole earth univerſally believed. Of this, the METEMPSYCHOSIS was, generally, a part; and, what is more, continues to be ſo to this very day, amongſt the civilized Gentiles of the Eaſt.

It is A FUTURE STATE, then, OF REWARDS and PUNISHMENTS IN GENERAL, and particularly the *ſecond* and proper notion of it (for

(for as to the *firſt*, it was peculiar to the Platoniſts) which I pretend to prove the ancient Philoſophers did not believe.

But before I proceed to explain the principles of each ſect, it will not be improper to premiſe thoſe GENERAL REASONS, which induced me to think *that the Philoſophers did not always believe what they taught: And that they taught this doctrine without believing it.* And as the reader's chief prejudice, on this point, ariſeth from the Philoſophers' having talked and written ſo much in behalf of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments; the three firſt of the following general reaſons will ſhew, 1. That they all thought it lawful to ſay one thing, and think another. 2. That they perpetually practiſed what they thus profeſſed to be lawful. And 3. That they practiſed it on the very point in queſtion.

I. My *firſt* general reaſon was, *that the ancient Sages held it lawful, for the public good, to ſay one thing when they thought another.*

We have deſcribed the times of Antiquity very ill, if it doth not appear, from what is here ſaid, that each People had the moſt religious regard to the laws and conſtitutions of their country. What raiſed this veneration (natural to all men, accuſtomed to a form of Policy) to ſuch a height, was the popular prejudice in favour of their original. For, we have ſeen, the Founders pretended to receive their reſpective inſtitutions from ſome PATRON GOD. At the time, they received the *civil policy*, they eſtabliſhed the *national religion*; whoſe principal rites were objective to the *patron God*; which gave occaſion to the PUBLIC PART OF RELIGION, explained above: whereby, the State, as ſuch, became the ſubject of religious worſhip.

This making the *national Religion* one of the moſt neceſſary and eſſential parts of *civil Government*, it would become a general maxim, not only of *mere* politicians, but of all the beſt and wiſeſt of thoſe times, THAT EVERY ONE SHOULD CONFORM TO THE RELIGION OF HIS COUNTRY. We ſee, by the behaviour of SOCRATES

himſelf, how much men were poſſeſſed with the fitneſs and importance of this rule. That excellent man, who made it the buſineſs of his life to ſearch out, and expoſe the errors of human conduct, was moſt likely to detect the folly of this general prejudice. Yet when he comes to his defence before his judges; a defence, in which he was ſo ſcrupulous that he rejected what his friends would have added of confeſſed utility to his ſervice, becauſe not ſtrictly conformable to that truth, by which he ſquared the rectitude of his life; when he comes, I ſay, to anſwer that part of the charge which accuſes him of attempting to overturn the *popular Divinities*, he declares it, in the moſt ſolemn manner, as his opinion, that *every one ſhould adhere to the Religion of his country* *. If it ſhould ſtill be ſuſpected, that this was only ſaid, as it made beſt for his defence, let us follow him in his laſt moments, retired amidſt his philoſophic friends and followers; and there we ſhall find him ſtill true to this *great principle*, in a circumſtance which hath much diſtreſſed, and ſtill diſtreſſes, modern critics to account for; I mean the requeſting his friends to ſacrifice a cock to Æſculapius; a piece of devotion, on ſome account or other, no matter what, due from him, according to the cuſtoms of his country, which he had neglected to perform †.

But for all this, no one the leaſt converſant in antiquity, will, I ſuppoſe, take it into his head that theſe Sages, becauſe they held *every one ſhould adhere to the religion of his country*, did not therefore ſee the groſs errors of the national religions. Why then (it may be aſked) was this ſtrange violation of truth amongſt men who employed all their ſtudies to evince the importance of it, in general, to happineſs?

The explanation of the riddle is eaſy: the GENIUS of their national religions, conſiſting rather in the performance of *Rites* of Worſhip than in the profeſſion of *Opinions*, taught them to con-

* See note [C], at the end of this Book.

† See note [D], at the end of this Book.

clude,

clude, THAT UTILITY AND NOT TRUTH WAS THE END OF RELIGION. And if we attentively conſider thoſe religions (formed in ſubſerviency to the State) as is occaſionally explained in the ſeveral parts of this work, we ſhall not much wonder at their concluſion. And then not rightly diſtinguiſhing between *particular* and *general* UTILITY; between that which ariſeth from the *illegitimate*, and *legitimate*, adminiſtration of civil policy, they univerſally embraced this other falſe concluſion, THAT UTILITY AND TRUTH DO NOT COINCIDE *. From this latter principle, a third neceſſarily aroſe, THAT IT WAS LAWFUL AND EXPEDIENT TO DECEIVE FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD. This all the ancient Philoſophers embraced: and Tully, on the authority of Plato, thinks it ſo clear, that he calls the doing otherwiſe NEFAS, *a horrid wickedneſs*. The famous Scævola, the Roman Pontiff, frankly declares his opinion (as St. Auſtin tells us) "that Societies ſhould be deceived in religion †." The laſt mentioned author goes on: "Varro, ſpeaking of religions, "ſays plainly, that there are many TRUTHS which it is not EXPE-"DIENT the vulgar ſhould know; and many FALSHOODS which yet "it is uſeful for the people to receive as truths ‡." Upon which the Father remarks, "Here you have the whole arcana of ſtate §." Nothing ſhews more ſtrongly, that, not truth, but utility, ruled all, in Paganiſm, than the caſe Livy mentions, of what happened in the 573d year of Rome. Some concealed books of Numa were diſcovered; which, on examination by the proper officers, being found to be injurious to the *eſtabliſhed Worſhip*, were ordered, by Authority, to be burnt. Not one word is objected to them as containing any *falſehood*; on the contrary, they were treated at their

* See the contrary propoſition proved towards the beginning of the ſixth ſection of the third book.

† Expedire exiſtimat falli in religione civitates. De Civ. Dei, l. iv. c. 10.

‡ Varro de religionibus loquens, evidenter dicit, multa eſſe VERA, quæ vulgo ſcire non ſit UTILE; multaque, quæ tametſi falſa ſint, aliter exiſtimare populum expediat.

§ Hic certe totum conſilium prodidit SAPIENTIUM, per quos civitates & populi regerentur.

execution

execution with the utmoſt reverence and reſpect; and the fire was lighted by the ſacred Miniſters who ſerved at the Altar.——As we go along, we ſhall find *this* maxim univerſally received by the *theiſtical* Philoſophers.

I would only obſerve, that it appears from hence, that the principles, which induced the ancient Sages to deem it lawful to LYE or deceive for the public good, had no place in the *nature*, or in the *conſonant propagation* of the JEWISH and CHRISTIAN religions.

II. My *ſecond* general reaſon was, *that the ancient Sages did actually ſay one thing when they thought another.* This appears from that general practice in the *Greek Philoſophy*, of a TWOFOLD DOCTRINE; the EXTERNAL and the INTERNAL; a *vulgar and a ſecret*. The firſt openly taught to all; and the ſecond confined to a ſelect number. If this needed any other proof than what is given above, it might be ſupported by the very language uſed in ſpeaking of the Philoſophers—εἰς τὴν Πλάτωνος ἦγεν μυσαγωγίαν *.—ἐπῆν Ἀριστοτέλης τοῖς μυστηρίοις †. Now what *initiation* or what *myſtery* could there be in a ſect that had nothing to *hide* from the Many, nothing to *communicate* to the Few? And how, but by ſaying one thing and thinking another, could ſuch a Syſtem be ſupported? Nor were they different doctrines or ſubjects, but one and the ſame, handled differently; popularly and ſcientifically; viz. according to OPINION, or according to TRUTH ‡.

PARMENIDES, we are told, had two doctrines concerning the nature of the univerſe; one, in which he taught that the world had been *made*, and would be *deſtroyed*; another, in which he ſaid, it was *ungenerated*, and would never be *diſſolved*; and that the firſt was his PUBLIC, and the ſecond was his PRIVATE teaching §.

That PLATO followed the ſame practice, we learn from his own words, who, in a letter to his friends, ſays, according to Dr.

* Marinus in vita Procli. † Themiſt. in Patr. ob.

‡ See note [E], at the end of this Book.

§ See note [F], at the end of this Bok.

Bentley's

Bentley's tranſlation *, "As for the ſymbol or private note you "deſire, to know my ſerious letters, and which *contain my real* "*ſentiments*, from thoſe that *do not*, know and remember that GOD "begins a ſerious letter, and GODS one that is otherwiſe †." Now had not Plato uſed the *exoteric* doctrine, or delivered things not correſponding to the real ſentiments of his mind, what occaſion had his friends to deſire this private mark or ſymbol to know when he was in earneſt?

GALEN ſays, "Plato declares that animals have conſtantly a "ſoul, which ſerves to animate and inform their bodies: as for "ſtones, wood, and what we commonly call the inanimate parts "of the creation; all theſe, he ſays, are quite deſtitute of ſoul. "And yet in his Timæus, where he explains his principles to his "diſciples and ſelect friends, he there gives up the common no-"tion, declares that there is a ſoul diffuſed through the univerſe, "which is to actuate and pervade every part of it. *Now we are* "*not to imagine that in this caſe he is* INCONSISTENT *with himſelf*, "*or maintains contrary doctrines, any more than Ariſtotle and Theo-*"*phraſtus are to be charged with contradiction, when they delivered* "*to their Diſciples their acroatic doctrines, and to the Vulgar, prin-*"*ciples of another nature* ‡." And, in the communication of their *acroatics* or arcane opinions, the philoſophers were as cautious as the teachers of the *Myſteries* were in theirs: and ſet about it with the ſame ſolemnity §.

* See the Doctor's Remarks on the Diſcourſe of Free-thinking, &c.

† Περὶ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ξυμβόλου τοῦ περὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς, ὅσας τε ἂν ἐπιστέλλω ΣΠΟΥΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΟΣΑΣ ΑΝ ΜΗ, οἶμαι μὲν σε μέμνησθαι· ὅμως δ' ἐννοεῖ, καὶ πάνυ πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν· πολλοὶ γὰρ οἱ κελεύοντες γράφειν, οἷς οὐ ῥάδιον φανερῶς διωθεῖσθαι· τῆς μὲν γὰρ σπουδαίας ἐπιστολῆς Θεὸς ἄρχει, Θεοὶ δὲ τῆς ἧττον. Ep. xiii.

‡ Πλάτων μὲν αὐτὸς ἔμψυχα μὲν ἀεὶ λέγεν τὰ ζῶα, τοὺς λίθους δὲ, καὶ τὰς πόας, καὶ τὰ ξύλα, καὶ καθόλου φάναι τὰ φῦτα πάντα τῶν ἀψυχῶν σωμάτων εἶναι φησιν· ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐν Τιμαίῳ τὴν φυσικὴν θεωρίαν ὀλιγίστοις ἀκροαταῖς, κατακολουθεῖν ἐπιστημονικοῖς, λόγοις δυναμένοις, ἀποχωρήσας τῶν τοῖς πολλοῖς δοκούντων, εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον ἐκτέτασθαι λέγοι τὴν ψυχήν· αὐτοῦ διαφωνίαν, οὐ χρὴ τοῦτο νομίζειν εἶναι τἀνδρὸς ἑαυτῷ τἀναντία λέγοντος, ὥσπερ οὐδ' Ἀριστοτέλους ἢ Θεοφράστου, τὰ μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς γεγραφότων, τὰς δὲ ἀκροάσεις τοῖς ἑταίροις. Galeni De ſubſtantia naturalium facultatum fragmentum.

§ And in the ſame form of words:

Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστὶ, θυρὰς δ' ἐπίθεσθε βεβήλοις.

So, Porphyry in Euſebius introduces his internal doctrines.

SYNE-

Synesius, a thorough Platoniſt, and ſcarce more than half a Chriſtian, who perfectly well underſtood all the intrigues of Pagan philoſophy, delivers it as the plain conſequence of the practice of the *double doctrine*, "that philoſophy, when it has attained the "truth, allows the uſe of LIES AND FICTIONS *."

After this, it will hardly need to be obſerved, That their *external* doctrine was, either the invention of fables, or the propagation of what they held to be falſe: and their *internal*, the delivery of what they held, or diſcovered, to be the truth: Yet becauſe a remarkable paſſage of Macrobius will, together with the proof of this point, tend to the further illuſtration of the general ſubject we are upon, I ſhall give it at large.——"Yet it is to be underſtood "(ſays this author) that the PHILOSOPHERS did not admit into "every kind of diſputation, the falſe and fabulous, whether of their "own invention or of public allowance †, but only in thoſe words "which treated of the SOUL, or of ETHERIAL POWERS, or of the "OTHER GODS ‡. But when their diſcourſe ventured to raiſe itſelf "to God, the origin and principle of all things, Him whom the "Greeks call the GOOD and the FIRST CAUSE; or, to MIND §; "which the Greeks call ΝΟΥΣ, the offspring of the ſupreme God,

* Νȣ̃ς ȣ̃ν φιλόσοφος ἐπόπτης ὢν τἀληθȣ̃ς συγχωρεῖ τῇ χρείᾳ τȣ̃ ΨΕΥΔΕΣΘΑΙ. Epiſt. cv.

† The text ſays, *fabuloſa vel licita*. The two laſt words are found in all the old editions: the more modern, for an obvious reaſon, dropt them. Gronovius takes notice of the fraud, and reſtores them to their place; but, in order, finally, to degrade them, on a fair hearing: which he does, and puts *vel ficta* in their place. But *licita* is, I believe, Macrobius's own word, and ſignifies, thoſe *theological fables allowed of by public authority*. So that *fabuloſa vel licita* means, *either ſuch fables as the philoſophers invented*, or *ſuch as they borrowed from the popular belief*.

‡ The text ſays—*de aeriis ætheriiſve poteſtatibus*; by which the author means, the firſt natural Gods of Gentiliſm, the *heavenly bodies*; as by——*vel de ceteris Dis*, he means, the ſecond claſs of falſe gods, *dead men deified*.

§ ——*ad mentem*. By *mind*, the author here means the third hypoſtaſis of the Platonic trinity, called νȣ̃ς or λόγος. For he takes his example, of what he ſays, of the conduct of the philoſophers, from Plato; and illuſtrates an obſervation of his own, in this place, by a paſſage in that philoſopher.

"which

" which contains the original ſpecies of things called ideas,
" when theſe things, I ſay, MIND and the SUPREME GOD,
" are the ſubject, then all fable and falſhood is baniſhed from the
" diſcourſe. But ſtill let us obſerve, that if, on theſe ſubjects,
" their diſcourſe leads them to inculcate doctrines, which not only
" exceed the power of ſpeech, but even human ideas and cogita-
" tions, they then fly to alluſions, ſimilitudes, and figures.——
" But then again, on the other hand, when the diſcourſe is of the
" firſt kind, that is, concerning the GODS and the HUMAN SOUL,
" where fable and falſhood are employed, the philoſophers have
" had recourſe to this method, not out of an idle or fantaſtic hu-
" mour, or to pleaſe their audience by an agreeable amuſement;
" but becauſe they know that a naked and open expoſition of NA-
" TURE * is injurious to her; who, as ſhe hides the knowledge of
" herſelf from groſs and vulgar conceptions, by the various cover-
" ing and diſguiſe of *Forms*, ſo it is her pleaſure, that her prieſts,
" the Philoſophers, ſhould treat her ſecrets in fable and allegory.
" And thus it is even in the ſacred *Myſteries*, where the ſecret is
" hid, even from the initiated, under figurative and ſcenical repre-
" ſentations †. And while princes and magiſtrates only, with
" Wiſdom ‡ for their guide, are admitted to the naked truth §;
" the reſt may be well content with outſide ornaments, which, at
" the ſame time that they excite the beholder's reverence and vene-

* *quia ſciunt inimicam eſſe naturæ apertam nudamque expoſitionemque ſui.* He alludes here to the danger of explaining openly the phyſical nature of the heavenly bodies, becauſe it would unſettle one half of vulgar polytheiſm. So Anaxagoras was accuſed, and ſome ſay convicted, of a capital crime, for holding the ſun to be a mere material maſs of fire.

† — *figurarum cuniculis operiuntur*, i. e. *cuniculis figurarum ad repreſentationem aptis.* It alludes to the allegorical ſhews of the *myſteries* repreſented in ſubterraneous places.

‡ —*Sapientia interprete*; *Wiſdom* is here put into the office of *hierophant* of the *myſteries*, who inſtructed the *initiated* in the *ſecret*.

§ — *ſummatibus tantum viris veri arcani conſciis.* By theſe Macrobius means, heroes, princes, and legiſlators: alluding to their old practice of ſeeking initiation into the *greater myſteries*.

" ration *, are contrived to ſecure the dignity of the ſecret, by " hiding it under that cover from the knowledge of the Vulgar †." The firſt obſervation I ſhall make on this long paſſage is, that the SAME SUBJECT, namely, the *nature of ſuperior beings*, was handled in a TWO-FOLD manner; *exoterically*; and then the diſcourſe was of the *national Gods: eſoterically*; and then it was of the *firſt Cauſe of all things*. 2. That the *exoteric* teaching admitted fable and falſhood, *fabuloſa vel licita:* the *eſoteric* only what the teacher believed to be true, *nihil fabuloſum penitus*. 3. That what was taught the Vulgar concerning the HUMAN SOUL was of the *exoteric* kind. 4. That the teaching *of* fables was one thing; and the teaching *in* fables, or by figurative expreſſions, quite another: the firſt being the cover of *error*; the ſecond the vehicle of *truth:* that the paſſions and prejudices of men made the *firſt* neceſſary; that the *latter* became unavoidable through the weakneſs of human conception. This diſtinction was uſeful and ſeaſonable, as the not attending to it, in thoſe late times, in which Macrobius wrote, was the occaſion of men's confounding theſe two ways of teaching with one another.

* *Contenti ſint reliqui ad venerationem figuris*, &c. is equivalent to *Contenti ſint reliqui aptis venerationi figuris.*

† Sciendum eſt tamen non in omnem diſputationem philoſophos admittere fabuloſa vel licita, ſed his uti ſolent, vel cum de ANIMA, vel de *aëriis ætheriiſve poteſtatibus*, vel de *ceteris Diis*, loquuntur. Ceterum cum ad *ſummum et principem omnium Deum*, qui apud Græcos τἀγαθὸν, qui πρῶτον αἴτιον nuncupatur, tractatus ſe audet attollere; vel ad *mentem* quam Græci νοῦν appellant, originales rerum ſpecies, quæ ἰδέαι dictæ ſunt, continentem, ex ſummo natam et profectam Deo: cum de his, inquam, loquuntur, *ſummo Deo et mente* nihil fabuloſum penitus attingunt. Sed ſi quid de his aſſignare conantur, quæ non ſermonem tantummodo, ſed cogitationem quoque humanam ſuperant, ad ſimilitudines et exempla confugiunt—De *Diis* autem, ut dixi, *ceteris*, et de *anima* non fruſtra ſe, nec, ut oblectent, ad fabuloſa convertunt; ſed quia ſciunt inimicam eſſe naturæ apertam nudamque expoſitionem ſui: quæ ſicut vulgaribus hominum ſenſibus intellectum ſui vario rerum tegmine operimentoque ſubtraxit; ita a prudentibus arcana ſua voluit per fabuloſa tractari. Sic ipſa *myſteria* figurarum cuniculis operiuntur, ne vel hæc adeptis nuda rerum talium ſe natura præbeat: ſed ſummatibus tantum viris, Sapientia interprete, veri arcani conſciis; contenti ſint reliqui ad venerationem figuris defendentibus a vilitate ſecretum. In Somn. Scip. lib. i. c. 2.

From

From all this it appears, that a right conception of the nature of the DOUBLE DOCTRINE was deemed the TRUE KEY to the ancient Greek philoſophy.

On which account ſeveral writers of the lower ages compoſed diſcourſes ON THE HIDDEN DOCTRINES OF THE PHILOSOPHERS *. But as theſe, which would have given much light to the ſubject, are not come down to us, we muſt be content to feel out our way to the original and end of the *double doctrine* as well as we are able. For it is not enough, that this method of teaching was general amongſt the Greek philoſophers: to bring it to our point, we muſt prove it was invented for the *good of Society*.

The original is little underſtood. It hath been generally ſuppoſed owing either to a barbarous love of myſtery; or a baſe diſpoſition to deceive. Toland, who made it the ſtudy of a wretched life, to ſhed his venom on every thing that was great and reſpectable, ſometimes † ſuppoſes this *double doctrine* the iſſue of craft and roguery; at other times, a grave and wiſe proviſion againſt the bigotry and ſuperſtition of the vulgar. And a different ſort of man, the celebrated Fontenelle, when he calls *myſtery*, which is the conſequence of the double doctrine, *the apanage of barbarity*, does as little juſtice to Antiquity.

I ſhall ſhew *firſt*, that thoſe, from whom the Greeks borrowed this method of philoſophiſing, invented it for the ſervice of Society. And *ſecondly*, that thoſe who borrowed it, employed it for that purpoſe; however it might at length degenerate into craft and folly ‡.

Firſt, then, it is confeſſed by the Greeks themſelves that all their learning and wiſdom came from Egypt; fetched from thence either immediately by their own Philoſophers, or brought round

* Zacynthus ſcripſit τὰ ἀπόῤῥητα τῆς φιλοσοφίας, referente Laertio, Porphyrius τῶν φιλοσόφων τὰ ἀπόῤῥητα, teſte Eunapio in ejus vita.

† See his Tetradymus, in what he calls, Of the Exoteric and Eſoteric Philoſophy.

‡ See note [G], at the end of this Book.

to them by the Eaſtern Sages, by the way of Aſia. In this, the Greeks are unanimous. Now Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Plutarch, all teſtify that the Egyptian prieſts, with whom the learning of the place reſided, had a TWOFOLD PHILOSOPHY, the one hidden and ſacred, the other open and vulgar *.

To know their *end* in this way of teaching, we muſt conſider their *character*. Ælian tells us †, that in the moſt early times, the *Prieſts*, amongſt the Egyptians, were *Judges* and *Magiſtrates*. So that the care of the People muſt needs be their chief concern under both titles: and as well what they divulged as what they concealed, muſt be equally for the ſake of Society. Accordingly we find them to have been the firſt who taught an intercourſe with the Gods, a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, and initiation into MYSTERIES, inſtituted for the ſupport of that belief: The ἀπόῤῥητα of which was the doctrine of the UNITY.

Plutarch aſſures us of this truth, where he tells us, that it was chiefly to their Kings and Magiſtrates, to whom the SECRET doctrines of the College were revealed. "The Kings were choſen "(ſays he) either out of the prieſthood, or the ſoldiery: as *this* "order for their valour, and *that* for their wiſdom, were had in "honour and reverence. But when one was choſen out of the "ſoldiery, he was forthwith had to the college of the Prieſts, and "inſtructed in their ſecret philoſophy; which involves many things "in fables and allegories, where the face of truth is ſeen, indeed; "but clouded and obſcured ‡."

And in the ſame manner, and with the ſame view, the MAGI of Perſia, the DRUIDS of Gaul, and the BRACHMANS of India,

* Οἱ ἱερεῖς—ΔΥΟ ΛΟΓΟΥΣ ἔχοντες, ὧν τὸν μὲν ἱερὸν καὶ ἀπορρήτον——ὁ δὲ ἐμφανὴς καὶ παρέχεται.—Περὶ Ἴσιδ. καὶ Ὄσιρ.

† Var. Hiſt. l. xiv. c. 34.

‡ Οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς ἀποδείκνυντο μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων ἢ τῶν μαχίμων, τῷ μὲν δι' ἀνδρείαν, τῷ δὲ διὰ σοφίαν, γένους ἀξίωμα, καὶ τιμὴν ἔχοντος· ὁ δὲ ἐκ μαχίμων ἀποδεδειγμένος εὐθὺς ἐγίνετο τῶν ἱερέων, καὶ μετέσχε τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀπορρητικωτέρας τὰ πολλὰ μύθοις καὶ λόγοις ἀμυδροῖς ἐμφαίνειν τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ διαφαίνειν ἔχουσιν. Περὶ ΙΣ. καὶ ΟΣ. Steph. ed.

the

the genuine offspring of the Egyptian prieſts, and who, like them, ſhared in the adminiſtration of the State, had all their *external* and *internal doctrines* *.

What hath miſled both ancient and modern writers to think the *double doctrine* to be only a barbarous and ſelfiſh craft of keeping up the reputation of the teacher, was a prevailing opinion, that moral and natural truths were concealed under the ancient fables of the Gods and Heroes. For then, theſe fables muſt have been invented by the ancient Sages; and invented for the ſake of explaining them, and nothing more. So the learned Maſter of the Charter-houſe, taking it for granted that the Sages were the inventors of the ancient mythology, concludes that one of theſe two things was the original of the *double doctrine:* "It aroſe either from the genius of Antiquity, eſpecially "of the Orientaliſts; or elſe from the affectation of making impor- "tant things, difficult, and not eaſily underſtood at firſt ſight †." But that way of allegorizing the ancient fables was the invention of the later Greek philoſophers. The old Pagan mythology was only the corruption of hiſtorical tradition; and conſequently aroſe from the People; whoſe follies and prejudicies occaſion the *double doctrine*, to be employed for their ſervice. But what it was that facilitated its uſe, we ſhall ſee hereafter, when we come, in the fourth book, to ſpeak of the Egyptian HIEROGLYPHICS.

Secondly, We ſay, the Greeks, who borrowed this method of the *double doctrine*, employed it, like the Egyptians, who invented it, TO THE USE OF SOCIETY.

1. The firſt who went out of Greece to learn Egyptian wiſdom, were the LEGISLATORS: Or ſuch as, projecting to reduce the ſcattered tribes, which then over-ran Greece, into civil Society,

* Orig. cont. Celſum, l. i.

† Sive id factum fuerit pro ingenio priſcorum hominum, maxime orientalium; ſive ut ea, quæ pulchra erant, difficilia redderent, neque primo intuitu diſcernenda. Archæol. Phil. l. i. c. 3.

travelled

travelled thither to learn the ART of LAWGIVING, from a nation the moſt celebrated for that knowledge. Of theſe, were Orpheus, Rhadamanthus, Minos, Lycaon, Triptolemus, and others; who concerned themſelves with nothing of the Egyptian wiſdom, but their public morals or *Politics*; and received the *double doctrine* along with it; as appears from their inſtituting the MYSTERIES (where this doctrine was practiſed) in their ſeveral civil eſtabliſhments.

2. The next ſort of men who went from Greece to Egypt for inſtruction (though the intercourſe of the Lawgivers with Egypt was not interrupted, but continued down to the times of Draco, Lycurgus, and Solon) were the NATURALISTS; who, throughout their whole courſe, bore the name of SOPHISTS. For now Greece being advanced from a ſavage and barbarous ſtate, to one of civil Policy, the inhabitants, in conſequence of the cultivation of the arts of life, began to refine and ſpeculate. But phyſics and mathematics wholly ingroſſed the early ſophiſts, ſuch as Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Leucippus. For as theſe ſtudies were managed ſyſtematically and fitted to the vain and curious temper of that people, this, as the poſt of honour, would be firſt ſeized upon. Beſides, Greece being at this time over-run with petty TYRANTS *, the deſcendants of their ancient HEROES, it was found unſafe to turn their ſpeculations upon *morals*; in which *politics* were contained, and made ſo eminent a part. All then that this ſecond claſs of Adventurers learnt of the Egyptians, was PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL KNOWLEDGE: and as, in the cultivation of this, there was little occaſion for, ſo their character of mere Naturaliſts made them have leſs regard to, the *double doctrine*. And in effect, we find little mention of it amongſt the firſt Greek Sophiſts, who buſied themſelves only in theſe enquiries.

* Δυναſτείας δὲ γενομένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὴν κίνησιν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ποιουμένης, τὰ πολλὰ τυραννίδες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κατέστησαν, τῶν προσόδων μειζόνων γιγνομένων. Hiſt. l. i.

3. The

3. The laſt ſort of people, who went to Egypt for inſtruction, were the PHILOSOPHERS, properly ſo called. A character exactly compounded of the two preceding, the *Lawgiver* and the *Naturaliſt*. For when now, after various ſtruggles, and revolutions, the Grecian States had aſſerted, or regained their liberties, MORALS, public and private, would become the ſubject moſt in faſhion. From this time, the Grecian Sages became violently given to Legiſlation, and were actually employed in making laws for the ſeveral emerging Common-wealths: Hence Ariſtotle obſerved, that "the beſt "Lawgivers in ancient Greece, were amongſt the middle rank of "men." The firſt (as well as moſt famous) of this claſs, and who gave *philoſophy* its name and character, was PYTHAGORAS. He, and Plato, with others, travelled into Egypt, like their predeceſſors. But now having joined in one, the two different ſtudies of Politics and Philoſophy, a ſlight tincture of Egyptian inſtruction would not ſerve their purpoſe: to complete their Character, there was a neceſſity of being thoroughly imbued with the moſt hidden wiſdom of Egypt. Accordingly, the Ancients tell us *, of their long abode there; their hard condition of admittance into the ſacred Colleges; and their bringing away with them all the ſecret ſcience of the prieſthood. The reſult of all was, and it is worth our obſervation, that, from this time, the *Greek Sophiſts* (now called *Philoſophers*) began to cultivate *the belief of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments*, and, at the very ſame time, *the practice of the double doctrine:* which *two principles* were the diſtinguiſhing badges of their Character.

Thus, by an intimate acquaintance with the Egyptian prieſthood, the Greeks, at length, got amongſt themſelves a new ſpecies of SAGES, whoſe character much reſembled that of their maſters. But with this difference, that amongſt the Egyptian Prieſts (and ſo amongſt the Magi, the Brachmans, and the Druids) Philoſophy was

* Porph. De vita Pythag.—Strabo de Platone, l. xvii. Geogr.——Origin. Comm. in Ep. ad. Rom. c. iii.

an

an appendix to Legiſlation; while amongſt the Greeks, Legiſlation was but the appendix to Philoſophy. For philoſophy was the *firſt* acqueſt of the Greek Sages; and legiſlation, of the Egyptian. There was yet another difference; which was, that, in the *Greek Sophiſt*, the two characters of LEGISLATOR and PHILOSOPHER were always kept diſtinct, and conducted on the contrary principles: whereas in the *Egyptian* Prieſt, they were incorporated, and went together. So that in Greece, the *hidden doctrine* of the *Myſteries*, and the ἀπόῤῥητα of the *Schools*, though ſometimes founded by one and the ſame perſon, as by Pythagoras, were two very different things; but in Egypt, ſtill one and the ſame.

Greece was now well ſettled in popular Communities; and yet this legiſlating humour ſtill continued. And when the Philoſophers had no more work, they ſtill kept on the trade; and from practical, became ſpeculative Lawgivers. This gave birth to a deluge of viſionary *Republics*, as appears from the titles of their works preſerved by Diogenes Laertius; where, one is always as ſure to find a treatiſe *De legibus*, or *De republica*, as a treatiſe, *De deo*, *De anima*, or *De mundo*.

But of all the ſects, the Pythagoreans and Platoniſts continued longeſt in this humour. The Academics and Stoics, indulging to the diſputatious genius of the Greek philoſophy, ſtruck out into a new road; and began to cultivate the laſt great branch of philoſophy, LOGIC; eſpecially the Stoics, who, from their great attachment to it, were ſurnamed *Dialectici*.

The reader hath here a ſhort view of the progreſs of the GREEK PHILOSOPHY; which Plato aptly divided into PHYSICS, MORALS, and LOGIC *. We have ſhewn that this was the order of their birth: the ſtudy of *phyſics* and *mathematics* began while Greece groaned under its petty tyrants: *morals* public and private aroſe with their civil liberties: and *logic*, when they had contracted a habit of diſputation and refinement.

* Μέρη δὲ φιλοσοφίας τρία, ΦΥΣΙΚΟΝ, ΗΘΙΚΟΝ, ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ. Diog. Laert. Proœm. § 18.

But

But when now the liberties of Greece began to be again ſhaken by Tyrants of greater form and power, and every nobler province of Science was already poſſeſſed and occupied by the Sects above mentioned; ſome ambitious men, as EPICURUS, attempted to revive the ſplendor of ancient PHYSICS by an excluſive cultivation of them; rejecting LOGIC, and all the *public* part of MORALS, *Politics* and *Legiſlation:* and, with *them*, in conſequence, (which deſerves our notice) the uſe of the DOUBLE DOCTRINE *, as of no ſervice in this reform. An evident proof of its having been employed only for the ſake of *Society:* for were it, as Toland and his fellows pretend, for *their own*, it had found its uſe chiefly in *Phyſics*; becauſe the celeſtial bodies being amongſt the popular Gods, enquiries into their phyſical eſſence would hardly eſcape the public odium: Plutarch tells us how heavily it fell both on Protagoras and Anaxagoras †. Notwithſtanding this, the *firſt* and the *laſt* of the *Sophiſts*, who dealt only in *Phyſics*, equally rejected the *double doctrine* While on the other hand, the *legiſlating* philoſophers employed *this* very doctrine even in natural enquiries. We are told, that Pythagoras's popular account of earthquakes was, that they were occaſioned by a ſynod of ghoſts aſſembled under ground ‡. But Jamblichus § informs us, that he ſometimes predicted earthquakes by the taſte of well water ||.

* Clemens Alex. indeed (Strom. 5.) ſays, that "the Epicureans bragged they had "their *ſecrets* which it was not lawful to divulge;" but this was only arrogating to themſelves a *mark* of Philoſophy, which thoſe, to whom it really belonged, had made venerable.

† Ὁ γὰρ πρῶτος σαφέστατόν γε πάντων καὶ θαῤῥαλεώτατον περὶ Σελήνης καταυγασμῶν καὶ σκιᾶς λόγων εἰς γραφὴν καταθέμενος Ἀναξαγόρας, ὅτ' αὐτὸς ἦν παλαιὸς, ὅτε ὁ λόγος ἔνδοξος, ἀλλ' ἀπόῤῥητος ἔτι, καὶ δι' ὀλίγων, καὶ μετ' εὐλαβείας τινὸς ἢ πίστεως βαδίζων. οὐ γὰρ ἠνείχοντο τοὺς φυσικοὺς καὶ μετεωρολέσχας τότε καλουμένους ὡς εἰς αἰτίας ἀλόγους καὶ δυνάμεις ἀπρονοήτους καὶ κυτηναγκασμένα πάθη διατρίβοντας τὸ θεῖον· ἀλλὰ καὶ Πρωταγόρας ἔφυγε καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν εἰρχθέντα μόλις περιποιήσατο Περικλῆς. Vit. Niciæ.

‡ Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 17.

§ Jamblicus Vit. Pythag. l. 1. c. 23.

|| See note [H] at the end of this Book.

It appears then, on the whole, that the *double doctrine* was uſed *for the ſake of Society*; their high notions of which made them conclude the practice not only to be innocent, but laudable: whereas, were the motive either love of *myſtery*, of *fraud*, or of *themſelves*, it cannot be reconciled to any of their ſeveral ſyſtems of private morals.

III. My third general reaſon was, that *the ancient Sages ſeemed to practiſe the* DOUBLE DOCTRINE, *in the point in queſtion*. I have obſerved, that thoſe Sects which joined *legiſlation* to *philoſophy*, as the Pythagoreans, Platoniſts, Peripatetics, and Stoics, always profeſſed the belief of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments: while thoſe, who ſimply philoſophiſed, as the Cyreniac, the Cynic, and the Democritic, publicly profeſſed the contrary. And juſt as thoſe of the legiſlating claſs were more or leſs in the practice of that art, ſo were they more or leſs in the profeſſion of a future ſtate: as on the one hand, the Pythagoric and Platonic; and on the other, the Peripatetic and Stoic. Nay in one and the ſame ſect (as the Peripatetic, or the Stoic), when a follower of it ſtudied legiſlation, he profeſſed this belief; when he confined himſelf to private morals, or abſtract ſpeculations, he rejected it. Thus Zeno, amongſt the Stoics, was a great aſſertor of it; while Epictetus openly denied it. And Seneca, who was but a mongrel, ſeems willing to expoſe the whole myſtery. For in thoſe parts of his writings, where he ſtrictly philoſophiſes, he denies a future ſtate; and in thoſe, where he acts the preacher or politician, he maintains it; and having in this character, ſaid what he thought fit in its behalf, is not aſhamed to add: "Hæc autem omnia ad MORES ſpectant, itaque ſuo loco "poſita ſunt; at quæ a DIALECTICIS contra hanc opinionem di-"cuntur, ſegreganda fuerunt: et ideo ſepoſita ſunt *." As much as to ſay, the doctrine was preached up as uſeful to Society, but intenable by reaſon. One might puſh this obſervation from ſects to particulars. So Xenophon and Iſocrates, who concerned themſelves

* Ep. 103.

ſelves much in the public, declared for it; and Hippocrates and Galen, who confined themſelves to natural ſtudies, are inclined to be againſt it.

This totally enervates what might be urged in ſupport of the common opinion, from thoſe many profeſſions in the writings of the Theiſtical philoſophers, in favour of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhment; as it ſhews that thoſe profeſſions only made part of the EXTERNAL or popular doctrines of ſuch ſects*. It may likewiſe help to explain and reconcile an infinite number of diſcordances in their works in general; and more eſpecially on this point, which are commonly, though I think falſly, aſcribed to their inconſtancy. How endleſs have been the diſputes amongſt the learned, ſince the revival of letters, about what Plato, Ariſtotle, and the Stoics held of the Soul? But it was not the Moderns only who found themſelves at a loſs; ſometimes the Ancients themſelves were embarraſſed. Plutarch complains heavily of the *Repugnances of the Stoics:* and in his tract ſo intituled, accuſes Chryſippus, now, for laughing at the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, as a Mormo, fit only to frighten women and children; and now again, for affirming ſeriouſly, that, let men laugh as they pleaſed, the thing was a ſober truth.

IV. My *fourth* general reaſon is gathered from *the opinions which Antiquity itſelf ſeems to have had of its philoſophers on this point.* The graveſt writers (as we ſee in part, by the quotations above, from Timæus, Polybius, and Strabo) are full of apologies for the national Religions; that is, for what was taught in them, concerning a Providence here, and eſpecially concerning the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, hereafter. They pretend that theſe things were neceſſary to keep the People in awe;

* Yet neither could a truth ſo obvious, nor the notice here given of it, prevent the numerous writers againſt this book from perpetually urging, one from another, thoſe profeſſions in the EXOTERIC writings of the Philoſophers, as a confutation of what is here delivered concerning their REAL SENTIMENTS.

but frankly own, that were Society compoſed all of wiſe men, THE RELIGION OF THE PHILOSOPHERS, which enforces morality by conſiderations drawn from the excellence of virtue, the dignity of our nature, and the perfection of the human ſoul, would be a fitter and more excellent way to good. Now, the *national Religions*, as they taught a doctrine of a future ſtate, being here oppoſed to the *Religion of the philoſophers*, which employed other motives, I conclude, that, in the opinion of theſe apologiſts, the Philoſophers did not really believe *this doctrine*.

V. My *laſt* general argument againſt the common opinion, is collected *from an extraordinary circumſtance in the Roman hiſtory*. CÆSAR, in his ſpeech to the ſenate, to diſſuade them from puniſhing the followers of Catiline with death, argues, "that death was "no evil, as they, who inflicted it for a puniſhment, imagined, "and intended it ſhould be made." And thereon takes occaſion, with a licentiouſneſs till then unknown to that auguſt Aſſembly, to explain and inforce the *avowed* principles of Epicurus (of whoſe ſect he was) concerning the *mortality of the ſoul* *. Now when CATO and CICERO, who urged the death of the conſpirators, come to reply to his argument for lenity; inſtead of oppoſing the principles of that philoſophy by the avowed principles of a better, they content themſelves with only ſaying, that "the doctrine of a fu-"ture ſtate of rewards and puniſhments was delivered down to "them from their *anceſtors* †." From this cold manner of evading the argument, by retiring under the opinion of their Forefathers, I conclude, that theſe two great patriots were conſcious that the real opinion of ancient philoſophy would not ſupport them: for nothing was more illogical than their reply, it being evidently, *that Authority of their Anceſtors*, which Cæſar oppoſed

* De pœna, poſſum equidem dicere id quod res habet; in luctu atque miſeriis, mortem ærumnarum requiem, non cruciatum eſſe; eam cuncta mortalium mala diſſolvere; ultra neque curæ, neque gaudio locum eſſe. Cæſar apud. Sall. de Bell. Catilin.

† See note [I], at the end of this Book.

with

with the principles of the Greek philoſophy. Here then was a fair challenge to a philoſophic enquiry: and can we believe, that Cicero and Cato would have been leſs favourably heard, while they defended the doctrine of a future ſtate on the principles of Plato and Zeno, ſo agreeable to the opinions of their Anceſtors, than Cæſar was in overthrowing it on the ſyſtem of Epicurus? Or was it of ſmall importance to the State, that an opinion, which Tully, in the words below, tells us was eſtabliſhed by their Anceſtors for the ſervice of Society, ſhould be ſhewn to be conformable to the concluſions of the moſt creditable Philoſophy? Yet, for all this, inſtead of attempting to prove Cæſar a bad philoſopher, they content themſelves with only ſhewing him to be a bad citizen. We muſt needs conclude then, that theſe two learned men were ſufficiently apprized, that the doctrine of their Anceſtors was unſupported by the *real* opinion of *any* Greek *ſect* of Philoſophy; whoſe *popular* profeſſion of it would have been to no purpoſe to have urged againſt Cæſar, and ſuch of the Senate as were inſtructed in theſe matters; becauſe the practice of the *double doctrine*, and the part to which this point belonged, was a thing well known to them.

It may be true, that as to Cato, who was a rigid Stoic, this obſervation on his conduct will conclude only againſt one ſect; but it will conclude very ſtrongly: for Cato was ſo far from thinking that the principles of that philoſophy ſhould not be brought into the concluſions of State, where it could be done with any advantage, that he was even for having public meaſures regulated on the ſtandard of their *paradoxes*; for which he is agreeably rallyed by Cicero in his oration for Muræna. He could not then, we muſt think, have neglected ſo fair an opportunity of employing his beloved philoſophy upon Cæſar's challenge, would it have ſerved his purpoſe in any reaſonable degree.

But though Cato's caſe only includes the Stoics; yet Cicero's, who made uſe indifferently of the principles of any ſect to confute the

the reſt, includes them all. It will be ſaid perhaps, that the reaſon why he declined replying on any philoſophic principle was becauſe he thought the opinion of their Anceſtors the ſtrongeſt argument of all; having *ſo* declared it, in a more evident point; the very *being of a God* itſelf: In QUOD, MAXIMUM EST MAJORUM NOSTRORUM SAPIENTIA, qui ſacra, qui ceremonias*, &c. But it is to be obſerved, that this was ſpoken to the People, and recommended to them as an argument they might beſt confide in; and therefore urged with Tully's uſual prudence, who always ſuited his arguments to his auditors; while the words under queſtion were addreſſed to an audience of Nobles, who had, at that time, as great an affectation to philoſophiſe as Cicero himſelf. Hear what he ſays in his oration for Muræna: Et quoniam non eſt nobis hæc oratio habenda aut cum IMPERITA MULTITUDINE, aut in aliquo *conventu agreſtium*, audacius paulo de STUDIIS HUMANITATIS quæ et MIHI et VOBIS NOTA ET JUCUNDA ſunt, diſputabo†.

SECT. III.

HAVING premiſed thus much, to clear the way, and abate men's prejudices againſt a new opinion, I come to a more particular enquiry concerning each of thoſe SECTS which have been ſuppoſed to BELIEVE the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments.

The ancient Greek philoſophy may be all ranged in the ELEATIC, the ITALIC, and the IONIC lines. The *Eleatic* line was wholly compoſed of Atheiſts of different kinds; as the Democritic, the Pyrrhonian, the Epicurean, &c. ſo theſe come not into the account. All in the *Italic* line derive themſelves from PYTHAGORAS, and ſwear in his name. All in the *Ionic*, till SOCRATES, buſied themſelves only in Phyſics, and are therefore likewiſe excluded. HE was the firſt who brought philoſophy out of the

* Orat. pro Milone. † Sect. 29.

clouds,

clouds, to a clearer contemplation of HUMAN NATURE; and founded the *Socratic ſchool*, whoſe ſubdiviſions were the PLATONIC or OLD ACADEMY, the PERIPATETIC, the STOIC, the MIDDLE, and the NEW ACADEMY.

As to Socrates, Cicero gives this character of him, that *He was the firſt who called philoſophy from heaven, to place it in cities, and introduce it into private houſes**, i. e. to teach *public* and *private* morals. But we muſt not ſuppoſe, that Cicero *ſimply* meant, as the words ſeem to imply, *that* Socrates *was the firſt of the philoſophers, who ſtudied morals*; this being evidently falſe; for the Pythagoric ſchool had, for a long time before, made morals its principal concern. He muſt therefore mean (as the quotation below partly implies) that HE *was the firſt who called off philoſophy from a contemplation of nature, to fix it* ENTIRELY *upon morals.* Which was ſo true, that Socrates was not only the *firſt*, but the *laſt* of the Philoſophers who made this ſeparation; having here no followers, unleſs we reckon Xenophon; who upbraids Plato, the immediate ſucceſſor of his ſchool, for forſaking his maſter's confined ſcheme, and imitating the common practice of the philoſophers in their purſuit of general knowledge; he being, as the ſame Cicero obſerves, *varius et multiplex et copioſus.*

However, This, which Socrates attempted in Philoſophy, was a very extraordinary project: and, to ſupport its credit, he brought in thoſe principles of DOUBT and UNCERTAINTY, which ſome of his pretended followers very much abuſed: For while *he* reſtrained thoſe principles of *doubt* to *natural* things, whoſe ſtudy he rejected; *they* extended them to every thing that was the ſubject of philo-

* Primus Philoſophiam devocavit e cœlo, et in urbibus collocavit, et in domos etiam introduxit. Tuſcul. Quæſt. lib. v. And again, Acad. l. i. Socrates mihi videtur, id quod conſtat inter omnes, primus a rebus occultis, et ab ipſa natura involutis, in quibus omnes ante eum philoſophi *occupati* fuerunt, evocaviſſe Philoſophiam, et ad vitam communem adduxiſſe, ut de virtutibus et vitiis, *omninoque* de bonis rebus & malis quæreret; cœleſtia autem vel procul eſſe a noſtra cognitione cenſeret, vel, ſi maxime cognita eſſent, nihil tamen ad bene vivendum conferre.

ſophical

ſophical inquiry. This we preſume was Socrates's true character: who thus confining his ſearches, was the only one of all the ancient Greek philoſophers (and it deſerves our notice) who really believed the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. How it happened that he was ſo ſingularly right, will be conſidered hereafter, when we bring his caſe to illuſtrate, and to confirm the general poſition here advanced.

From Socrates, as we ſaid, came the *middle* and *New Academy*, as well as the *Old*, or Platonic. Arceſilaus was the founder of the *middle*; and Carneades of the *New*. Between the principles of theſe two there was no real difference, as Cicero tells us; and we may take his word; but both, I will venture to affirm, were as real *Sceptics*, as the *Pyrrhonians* themſelves: I mean in their *principles* of philoſophiſing, though not in the *profeſſed concluſions* each pretended to draw from thoſe *principles*. For the Academics as well as Pyrrhonians agreed in this, "That nothing could be "known; and that, without interfering with any ſentiments of "their own, every thing was to be diſputed." Hence the Pyrrhonians concluded, "that nothing was ever to be aſſented to, but the "mind to be kept in an eternal ſuſpenſe:" The Academics, on the contrary, held, "that the PROBABLE, when found, was to be "aſſented to; but, till then, they were to go on with the *Pyrrho-* "*nians*, queſtioning, diſputing, and oppoſing every thing." And here lay the jeſt: they continued to do ſo, throughout the whole period of their exiſtence, without ever finding the *probable* in any thing; except, in what was neceſſary to ſupply them with arms for diſputing againſt every thing. It is true, this was a contradiction in their ſcheme: but Scepticiſm is unavoidably deſtructive of itſelf. The miſchief was, that their allowing the *probable* thus far, made many, both ancients and moderns, think them uniform in their conceſſions: In the mean time they gave good words, and talked perpetually of their *veriſimile* and *probabile*, amidſt a ſituation of abſolute darkneſs, and ſcepticiſm; like Sancho Pancha, of

of his iſland on the Terra Firma. This was Lucian's opinion of the *Academics*; and no man knew them better; ſpeaking of the happy iſland, in his *true hiſtory*, and telling us in what manner it was ſtocked with the ſeveral Sects of Greek philoſophy; when he comes to the *Academics* he obſerves with much humour, that though they were in as good a diſpoſition to come as any of the reſt, they ſtill keep aloof in the Confines, and would never venture to ſet foot upon the Iſland. For here truly they ſtuck; they were not yet ſatisfied whether it was an Iſland or not *.

This I take to be the true key to the intrigues of the ACADEMY; of which famous ſect many have been betrayed into a better opinion than it deſerved. If any doubt of this, the account which Cicero himſelf gives of them, will ſatisfy him. He, who knew them beſt, and who in good earneſt eſpouſed only the more reaſonable part of their conduct, tells us, that they held nothing could be known, or ſo much as perceived: Nihil cognoſci, nihil percipi, nihil ſciri poſſe dixerunt——Opinionibus & INSTITUTIS omnia teneri; nihil VERITATI relinqui: deinceps omnia tenebris circumfuſa eſſe dixerunt. Itaque *Arceſilaus* negabat eſſe quidquam quod ſciri poſſet, ne illud quidem ipſum †: That every thing was to be diſputed; and that the *probable* was not a thing to engage their aſſents, or ſway their judgments, but to enforce their reaſonings. —Carneades vero multo uberius iiſdem de rebus loquebatur: *non quo aperiret ſententiam ſuam (hic enim mos erat patrius Academiæ* ADVERSARI SEMPER OMNIBUS *in diſputando) ſed* ‡, &c.—Proprium ſit Academiæ *judicium ſuum nullum interponere*, ea *probare* quæ ſimillima veri videantur; conferre cauſas, & quid in quamque ſententiam dici poſſit expromere, nulla adhibita ſua auctoritate, judicium audientium relinquere integrum & liberum §: That, though they

* Τὰς δὲ Ἀκαδημαϊκὰς ἔλεγον ἐθέλειν μὲν ἁλῶναι, ἐπέχειν δ' ἔτι, καὶ διασκέπτεσθαι· μὴ δὲ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτό πως καὶ ἁλαμβάνειν, εἰ καὶ νῆσός τις τοιαύτη ἐστίν. Ver. Hiſt. l. ii.

† Acad. Quæſt. l. i. c. 12, 13.

‡ De Orat. lib. i. c. 18.

§ De Divin. lib. ii. ſub fin.

pretended their end was to find the *probable*, yet, like the *Pyrrhonians*, they held their mind in an eternal ſuſpenſe, and continued going on diſputing againſt every thing, without ever finding the *probable* to determine their judgments. O Academiam volaticam & ſui ſimilem, modo huc modo illuc *, ſays the man whoſe buſineſs it was to ſhew only its fair ſide. And indeed how could it be otherwiſe, when, as he himſelf tells us, in the caſe of the ſame *Arceſilaus*, they endeavoured to prove, that the moment, or weight of evidence, on each ſide the queſtion, was exactly equal——Huic rationi, quod erat conſentaneum, faciebat, ut contra omnium ſententias dies jam pleroſque deduceret: [diceret] *ut cum in eadem re paria contrariis in partibus momenta rationum invenirentur*, facilius ab utraque parte adſentio ſuſtineretur. This they held to be the caſe, even in the moſt important ſubjects, ſuch as the SOUL. And in the moſt intereſting queſtions concerning it, as whether it was, in its nature, MORTAL or IMMORTAL.—Quod intelligi quale ſit vix poteſt: et quicquid eſt, mortale ſit, an æternum? Nam utraque in parte multa dicuntur. Horum aliquid *veſtro* ſapienti certum videtur: *noſtro* ne quid maxime quidem probabile ſit, occurrit: ita ſunt in pleriſque contrarium rationum PARIA MOMENTA †.

Thus it appears, that the ſect was thoroughly ſceptical ‡: And Sextus Empiricus, a maſter of this argument, ſays no leſs: who, though he denies the *Academics* and *Pyrrhonians* to be exactly the ſame, as ſome ancients affirmed, becauſe, though both agreed that truth was not to be found, yet the Academics held there was a difference in thoſe things which pretended to it (the myſtery of which has been explained above) yet owns that Arceſilaus and Pyrrho had one common philoſophy §. Origen, or the author of the

* Ep. ad Att. l. 13.

† See note [K], at the end of this Book.

‡ See note [L], at the end of this Book.

§ Φασὶ μέντοι τινες ὅτι ἡ Ἀκαδημαϊκὴ φιλοσοφία ἡ αὐτή ἐστι τῇ σκέψει. Ὁ μέν τι Ἀρκεσίλαος, ὃν τῆς μέσης Ἀκαδημίας, ἐλέγομεν εἶναι προσάτην καὶ ἀρχηγὸν, πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ τοῖς Πυῤῥωνείοις κοινωνεῖν λόγοις, ὡς μίαν εἶναι σχεδὸν τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀγωγὴν καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν. Hypot. Pyrh. lib. i. c. 33.

Agellius,

the fragment that goes under his name, ſeems to have tranſcribed the opinion of thoſe whom Sextus hints at. "But another ſect of "philoſophers (ſays he) was called the *Academic*, becauſe they "held their diſputations in the Academy. Pyrrho was the head "and founder of theſe; From whom they were called Pyrrho-"nians. He firſt of all brought in the Ακαταληψία, or incomprehen-"ſibility, as an inſtrument to enable them to diſpute on both "ſides the queſtion, without proving or deciding any thing *."

But now a difficulty ariſes which will require ſome explanation. We have repreſented the *Academy* as entirely *ſceptical*: We have repreſented Socrates a Dogmatiſt; and yet on his ſole authority, as we are aſſured by Tully, did this ſect hold its principles of *knowing nothing* and *diſputing all things*. The true ſolution ſeems to be this:

1. SOCRATES, to deter his hearers from all ſtudies but thoſe of *morality*, was perpetually repreſenting the obſcurity, in which all other lay involved: not only affirming that he knew nothing of them, but that nothing could be known; while, in *Morals*, he was a dogmatiſt, as appears largely by Xenophon, and the leſs fabulous parts of Plato. But Arceſilaus and Carneades took him at his word, when he ſaid *he knew nothing*; and extended that principle of uncertainty *ad omne ſcibile*.

Agellius, too, aſſures us, that the difference between the two ſects amounted to juſt nothing. Vetus autem quæſtio et a multis ſcriptoribus Græcis tractata eſt, in quid et quantum Pyrrhonios et Academios Philoſophos interſit. Utrique enim ΣΚΕΠΤΙΚΟΙ, ἐφεκτικοὶ, ἀπορητικοὶ, dicuntur, quoniam utrique nihil affirmant, nihilque comprehendi putant——differre tamen inter ſeſe——vel maxime propterea exiſtimati ſunt. Academici quidem ipſum illud nihil poſſe comprehendi, quaſi comprehendunt, et nihil poſſe decerni quaſi decernunt: Pyrrhonii ne id quidem ullo pacto videri verum dicunt, quod nihil eſſe verum videtur. l. ii. c. 5.

* Ἄλλη δὲ αἵρεσις φιλοσόφων ἐκλήθη Ἀκαδημαϊκὴ, διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ τὰς διαλεκτὰς αὐτὸς ποιεῖσθαι, ὧν ἄρξας ὁ Πύῤῥων, ἀφ' ὃ Πυῤῥώνιοι ἐκλήθησαν φιλόσοφοι, τὴν ἀκαταληψίαν ἀπάντων πρῶτος εἰσήγαγεν, ὡς ἐπιχειρεῖν μὲν εἰς ἑκάτερα, μὴ μέντοι ἀποφαίνεσθαι μηδέν. Orig. Philoſophica, περὶ Ἀκαδημ.

2. Again, the adverſaries, with whom Socrates had to deal, in his project of diſcrediting natural knowledge, and of recommending the ſtudy of *morality*, were the Sophists properly ſo called; a race of men, who, by their eloquence and fallacies, had long kept up the credit of Phyſics, and much vitiated the purity of *Morals:* And Theſe being the Oracles of ſcience at that time in Athens, it became the modeſty and humility of his pretenſions, to attack them covertly, and rather as an enquirer than a teacher. This produced the way of diſputing by interrogation; from the inventor, called the *Socratic:* And as this could not be carried on but under a profeſſed admiration of their wiſdom, and acquieſcence in their deciſions, it gave birth to the famous Attic Irony *. Hence it appears, his method of confutation muſt begin in doubt; be carried on in turning their own arms againſt them, and end in *advancing nothing of his own.*

Now Arceſilaus and Carneades having, as we ſay, extravagantly extended the Socratic principle *of knowing nothing*; eaſily miſtook this other, *of advancing nothing of his own*, when diſputing with the *Sophiſts*, as a neceſſary conſequence of the former; and ſo made that a general rule for their ſchool, which, in their maſter, was only an occaſional and confined practice.

On theſe two miſtaken principles was the *New Academy* erected. 1. Omnia latere in occulto, nec eſſe quidquam, quod cerni aut intelligi poſſit. 2. Quibus de cauſis nihil oportere neque profiteri, neque affirmare quemquam, neque aſſertione approbare †.

They of the Old Academy ‡, who came firſt after Socrates, did, with more judgment, decline their maſter's method of diſputation; eaſily perceiving that it was adapted to the occaſion: and

* Socrates autem de ſe ipſe detrahens in diſputatione, plus tribuebat iis, quos volebat refellere. Ita cum aliud diceret atque ſentiret, libenter uti ſolitus eſt ea diſſimulatione, quam Græci εἰρωνείαν vocant. Acad. l. ii. c. 5.

† Acad. Quæſt. lib. i. c. 12.

‡ See note [M], at the end of this Book.

that

that to make it a general practice, and the characteriſtic of their ſchool, would be irrational and abſurd. But the MIDDLE and NEW, inſtead of profiting by this ſage conduct of their Predeceſſors, made it a handle to extol their own cloſer adherence to their Maſter; and an argument that they were returned to his true principles, from which the *old* had licentiouſly digreſſed. A paſſage in Cicero will juſtify theſe obſervations; and theſe obſervations will explain that paſſage, which, I preſume, without them would not be thought very intelligible. Thus the Roman Orator expreſſes himſelf, under the character of an Academic: Primùm, inquam, deprecor, ne me, tanquam philoſophum, putetis ſcholam vobis aliquam explicaturum: quod ne in ipſis quidem philoſophis magnopere unquam probavi: *quando enim* Socrates, *qui parens philoſophiæ jure dici poteſt, quidquam tale fecit?* Eorum erat iſte mos, qui tum Sophiſtæ nominabantur; quorum è numero primus eſt auſus Leontinus Gorgias in conventu poſcere quæſtionem, id eſt, jubere dicere, qua de re quis vellet audire. Audax negotium; dicerem impudens, *niſi hoc inſtitutum poſtea tranſlatum ad philoſophos noſtros eſſet.* Sed et illum, quem nominavi, et ceteros Sophiſtas, ut è *Platone* intelligi poteſt, luſos videmus a *Socrate.* Is enim percunctando atque interrogando elicere ſolebat eorum opiniones, quibuſcum diſſerebat, ut ad ea, quæ ii reſpondiſſent, ſi quid videretur, diceret: QUI MOS CUM A POSTERIORIBUS NON ESSET RETENTUS, ARCESILAUS EUM REVOCAVIT, INSTITUITQUE, *ut ii, qui ſe audire vellent, non ſe quærerent, ſed ipſi dicerent, quid ſentirent: quod cum dixiſſent, ille contra* *. Here Cicero has gilded the falſe, but ſhewy pretences of his Sect: which not only repreſented their ſcepticiſm, as a return to the true principles of Socrates; but would have the dogmatic ſects of philoſophy, againſt all evidence of antiquity, the later product of that race of Sophiſts, with whom the venerable Athenian had to do. But the *Old Academy*, we may be ſure, thought differently of the matter:

* De Fin. Bon. et Mal. ii. c. 1.

Lucullus

Lucullus ſays of Arceſilaus, Nonne cum jam philoſophorum diſciplinæ graviſſimæ conſtitiſſent, tum exortus eſt ut in optima Rep. Tiberius Gracchus, qui otium perturbaret, ſic Arceſilaus, qui conſtitutam philoſophiam everteret *.

However, theſe bold pretenſions of reſtoring the Socratic school to its integrity, deluded many of the Ancients; and made them, as particularly Diogenes Laertius, to rank Socrates in the number of the *Sceptics*.

But this is not ſtrange, for it was in the faſhion for all the Sects to pretend relation to Socrates. Proſeminatæ ſunt familiæ diſſentientes, et multum disjunctæ et diſpares, cum tamen omnes ſe philoſophi Socraticos et dici vellent et eſſe arbitrarentur, ſays Cicero. And again, Fuerunt etiam alia genera philoſophorum fere qui ſe omnes Socraticos eſſe dicebant; Eretricorum, Herilliorum, Magaricorum, Pyrrhoneorum †. The ſame thing, I believe, *Apuleius* meant to expreſs, when ſpeaking of *Socrates* he ſays,——*cum nunc etiam egregii Philoſophi ſectam ejus ſanctiſſimam præoptent, et ſummo beatitudinis ſtudio jurent in ipſius nomen* ‡.

On the whole it appears that the Academics, (*middle* and *new*) as diſtinguiſhed from the Platoniſts, were mere Sceptics; and ſo, like the *Pyrrhonians*, to be thrown out of the account.

Thoſe therefore which remain, are the Pythagoric, the Platonic, the Peripatetic, and the Stoic: And if it be found that none of theſe four renowned ſchools (the Philosophic Quaternion of dogmatic Theists) did believe, though all ſedulouſly taught, the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, the reader, perhaps, will no longer diſpute the concluſion, that it was not the real opinion of any Grecian sect of philosophy.

I. Pythagoras comes firſt under our inſpection. He is ſaid to have invented the name long after the exiſtence of his trade;

* Acad. l. ii. c. 5. † De Orat. lib. iii. ‡ Metam. l. x.

and

and was, as we may ſay, the middle link that joined together the *Lawgivers* and *Philoſophers*; being indeed the only Greek, who was properly and truly both: though, from his time, and in conformity to his practice, not only thoſe of his own ſchool, but even thoſe of the *other three*, dealt much in legiſlation; In which, his fortune was like that of Socrates, who was the firſt and laſt of the philoſophers that *confined* himſelf to *morals*; though, in imitation of his conduct, *morals*, from thence, made the chief buſineſs of all the ſubdiviſions of his ſchool.

In the ſcience of legiſlation, ORPHEUS *, for whom he had the higheſt reverence, was his maſter; and in philoſophy, PHERECYDES SYRUS †.

After he had formed his character on two ſo different models, he travelled into EGYPT, the fountain-head of ſcience; where, after a long and painful initiation, he participated of all the Myſteries of the prieſthood.

He had now ſo thoroughly imbibed the ſpirit of legiſlation, that he not only pretended his LAWS were inſpired, which moſt other Law-givers had done; but that his PHILOSOPHY was ſo, likewiſe ‡; which no other Philoſopher had the confidence to do.

This, we may be ſure, would incline him to a more than ordinary cultivation of the DOUBLE DOCTRINE. "He divided his diſ-"ciples (ſays Origen) into two claſſes, the one he called the "ESOTERIC, the other, the EXOTERIC. For to *Thoſe* he intruſted "the more perfect and ſublime doctrines; to *Theſe* he delivered "the more vulgar and popular §." And, indeed, he was ſo eminent in this practice, that the *ſecret* or *eſoteric doctrine* of Pythagoras became proverbial. For what end he did it, Varro informs us, in

* Jamblichus de Vita Pyth. c. 151. † Id. ib. c. 184.

‡ Id. ib. c. i.

§ Οὕτω τὸς μαθητὰς διεῖλε, καὶ τὸς μὲν ΕΣΩΤΕΡΙΚΟΥΣ, τὸς δὲ ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΟΥΣ ἐκάλεσεν. Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ τὰ τελειότερα μαθήματα ἐπίστευε, τοῖς δὲ τὰ μέσα τῶν ἐσχάτων. Fragm. de Philoſ. περὶ Πυθαγ.

St.

St. Auſtin, where he ſays, that "Pythagoras inſtructed his au-"ditors in the ſcience of legiſlation LAST OF ALL, when they "were now become learned, wiſe, and happy." And on what ſubject, appears from a common ſaying of the ſect, that "in "thoſe things which relate to the Gods, ALL was not to be re-"vealed to ALL *."

The Communities he gave laws to, the Cities he ſet free, are known to every one. And that nothing might be wanting to his *legiſlative character*, He, likewiſe, in conformity to general practice, inſtituted MYSTERIES; in which was taught, as uſual, "the "unity of the divine nature." So Jamblichus: "They ſay too "he taught luſtrations and INITIATIONS, in which were delivered "the MOST EXACT KNOWLEDGE of the Gods. They ſay farther "that he made a kind of union between *divine philoſophy* and *re-"ligious worſhip*; having learnt ſome things from the ORPHIC "rites; ſome, from the ÆGYPTIAN PRIESTS; ſome, from the "*Chaldeans* and *Magi*; and ſome from the INITIATIONS cele-"brated in ELEUSIS, *Imbros*, *Samothrace* and *Delos*; or wherever "elſe, as amongſt the CELTS, and *Iberians* †." Nay ſo much did his *legiſlative* Character prevail over his *philoſophic*, that he brought not only the principles ‡ of the *Myſteries* into the *ſchools*, but likewiſe many of the obſervances; as abſtinence from *Beans* and ſeveral kinds of animals; which afterwards contributed not a little to confound the *ſecret doctrines* of the *Schools* and the *Myſteries*. This conformity was, without doubt, the reaſon why the Crotoniates, or the Metapontines (for in this authors

* Μὴ εἶναι πρὸς πάντας πάντα ῥητά.

† —Ἀγγέλλειν δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς καθαρμοὺς, καὶ τὰς λεγομένας ΤΕΛΕΤΑΣ, τὸν ΑΚΡΙΒΕΣΤΑΤΗΝ ΕΙΔΗΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ (τῶν θεῶν) ἔχοντα ἔτι δέ φασι καὶ σύνθετον αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι τὴν θείαν φιλοσοφιαν καὶ θεραπείαν· ἁ μὲν μαθόντα παρὰ τῶν ΟΡΦΙΚΩΝ, ἁ δὲ παρὰ τῶν ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΩΝ ΙΕΡΕΩΝ, ἁ δὲ παρὰ Χαλδαίων καὶ Μάγων, ἁ δὲ παρὰ τῆς ΤΕΛΕΤΗΣ, τῆς ἐν ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙ γινομένης, ἐν Ἴμβρῳ τε, καὶ Σαμοθράκῃ, καὶ Δήλῳ, καὶ εἴ τι παρὰ τοῖς λοιποῖς, καὶ περὶ τοὺς ΚΕΛΤΟΥΣ καὶ τὸν Ἰβηρίαν. Jambl. de Vit. Pyth. § 151.

‡ See Book II. Sect. 4. vol. I. p. 181.

differ

differ*) turned his houſe or *ſchool*, after his death, into a TEMPLE of CERES.

Thus the fame and authority of Pythagoras became unrivalled over all Greece and Italy. Herodotus calls him, *the moſt authoritative of philoſophers* †. Cicero ſays of him: Cum, Superbo regnante, in *Italiam* veniſſet, tenuit Magnam illam Græciam cum HONORE EX DISCIPLINA, *tum etiam* AUCTORITATE ‡.

And this was no tranſient reputation: it deſcended to his followers, through a long ſucceſſion; to whom the cities of Italy frequently committed the adminiſtration of their affairs §; where they ſo well eſtabliſhed their *authority*, that St. Jerom tells us, very laſting marks of it were remaining to his time: Reſpice omnem oram Italiæ, quæ quondam Magna Græcia dicebatur; et *Pythagoreorum dogmatum inciſa publicis literis æra* cognoſces ||.

But there are two circumſtances, which muſt needs give us the higheſt idea of Pythagoras's fame in point of legiſlation.

1. The *one* is, that almoſt every Lawgiver of eminence, for ſome time *before*** and *after*, as well as *during his time*, was numbered amongſt his diſciples: for the general opinion was, that nothing could be done to purpoſe in the legiſlating way, which did not come from Pythagoras.

2. The *other* is, that the doctrine of the diſpenſation of Providence by a METEMPSYCHOSIS, or tranſmigration of the ſoul, though taught in all the Myſteries, and an inſeparable part of a future ſtate

* Diog. Laert. lib. viii. § 17. Porph. de Vit. Pyth. N° 4.

† — Οὐ τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ σοφιστῇ Πυθαγόρῃ.——lib. iv. § 95, literally, *not of the leaſt authority:* a common mode of expreſſion in the ancient languages. So Homer, in the 15th Iliad, calls Achilles, ἐκ ἀφαυροτάτου Ἀχαιῶν, *not the worſt ſoldier of the* Greeks; meaning, we know, the *beſt*.

‡ See note [M], at the end of this Book.

§ Πυθαγόρας δ' ἄχρι πολλοῦ καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔτως ἐθαυμάζετο αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ συνόντες αὐτῷ ἰταῖροι, ὥστε καὶ τὰς πολιτείας τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιτρέπειν τὰς πόλεις. Porph. de Vit. Pyth. N° 54.

|| Cont. Ruf. lib. ii.

** See the diſcourſe on Zaleucus's laws, B. II. Sect. 3.

in all the Religions of paganiſm, became, in common ſpeech, the *peculiar doctrine* of Pythagoras.

And here the reader will pardon a ſhort remark or two, not a little illuſtrating the point we are upon.

There is not a more extraordinary book in all Antiquity, than the Metamorphosis of Ovid; whether we regard the matter or the form. The ſubject appears prodigiouſly extravagant, and the compoſition irregular and abſurd: had it been the product of a dark age, and a barbarous writer, one might have been content to rank it in the claſs of our modern *Oriental Tales*, as a matter of no conſequence. But when we conſider it as written when Rome was in its meridian of ſcience and politeneſs; and by an Author, whoſe acquaintance with the Greek tragic writers, had informed him of what belonged to a work or compoſition, we cannot but be ſhocked at ſo groteſque an aſſemblage of things: Unleſs we would rather diſtruſt our *modern judgment*, and conclude the deformity to be only in appearance. And this, perhaps, we ſhall find to be the caſe: though it muſt be owned, the common opinion ſeems ſupported by Quintilian, the moſt judicious critic of Antiquity, who thus ſpeaks of our Author and his Work: Ut Ovidius lascivire in *Metamorphoſi* ſolet, quem tamen excuſare neceſſitas poteſt, res diversissimas in speciem unius corporis colligentem*.

But to determine on proper grounds, in this matter, we muſt conſider the origin of the ancient fables in general.

There are *two opinions* concerning it.

I. The *firſt* is of ſuch who think the fables contrived, by the ancient Sages, for repoſitories of their myſterious wiſdom; and, conſequently, that they are no leſs than *natural*, *moral*, and *divine* truths, fantaſtically diſguiſed. Greg. Naz. characteriſes theſe *allegories* well, where he calls them *monſtrous explanations*, *without principles*; in which there is nothing ſtable, but a way of interpretation which, if indulged, would enable you to make any thing out

* Inſtit. Orat. lib. iv. c. 1. ſub fin.

of

of any thing *. But what muſt eternally diſcredit the fancy, that the firſt Mythologiſts were Allegoriſts, is, that if they indeed invented theſe fables to convey under them *natural*, *moral*, and *divine* truths, they muſt have been wiſe and virtuous men, lovers of Mankind, and the friends of Society. But how will this character agree to the abominable lewdneſs, injuſtice, and impiety, with which moſt of theſe popular fables abound; and which they could not but foreſee would (as in fact they did) corrupt all the principles of moral practice. For both theſe reaſons, therefore, we muſt conclude that a ſyſtem which gives us nothing for the *moral*, but what, as Greg. Naz. obſerves, is uncertain, groundleſs and capricious; while the *Fable* preſents nothing but what is abſurd and obſcene †, muſt be an after-thought employed to ſerve a purpoſe. However, it was well for truth, that none of theſe ancient Allegoriſts were able to do better; that none of them entered upon their taſk with any thing like the force of our BACON ‡; the creative power of whoſe genius ſo nearly realized theſe inventions, as ſometimes to put us to a ſtand, whether we ſhould not prefer the riches and beauty of his imagination, to the poor and meagre Truth that lies at bottom.

II. The *other opinion* of the origin of the fables, is that which ſuppoſes them to be the corruptions of civil hiſtory; and conſequently, as having their foundation in real facts: And this is unqueſtionably the truth. But this ſyſtem did not find ſo able an expoſitor formerly in *Palæphatus*, as the other more groundleſs conceit did of late in *Bacon*. It would lead me too far from my ſubject, to ſhew, in this place, which of the fables aroſe from the *ambiguity of words*, ill tranſlated from ſome eaſtern languages; which, from proper names ill underſtood; which, from the *high figures of poetry*, well invented to affect barbarous minds; and

* Εἶτ' ἐπινοείσθω τέτοις ἀλληγορήματα καὶ τεραλεύματα, καὶ τῶν προκειμένων ἐκπίπτων ὁ λόγος εἰς βάραθρα χωρείτω καὶ κρημνὸς θεωρίας ἐκ ἐχέσης τὸ σάσιμον. Orat. iii.

† —ὑμῖν δὲ ἔστε τὸ νοέμενον ἀξιόπιστον καὶ τὸ προβεβλημένον ὀλέθριον. ib.

‡ In his Book, De ſapientia veterum.

which, from the *politic contrivances of ſtateſmen*, to tame and ſoften ſavage Manners: and how the *univerſal paſſion* of ADMIRATION procured an eaſy admittance into the mind, for all theſe various deluſions.

But we muſt not omit, that the followers of this better opinion are divided into two factions; *One* of which would have the ancient fables the corruption of PROFANE hiſtory only; the *Other*, only of SACRED.

This *Laſt* ſeems unſupported by every thing but an ill-directed zeal of doing honour to *the Bible:* For by what we can collect from Pagan, or even Jewiſh writers, the hiſtory of the Hebrews was leſs celebrated, even leſs known, than that of *any* other people whoſe memory Antiquity hath brought down to us. But, known or unknown, it is ſomewhat hard, methinks, that GREECE muſt not be allowed the honour of producing one ſingle Hero; but all muſt be fetched from PALESTINE. One would have thought the very number of the Gentile worthies, and the ſcarcity of the Jewiſh, might have induced our critics, in mere charity, to employ ſome home-ſpun Pagans, for Heroes of a ſecond rate, at leaſt. But this, it ſeems, would look too like a ſacrilegious compromiſe. So, an expedient is contrived to leſſen that diſparity in their number: and Moſes alone is diſcovered to be Apollo, Pan, Priapus, Cecrops, Minos, Orpheus, Amphion, Tireſias, Janus, Evander, Romulus, and about ſome twenty more of the Pagan Gods and Heroes. So ſays the learned and *judicious* Mr. Huet*: who, not content to ſeize, as lawful prize, all he meets within the waſte of fabulous times, makes cruel inroads into the cultivated ages of hiſtory, and will ſcarce allow Rome its own Founder †.

Nay, ſo jealous are they of this fairy honour paid to Scripture, that I have met with thoſe who thought the BIBLE much diſparaged, to ſuppoſe any other origin of *human ſacrifices* than the com-

* See note [P], at the end of this Book.

† Si fidem ſequimur hiſtoriæ, fabuloſa pleraque de eo [Romulo] narrari. Prop. iv. c. 9. § 8.

mand

mand to Abraham, to offer up his ſon. The contending for ſo extraordinary an honour being not unlike that of certain Grammarians, who, out of due regard to the glory of former times, will not allow either the *great* or *ſmall-pox* to be of modern growth, but vindicate thoſe ſpecial bleſſings to this highly favoured Antiquity.

The *other party* then, who eſteem *the fables* a corruption of Pagan hiſtory, appear in general to be right. But the misfortune is, the ſpirit of ſyſtem ſeems to poſſeſs theſe likewiſe, while they allow nothing to Jewiſh hiſtory: For, that reaſoning, which makes them give the Egyptian and Phenician a ſhare with the Grecian, ſhould conſequentially have diſpoſed them to admit the Jewiſh into partnerſhip; though it might perhaps contribute leaſt to the common ſtock. And he who does not ſee * that Philemon and Baucis is taken from the ſtory of Lot, muſt be, very near, blind: Though he † who can diſcover the expedition of the Iſraelites from Egypt to Paleſtine, in the fable of the Argonauts, muſt certainly be gifted with the *ſecond-ſight*.

Laſtly, as it is the fault of theſe to allow nothing to Jewiſh hiſtory, ſo it is the fault of both to allow nothing to the ſyſtem of the *Allegoriſts*: for though without all queſtion the main body of the ancient fables is the corruption of civil Hiſtory, yet it is as certain, that ſome few, eſpecially of the late ones, were invented to convey *phyſical* and *moral* TRUTHS.

* La fable de Philemon et de Baucis—les perſonages ſont inconnus, et j'en ai rien d'intereſſant à en dire: car de penſer avec Mr. Huet, qu'elle nous cache l'hiſtoire des Anges qui allerent viſiter Abraham, c'eſt une de ces imaginations hazardées dans leſquelles ce ſavant prelat, &c. Banier, les Metam. d'Ovid. explic. des fables 7, 8, 9, & 10. lib. viii.

† See Lavaur, one of the beſt and lateſt ſupporters of this ſyſtem, in his Hiſtoire de la Fable conferée avec l'Hiſtoire Sainte.——Ainſi cette fable eſt toute compoſée des traditions que les Chananéens ou Pheniciens avoint repanduës dans leurs voyages. On y voit des traits defigurez par ces traditions, mais CERTAINEMENT pres de l'hiſtoire des Iſraëlites ſous Moyſe et ſous Joſué. Cap. Jaſon & les Argonautes, à la fin.

Such

Such was the original of the *fables* in general: But we muſt be a little more explicite concerning that ſpecies of them called the Metamorphosis.

The *metempſychoſis* was the method, the religious ancients * employed to explain the ways of Providence; which, as they were ſeen to be unequal *here*, were ſuppoſed to be ſet right *hereafter*. But this inequality was never thought ſo great, as to leave no footſteps of a ſuperintendency: For the people of old argued thus: If there were *no* inequality, *nothing would want to be ſet right*; and if there were nothing *but* inequality, there would be *no one to ſet it right*. So that a *regular* Providence, and *none at all*, equally deſtroyed their foundation of *a future ſtate*.

It being then believed, that a Providence was adminiſtered here as well as hereafter, though not with equal vigour in both ſtates; it was natural for them to ſuppoſe that the mode of it might be much the ſame, throughout. And as the way of puniſhing, in a different ſtate, was by a *tranſmigration of the ſoul*; ſo in *this*, it was by a *transformation of the body:* The thing being the ſame, with only a little difference in the ceremonial of the tranſaction: the ſoul in the firſt caſe going to the body; and, in the latter, the body coming to the ſoul: *This* being called the *metamorphoſis*; and *That*, the *metempſychoſis*. Thus, each made a part of the popular doctrine of Providence. And it is remarkable, that wherever the doctrine of *tranſmigration* was received, either in ancient or modern times, there the belief of *transformation* hath prevailed likewiſe †. It is true, that in ſupport of the firſt part of this ſuperſtition, *Reaſon* only ſuffered; in ſupport of the latter, the *Senſes* too were violated. But minds groſsly paſſioned never want atteſted facts to

* But this being the voice of our common nature, it is no wonder we ſhould find the doctrine of the *metempſychoſis* operating, as an old Opinion, amongſt the uninſtructed natives of South America. See Charlevoix's Hiſt. of Paraguay, vol. II. p. 151.

† The modern Eaſtern tales are full of *metamorphoſes*; and it is to be noted that thoſe people, before they embraced mahometaniſm, were pagans and believers of the *metempſychoſis*.

ſupport

ſupport their extravagancies. What principally contributed to fix their belief of the *metamorphoſis* was, in my opinion, the ſtrong and diſordered imagination of a *melancholy habit*; a habit, more than any other, producing religious fear, and moſt affected by what it produces. There was a common diſtemper, ariſing from this *habit*, well known to the Greek phyſicians by the name of the LYCANTHROPY; where the patient fancied himſelf turned into a wolf, or other ſavage animal. Why the diſordered imagination ſhould take this ply, is not hard to conceive, if we reflect that the *metempſychoſis* made part of the popular doctrine of Providence; and that a *metamorphoſis* was, as we have ſaid, the ſame mode of puniſhment, differing only in time and place. For the *religious belief*, we may be aſſured, would work ſtrongly on a diſeaſed fancy, racked by a conſciouſneſs of crimes, to which that *habit* is naturally obnoxious; and, as it did in the caſe of Nebuchadnezzar, make the patient conclude himſelf the object of divine juſtice. Indeed, Daniel's *prediction* of that monarch's diſgrace, evidently ſhews it to have been the effect of divine vengeance; yet the circumſtances of his puniſhment, as recorded in holy Writ, ſeem to ſhew, that it was inflicted by common and natural means. And that the vulgar ſuperſtition generally gives the bias to the career of a diſtempered mind, we have a familiar inſtance. No people upon earth are more ſubject to *atrabilaire* diſorders than the Engliſh: Now while the tales of magicians, and their transformations were believed, nothing was more ſymptomatic in this diſtemper, than ſuch fancied changes by the power of witchcraft. But ſince theſe fables loſt their terror, very different whimſies, we find, poſſeſs our melancholic people.

Theſe ſickly imaginations therefore, proceeding from the impreſſions of the religious notion of the *metamorphoſis*, would in their turn add great credit to it; and then any trifle would keep it up; even an equivocal appellation; which, I do not doubt, hath given birth to many a fable; though to many more, it hath ſerved only

only for an after-embelliſhment. But it is remarkable, that fabulous Antiquity itſelf aſſiſts us to detect its own impoſtures. For, although it generally repreſents the puniſhments for impiety, *as actual transformations*; yet, in the famous ſtory of the daughters of Prœtus, it has honeſtly told us the caſe; that it was no more than a *deep melancholy*, inflicted by Juno, which made them *fancy* themſelves turned into heifers; ſo the poet,

"Prœtides implerunt FALSIS mugitibus agros.

and of this, Melampus cured them by a courſe of phyſic *.

Thus the METAMORPHOSIS aroſe from the doctrine of the *metempſychoſis*; and was, indeed, a mode of it; and, of courſe, a very conſiderable part of the Pagan theology †: So that we are not to wonder if ſeveral grave Writers made collections of them; ſuch as Nicander, Bœus, Calliſthenes, Dorotheus, Theodorus, Parthenius, and Adrian the ſophiſt. Of what kind theſe collections were, we may ſee by that of Antonius Liberalis, who tranſcribed from them: Thence, too, Ovid gathered his materials; and formed them into a poem on the moſt ſublime and regular plan, A POPULAR HISTORY OF PROVIDENCE; carried down in as methodical a manner as the graces of poetry would allow, from the creation to his own times, through the EGYPTIAN, PHENICIAN, GREEK, and ROMAN hiſtories: And this the elegant Paterculus ſeems to intimate, in the character he gives of the poet and his work ‡.

* Prœtides, Prœti, & Stenobœæ, ſive Antiopæ ſecundum Homerum, filiæ fuerunt, Lyſippe, Ipponoe, Cyrianaſſa. Hæ ſe cum prætuliſſent Junoni in pulchritudine; vel, ut quidam volunt, cum eſſent antiſtites, auſæ ſunt veſti ejus aurum detractum in uſum ſuum convertere: illa irata hunc furorem earum immiſit mentibus; ut putantes ſe vaccas in ſaltus abirent, et plerumque mugirent, et timerent aratra; quas Melampus, Amythaonis filius, pactâ mercede ut Cyrianaſſam uxorem cum parte regni acciperet, placatâ Junone, infecto fonte, ubi ſolitæ erant bibere, purgavit et in priſtinum ſenſum reduxit. Servius in Bucol. Virgilii vi. 48.

† It plainly appears to have been in general credit by its making the foundation of the following epigram, one of the fineſt in antiquity:

Ἐκ ζωῆς με θεοὶ τεῦξαν λίθον· ἐκ δὲ λίθοις
Ζωὴν Πραξιδίκης ἔμπαλιν εἰργάσαλο.

‡ Naſo perfectiſſimi in forma operis ſui. Hiſt. Rom. l. ii. c. 36.

Now

NOW the proper introduction, as well as foundation and support, of this kind of hiſtory is a THEISTICAL COSMOGENY. Accordingly, we find our Poet introduceth it with ſuch a one. And this likewiſe in imitation of his Grecian Originals. Theopompus, by the account Servius gives of him, ſeems to have compoſed ſuch a Hiſtory, and ſo prefaced; but on a more ingenious plan. He feigns that ſome of Midas's ſhepherds took the God, Silenus, aſleep, after a debauch; and brought him bound to their maſter. When he came into the Preſence, his chains fell from him of their own accord; and he anſwered to what was required of him, concerning NATURE and ANTIQUITY *. From hence (as Servius remarks) Virgil took the hint of his SILENUS: the ſubject of whoſe ſong is ſo exact an epitome of the contents of the METAMORPHOSIS of Ovid, that amongſt the ancient titles of that Eclogue, the name of *Metamorphoſis* was one; which therefore makes it worth conſidering;

" Namque canebat uti magnum per inane coacta
" Semina, &c.
" —— et ipſe tener mundi concreverit orbis.——
" Hinc lapides Pyrrhæ jactos, Saturnia regna,
" Caucaſiaſque refert volucres, furtumque Promethei——
" Tum Phaëtontiadas muſco circumdat amaræ
" Corticis——
" Quid loquar aut Scyllam Niſi, quam fama ſecuta eſt,
" Candida ſuccinctam latrantibus inguina monſtris,
" Dulichias vexaſſe rates——
" Aut ut mutatos Terei narraverit artus:" *&c.*

Here we have the *formation of the world*, the *golden age*, and the *original and renovation of man*; together with thoſe *ancient fables*

* Sane hoc de Sileno non dicitur fictum a Virgilio, ſed a Theopompo tranſlatum. Is enim apprehenſum Silenum a Midæ regis paſtoribus, dicit crapula madentem, et ex ea ſoporatum; illos dolo adgreſſos dormientem vinxiſſe; poſtea vinculis ſponte labentibus liberatum et rebus NATURALIBUS et ANTIQUIS Midæ interroganti reſpondiſſe. Serv. ad. Eclog. vi. 13.

which taught the government of the Gods, and their puniſhment of impiety, by the *change* of human, into brutal and vegetable forms. It is evident from hence, that both the Latin poets drew from one ſource; and particularly from Theopompus: whom Virgil hath epitomiſed; and Ovid paraphraſed. And if Ovid neglected to borrow a great beauty from his original, to adorn his own poem; Virgil (which is much more ſurpriſing) by deviating, in one material circumſtance, from their common ſource, hath committed a very groſs blunder. Ovid, in neglecting to lay the ſcene of his Hiſtory in the adventure of Midas's ſhepherds; and ſo diſabling himſelf from making Silenus the Narrator throughout, hath let ſlip the advantage of giving his ſacred Hiſtory the ſanction of a divine Speaker, and, by that means, of tying the whole compoſition together in the moſt natural and artful manner. But then Virgil, either in fondneſs to the philoſophy of Epicurus, or in compliment to Varus, who was of that School, inſtead of making his Coſmogeny *theiſtical* (as without doubt Theopompus did, and we ſee, Ovid hath done) from whence the popular hiſtory of Providence naturally followed, hath made it the product of blind Atoms;

—— "per inane coacta
"Semina,"

from whence, nothing naturally follows, but *Fate* or *Chance*. And yet Virgil talks *like a Theiſt* (indeed, becauſe he talks *after Theiſts*) of the renovation of Man, the golden Age, and the puniſhment of Prometheus. Servius ſeems to have had ſome obſcure glimpſe of this abſurdity, as appears from his embarras to account for the connection between the *Epicurean origin* of the world, and the *religious fables* which follow. In his note on the words *hinc lapides Pyrrhæ jactos*, he ſays,—quæſtio eſt hoc loco: nam, relictis pru-
"dentibus rebus de mundi origine, ſubito ad fabulas tranſitum fe-
"cit. Sed dicimus, aut exprimere eum voluiſſe ſectam Epicuream,
"quæ *rebus ſeriis* ſemper inſerit *voluptates*: aut fabulis plenis admi-
"rationis puerorum corda mulceri."

The

The old Scholiaſt, we ſee, was much a ſtranger to that conceit of *Catrou's*, that as Epicurus's *Phyſics* are followed in the origin of the World, ſo his *Morals* are explained in the Fables. Without doubt Servius thought it abſurd to ſuppoſe, that the Poet would explain the moſt obnoxious part of Epicurus's Philoſophy (his Phyſics) ſo *clearly*, and the uſeful part (his Morals) ſo *obſcurely*.—However, in other reſpects, the Eclogue is full of beauties.

On the other hand, Ovid not only found advantages in making his Coſmogeny *theiſtical*, but improved what he found with wonderful art. Deſcribing the formation of man to be from *earth*, he ſhuts up his account in theſe beautiful lines,

> "Sic modo quæ fuerat rudis, et ſine imagine *Tellus*
> "Induit ignotas hominum, *converſa figuras*;"

Inſinuating that this was the firſt of thoſe CHANGES which he had promiſed to ſpeak of; and thereby finely preparing his Reader for the following *converſions* of Men into brutes, ſtocks, ſtones, and the ſeveral elements, by ſhewing that they were only returned into that, out of which they had been taken, by a no leſs ſurpriſing *Metamorphoſis*.

But to go back to his Poem. Now although, to adorn and enliven his Subject, he hath followed the bent of his diſpoſition, in filling it with the love-ſtories of the Gods; which, too, their Traditions had made ſacred; yet he always keeps his end in view, by taking frequent occaſion to remind his reader, that thoſe puniſhments were inflicted by the Gods, for impiety. This appears to have been the uſual ſtrain of the writers of METAMORPHOSES.—*As long as they preſerved their piety to the Gods, they were happy* *, being the conſtant prologue to a tragic ſtory. So that, what Palæphatus ſays of the mythologic poets in general may with a peculiar juſtneſs be applied to Ovid: *The poets* (ſays he) *contrived fables of this kind to impreſs on their hearers a reverence for the Gods* †.

* Ἄχρι μὲν ἂν θεὸς ἐτίμων, εὐδαίμονες ἦσαν. Ant. Liberalis Met. c. xi.

† Τοὺς δὲ μύθους τέτες συνέθεσαν οἱ ποιηταὶ, ἵνα οἱ ἀκροώμενοι μὴ ὑβρίζωσιν εἰς τὸ θεῖον. De incred. Hiſt. c. 3.

But this was not all. Ovid, jealous, as it were, of the ſecret dignity of his Work, hath taken care, towards the concluſion, to give the intelligent reader the maſter-key to his meaning. We have obſerved, that though the *metempſychoſis* was univerſally taught and believed long before the time of PYTHAGORAS; yet the greatneſs of his reputation, and another cauſe, we ſhall come to preſently, made it afterwards to be reckoned amongſt his peculiar doctrines. Now Ovid, by a contrivance, which for its juſtneſs and beauty may be compared with any thing in Antiquity, ſeizes this circumſtance, to inſtruct his reader in theſe two important points: 1. *That his poem is a popular hiſtory of Providence:* And 2. *That the Metempſychoſis was the original of the Metamorphoſis.* For in the concluſion of his book, he introduceth Pythagoras, teaching and explaining the TRANSMIGRATION of things to the people of Crotona. This was ending his Work in that juſt philoſophic manner, which the elegance of pure and ancient wit required.

The Abbé Banier, not entering into this beautiful contrivance, is at a loſs * to account for Ovid's bringing in Pythagoras ſo much out of courſe. The beſt reaſon he can aſſign, is that the poet having finiſhed the *hiſtorical* metamorphoſis, goes on to the *natural*; which Pythagoras is made to deliver to the Crotoniates. But this is not fact, but hypotheſis: The poet had not finiſhed the *hiſtorical* metamorphoſis: for having gone through the epiſode of the *natural change of things*, he re-aſſumes the proper ſubject of his work, the *hiſtorical*, or *moral*, *metamorpoſis*, through the remaining part of the laſt book; which ends with the change of Cæſar into a comet. Had not Ovid, therefore, introduced Pythagoras for the purpoſe here aſſigned, we ſhould hardly have found him in this place; but in the Greek *diviſion*, to which he properly belonged. Where the famous circumſtance of his GOLDEN THIGH, and the exhibition of it at the Olympic Games, would have afforded a very artful and entertaining Epiſode, in a narrative of a CHANGE begun and left

* Met. de Ovid. et des Expl. Hiſt. tom. iii.

unfiniſhed;

unfiniſhed; a proof of the truth of the doctrine of the *Metamorphoſis*, at leaſt as ſtrong as that which the Alchymiſts bring for the reality of the *tranſmutation* of Metals, from the Nails, half gold and half iron, now to be ſeen in the Cabinets of the German Virtuoſi.

What hath been ſaid, I ſuppoſe, will tend to give us a different and higher notion of this extraordinary WORK: and leſſen our ſurprize at the Author's preſumption, in ſo confidently predicting immortality to his performance:

"Jamque OPUS exegi, quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignis,
"Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetuſtas."

To proceed with our ſubject. From what hath been ſaid of Pythagoras's character, it appears, that he taught ſeveral doctrines which he did not believe; and cultivated opinions merely on account of their utility. And we have the expreſs teſtimony of Timæus Locrus, that, in the number of *theſe latter*, was the popular doctrine of the *metempſychoſis*. This very ancient Pythagorean, after having ſaid*, that the propagating the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, was neceſſary to ſociety, goes on in this manner: "For as we ſometimes cure the body with un-
"wholeſome remedies, when ſuch as are moſt wholeſome have no
"effect; ſo we reſtrain thoſe minds by *falſe* relations, which will
"not be perſuaded by the *truth*: There is a neceſſity therefore of
"inſtilling the dread of thoſe FOREIGN TORMENTS. As that the
"ſoul ſhifts and changes its habitation; that the coward is igno-
"miniouſly thruſt into the body of a woman; the murderer im-
"priſoned within the furr of a *ſavage*; the laſcivious condemned
"to invigorate a boar or ſow; the vain and inconſtant changed into
"birds; and the ſlothful and ignorant into fiſhes. The diſpenſa-
"tion of all theſe things is committed in the ſecond period, to
"Nemeſis the Avenger; together with the infernal Furies, her
"Aſſeſſors, the Inſpectors of human actions; to whom God, the

* See the Firſt Section of this Book.

"ſovereign

" ſovereign Lord of all things, hath committed the government of " the world, repleniſhed with Gods and Men, and other animals; " all which were formed after the perfect model of the eternal and " intellectual ideas *."

Timæus's teſtimony is preciſe; and, as this notion of the *metempſychoſis* was an inſeparable part of the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, if the Pythagoreans diſbelieved the *one*, they muſt neceſſarily reject the *other*.

But, here it may be proper to explain, and inforce a *diſtinction*, which, by being totally overlooked, hath much embarraſſed the whole matter.

The doctrine of the *metempſychoſis*, as it ſignified a *moral deſignation of providence*, came originally from *Egypt*, and was, as we have ſaid, believed by all mankind. But Pythagoras, who had it, with the reſt of the world, from thence, gave it a new modification, and taught, " that the ſucceſſive tranſition of the ſoul into other bodies, was phyſical, neceſſary, and excluſive of all moral conſiderations whatever." This is what *Diogenes Laertius* means, when he tells us, " That Pythagoras was reported to be the FIRST " who taught the migration of the ſoul, from one body to another, " by a PHYSICAL NECESSITY †." This doctrine was, indeed, *peculiarly his*, and in the number of the *eſoterics*, delivered in his School, to be believed.

* Ὡς γὰρ τὰ σώματα νοσώδεσι ποτὲ ὑγιάζομεν, εἶτα μὴ εἰκῇ τοῖς ὑγιεινοτάτοις· ὅτω τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπείργομες ψευδέσι λόγοις, εἶτα μὴ ἄγηται ἀληθέσι· λέγοιτο δ' ἀναγκαίως καὶ ΤΙΜΩΡΙΑΙ ΞΕΝΑΙ, ὡς μελλουσομέναν τὰν ψυχὰν, τῶν μὲν θειῶν, ἐς γυναικέα σκάνεα, ποθ' ὕβριν ἐκδιδόμεναν· τῶν δὲ μιαιφόνων, ἐς θηρίων σώματα, ποτὶ κόλασιν· λαγνῶν δ' ἐς συῶν ἢ κάπρων μορφάς· κόφων δὲ καὶ μελέων, ἐς πτηνῶν ἀεροπόρων· ἀργῶν δὲ καὶ ἀπράκτων, ἀμαθῶν τε καὶ ἀνοήτων, ἐς τὰν τῶν ἐνύδρων ἰδέαν· ἄπαυλα δὲ ταῦτα ἐν δευτέρῳ περιόδῳ ἁ Νέμεσις συνδιέκρινε, σὺν δαίμοσι παλαμναίοις χθονίοις τε, τοῖς ἐπόπταις τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων· οἷς ὁ πάντων ἀγεμὼν θεὸς ἐπέτρεψε διοίκησιν κόσμου· συμπεπληρωμένω ἐκ θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων, τῶν τε ἄλλων ζώων· ὅσα δεδαμισάρθαι ποτ' εἰκόνα τὰν ἄριστον εἴδεϊ αἰωνίῳ καὶ νοητῷ. De Anima Mundi, ſub fin.

† Πρῶτον δὲ φασὶ τοῦτον ἀποφῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν ΚΥΚΛΟΝ ΑΝΑΓΚΗΣ ΑΜΕΙΒΟΥΣΑΝ, ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις ἐνδιδῦσθαι ζώοις. L. viii. § 14.

How

How deſtructive this *proper pythagoric* notion of the *metempſychoſis* was to the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, Ovid, who well underſtood the ſecret of the *diſtinction*, evidently perceived, where he makes Pythagoras, in delivering the *eſoteric* doctrine of his ſchool to the Crotoniates, reject a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, on the very principle of *his own metempſychoſis*, though the *general metempſychoſis* was an inſeparable and eſſential part of that ſtate :

> O genus attonitum gelidæ formidine mortis,
> Quid Styga, quid tenebras, et nomina vana timetis,
> Materiem vatum, falſique piacula mundi ?
> Corpora, ſive rogus flammâ, ſeu tabe vetuſtas
> Abſtulerit, mala poſſe pati non ulla putetis.
> Morte carent animæ : SEMPERque priore relictâ
> Sede, novis domibus * habitant vivuntque receptæ.

The not attending to this *diſtinction* hath much perplexed even the beſt modern writers on the ſubject of Pythagoras. Mr. Dacier, in his life of that philoſopher, when he comes to ſpeak of the doctrine of the *metempſychoſis*, advances crudely, that all Antiquity have been deceived in thinking Pythagoras really believed it. And, for his warrant, quotes the paſſage from *Timæus*, given above. Mr. *Le Clerc* †, ſcandalized at this aſſertion, affirms as crudely, that he did believe it; and endeavours to prove his point by divers arguments, and paſſages of ancient writers. In which diſpute, neither of them being aware of the two different kinds of *Metempſychoſis*, each of them have with much confuſion, taken of the true and falſe in this queſtion, and divided it between them. *Dacier* was ſurely in the right, in ſuppoſing *Pythagoras* did not believe the *Metempſychoſis*, as delivered by his diſciple *Timæus*; but as certainly in the wrong to conclude from thence, that he believed none at all. And *Le Clerc* was not miſtaken in thinking the philoſo-

* L. xv. † Bibl. Choiſie, tom. x. art. ii. ſect. 5.

pher

pher did believe ſome ſort of *Metempſychoſis*; but apparently in an error in ſuppoſing that it was the *popular* and *moral* notion of it. In a word, the proofs which Dacier brings, conclude only againſt Pythagoras's believing a *moral* tranſmigration; and thoſe Le Clerc oppoſes, conclude only for his believing a *natural* one. While neither, as we ſay, apprehending there were two kinds, the one common to all, the other peculiar to that Philoſopher, they have both fallen into great miſtakes.

Let me give an inſtance from Le Clerc; as it will contribute in general to illuſtrate the ſubject, and, at the ſame time, throw light on the latter part of the paſſage, we have but now quoted from Timæus. Dacier had urged that paſſage to prove Pythagoras did not believe the *Metempſychoſis*; and Le Clerc had urged it, to prove he did; becauſe the author in concluſion expreſsly affirms, *that the diſpenſation of the Metempſychoſis is committed in the ſecond period to Nemeſis the avenger.* Ἀπαύλα δὲ ταῦτα ἐν δευτέρᾳ περιόδῳ ἃ Νέμεσις ΣΥΝΔΙΕΚΡΙΝΕ. Le Clerc ſays, *I have tranſlated theſe words verbatim, that the reader may ſee he talks ſeriouſly* *. But whoever reads the whole paſſage, which expreſsly ſpeaks of the doctrine as *uſeful* and not as *true*, will be forced to own, that by the phraſe, Nemeſis *decrees*, is meant, *it muſt be taught that* Nemeſis *decrees*. But this circumſtance of Nemeſis is remarkable; and enough to put the matter out of queſtion. There were two kinds, as we have ſaid, of the *Metempſychoſis*, which the Pythagoreans taught; the *moral* and the *natural*. The latter they believed, the firſt they only preached. So that Timæus ſpeaking here of the *Metempſychoſis* as a fable, uſeful for the people to credit; leſt the reader ſhould miſtake him as meaning the *natural*, he adds the circumſtance of Nemeſis, the poetical Avenger of the crimes of men, to confine all he had ſaid, to the *moral Metempſychoſis*.

* J'ai traduit ces dernieres paroles de Timée mot pour mot, àfin que l'on pût voir, qu'il parle ſerieuſement. Bibl. Choiſie, tom. x. p. 193.

To

To ſupport what is here obſerved, it may not be improper to inſert the ſentiments of ſome of the moſt conſiderable of Pythagoras's DISCIPLES on this point: which I ſhall tranſcribe from my very learned Friend, the author of the *critical inquiry into the opinions and practices of the ancient philoſophers:* where the reader may ſee them admirably well explained and defended from a deal of idle chicane. 'Plutarch tells us "that EMPEDOCLES held death to be "a ſeparation of the fiery ſubſtance from the other parts, and there-"fore ſuppoſed that death was common to the ſoul and body *."

Sextus Empiricus ſays, "it is evident that Epicurus ſtole his "principles from the poets. As to that famous tenet of his, that "*death is nothing to us*, he borrowed it from EPICHARMUS, who "ſays, I neither look upon the act of dying, *or the ſtate that ſuc-"ceeds it, as of any conſequence and importance to me* †."

Plutarch likewiſe, in his *conſolation to Apollonius*, cites the following words of EPICHARMUS: "The parts of which you are "compoſed will be ſeparated at death; and each will return to the "place from which it originally came. The earth will be reſtored "to earth, and the ſpirit will aſcend upwards; what is there terrible "or grievous in this ‡?"

As for this aſcent of the ſpirit upwards, Lucretius will explain it:

Cedit enim retro, de terra quod fuit ante,
In terras: et quod miſſum eſt *ex ætheris oris*,
Id rurſum *coeli* rellatum *templa receptant*. Lib. ii.

* Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὸν Θάναλον γεγενῆσθαι διαχωρισμὸν τῆ πυρώδους, ἐξ ὧν ἡ σύγκρισις τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ συνεστάθη· ὥστε καὶὰ τοῦτο κοινὸν εἶναι τὸν Θάναλον σώμαλος καὶ ψυχῆς. De Plac. c. 25. Cicero ſays, Empedocles animum eſſe cenſet cordi ſuffuſum ſanguinem. 1 Tuſc. 9. alluding to Empedocles's own words in that famous verſe:

Αἷμα γὰρ ἀνθρώποις περικάρδιόν ἐστι νόημα.

† ὁ δὲ Ἐπίκουρος φωρᾶται τὰ κράτιστα τῶν δογμάτων παρὰ ποιηλῶν ἀκριβακῶς——τὸν δὲ Θάναλον ὅτι ἀθάν ἐστι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, Ἐπίχαρμος αὐλῷ προσμεμήνυκεν, εἰπὼν ἀποθανεῖν ἢ τεθνάναι οὐ μοὶ διαφέρει. ad Gram. § 273.

‡ Καλῶς ἓν ὁ Ἐπίχαρμος συνεκρίθη, φησὶ, διεκρίθη καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ὅθεν ἦλθε πάλιν, γᾶ μὲν εἰς γᾶν, πνεῦμα δ' ἄνω. τί τῶνδε χαλεπόν; ἐδὲ ἕν.

Teles, another follower of Pythagoras, thus addreſſes himſelf to one grieved and afflicted for the loſs of a deceaſed friend; "You "complain (ſays he) that your friend will never exiſt more. But "remember, that he had no exiſtence ten thouſand years ago, "that he did not live in the time of the Trojan war, nor even in "much later periods. This, it ſeems, does not move you: all "your concern is, becauſe he will not exiſt for the future*." Epicurus uſes the very ſame language on the ſame occaſion:

Reſpice item quam nil ad nos ante acta vetuſtas
Temporis æterni fuerit, quam naſcimur ante.
Hoc igitur nobis ſpeculum natura futuri
Temporis exponit, poſt mortem denique noſtram.

Lucr. l. iii.

So far, my learned friend.

II. Plato is next in order: He likewiſe greatly affected the character of *Lawgiver*; and actually compoſed laws for ſeveral people, as the Syracuſians and Cretans; but with what kind of ſpirit we may judge, by his refuſing that employment for the Thebans and Arcadians, as ſoon as he underſtood they were averſe to equality of poſſeſſions†. The truth is, his *philoſophic* character, which was always predominant (as in Pythagoras the *legiſlative*) gave his politics a caſt of refinement which made his ſchemes of Government very impracticable, and even unnatural. So that, though his knowledge of mankind was indeed great and profound, and therefore highly commended by Cicero‡, yet his fine-drawn ſpeculations brought him at length into ſuch contempt as a writer of politics, that Joſephus tells us, notwithſtanding *he was ſo high in glory and admiration amongſt the Greeks, above the reſt of the Philoſophers, for his ſuperior virtue, and power of eloquence*, yet *he was*

* Ἀλλ' ἐκέτι ἔσαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν μυρίοσὸν ἔτος, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῷ Τρωικῷ, οὐδὲ καλὰ τὰς ὡροπάπτες σε. οὐ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τέτων ἐκ ἄχθη. ὅτι δὲ εἰς ὕστερον ἐκ ἔσαι, δυσχεραίνεις. Stobæus Mor. Ec. c. 106.

† See Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. ii. c. 42.

‡ Deus ille noſter Plato in πολιτικῷ. See B. ii. § 3.

openly

openly laughed at, and bitterly ridiculed by thoſe who pretended to any profound or high knowledge of politics *.

The only Greek maſters he followed, were Pythagoras and Socrates: Theſe he much admired, From the firſt, he took his fondneſs for geometry, his fanaticiſm of numbers, his ambition for lawgiving, and the doctrine of the *Metempſychoſis*: From the latter, the ſtudy of morals, and the *mode* of diſputing.

This was a monſtrous miſ-alliance †: I mean, the incorporating into one Philoſophy, the doctrines of two ſuch diſcordant Schools: the firſt of which dogmatized in the moſt ſublime queſtions of nature; the other gave up the moſt vulgar, as inſcrutable. The Philoſopher of Samos aimed at glory; the Legiſlator of Samos followed utility; but the ſimple Moraliſt of Athens laboured after truth.

We need not therefore any longer wonder at the obſcurity which Plato's frequent contradictions throw over his writings. It was cauſed not only by the *double doctrine*, a practice common to all the Philoſophers; but likewiſe by the joint profeſſion of two ſuch contrary Philoſophies. This effect could not eſcape the obſervation of Euſebius: *Hear then* (ſays he) *the Greeks themſelves, by their beſt and moſt powerful ſpeaker, now rejecting, and now again adopting the* FABLES ‡.

However it was the abſtruſe philoſophy of Pythagoras with which he was moſt taken. For the ſake of this, he aſſumed alſo the legiſlative part; and in imitation of his maſter, travelled into Egypt; where he was initiated into the Myſteries of the prieſthood. It was this which made Xenophon, the faithful follower of

* Πλάτων δὲ θαυμαζόμενος παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὡς καὶ σεμνότητι βίου διενεγκὼν καὶ δυνάμει λόγων, καὶ πειθοῖ πάλαι ὑπεράρας τοὺς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ γεγονότας, ὑπὸ τῶν φασκόντων δεινῶν εἶναι τὰ πολιτικὰ, μικρῷ δεῖν χλευαζόμενος, καὶ κωμῳδούμενος διαλελεῖ. Cont. Ap. l. ii. § 31,

† See note [P], at the end of this Book.

‡ Ἄκουε δ' ἐν αὐτῶν Ἑλλήνων δι' ἑνὸς τοῦ πάντων ἀρίστου, τοῖς μὲν ἐξωθεῖσι, τοῖς δ' ἐν πάλιν εἰσποιουμένου τοὺς μύθους. Præp. Evang. p. 47. Steph. Ed. See above, p. 36; and what will be further ſaid on this matter, in note M, at the end of this Book.

Socrates, ſay, that Plato had adulterated the pure and ſimple philoſophy of their Maſter; and *was* IN LOVE *with* Egypt, *and the portentious wiſdom of* Pythagoras *. And even occaſioned Socrates himſelf, on reading his romantic Dialogues, to exclaim, *Ye Gods, what a heap af lyes has this young man placed to my account* †?

But of all the Egyptian inventions, and Pythagoric practices, nothing pleaſed him more than that of the *double doctrine*, and the diviſion of his auditors into the exoteric and eſoteric claſſes: He more profeſſedly than any other, avowing thoſe principles, on which that diſtinction was founded; ſuch as,—*That it is for the benefit of mankind, that they ſhould be often deceived—That there are ſome truths not fit for the people to know—That the world is not to be entruſted with the true notion of God*; and more openly philoſophizing upon that diſtinction, in his writings. Thus, in his books of Laws, (which we ſhall ſee preſently were of the exoteric kind) he defends the popular opinion, which held the ſun, moon, ſtars, and earth, to be Gods, againſt the theory of Anaxagoras, which taught the ſun was a maſs of fire, the moon an habitable earth, &c. Here, his objection to the NEW PHILOSOPHY, (as he calls it) is, that it was an inlet to atheiſm; for the common people, when they once found theſe to be no Gods which they had received for ſuch, would be apt to conclude, there were none at all; But in his Cratylus, which was of the eſoteric kind, he laughs at their Forefathers for worſhiping the ſun and ſtars, as Gods.

In a word, the Ancients thought this diſtinction of the *double doctrine*, ſo neceſſary a key to Plato's writings, that they compoſed diſcourſes on it. Numenius, a Pythagorean and Platoniſt both in one, wrote a treatiſe (now loſt) *of the ſecret doctrines* (that is, the real opinions) of Plato ‡; which would probably have given much light to this queſtion, had the queſtion wanted it. But Albinus,

* Αἰγύπτῳ ἐχάσθη, καὶ τῆς Πυθαΐδος τερατώδους σοφίας.

† —Φασὶ δὲ καὶ Σωκράτην ἀκέσαντα τὸν Λύσιν ἀναγινώσκοντος Πλάτωνος, Ἡράκλεις, εἶπεῖν, ὡς πολλά μου καταψεύδεται ὁ νεανίσκος. Diog. Laert. l. iii. § 35.

‡ Περὶ τῶν Πλάτωνος ἀποῤῥήτων. Teſte Euſeb. l. xiii. c. 4, 5. Præp. Evang.

an

an old platoniſt, hath, in ſome meaſure, ſupplied this loſs, by his *introduction to the dialogues of* Plato*. From which it appears, that thoſe very books, where Plato moſt dwells on the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, are all of the *exoteric* kind. To this, it hath been ſaid, that ſome of theſe were of the *political* and *civil* kind: and ſo ſay I; but nevertheleſs of the *exoteric*, called *political*, from their ſubject, and *exoterical* from their manner of handling it. But if the nature of the ſubject will not teach theſe objectors that it muſt needs be handled exoterically, Jamblichus's authority muſt decide between us; who, in his life of Pythagoras †, hath uſed *political* in the ſenſe of *eſoterical:* And in that claſs, Albinus ranks ‡ the Criton, Phædo, Minos, Sympoſium, Laws, Epiſtles, Epinomis, Menexenus, Clitophon, and Philebus.

There is an odd paſſage in Cicero §, which ſeems to regard the Phædo in the light of a mere *exoteric* compoſition, ſo far as it concerns the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. The *auditor* is adviſed to read the Phædo, to confirm his belief in this point: to which he replies, *Feci mehercule, & quidem ſæpius; ſed* NESCIO QUOMODO, *dum lego aſſentior: cum poſui librum, & mecum ipſe de immortalitate animorum cœpi cogitare, aſſenſio omnis illa elabitur.* The only reaſonable account I can give of this reflection, (for to ſuppoſe it an imitation of ſomething like it in the Phædo itſelf, applied to a very different purpoſe, gives us none at all) I ſay the only reaſonable account is, that the Phædo being an *exoteric* dialogue, and written for the people, was held amongſt the learned, in the rank of a philoſophical romance: but while one of theſe better ſort of readers, is very intent on ſuch a work, a maſter-piece, like this, for compoſition and eloquence, he becomes ſo captivated with the charms and allurements of theſe graces, that he forgets, for a moment, the hidden meaning, and falls into the vulgar deceit. But having thrown aſide the book, grown cool, and reflected

* Apud Fabric. Bibl. Græc. lib. iii. c. 2.

† Sect. 150. ‡ Sect. 5. § Tuſc. Diſp. l. i. c. 5.

on

on thoſe principles concerning *God* and the *ſoul*, held in common by the Philoſophers (of which more hereafter) all the bright colouring diſappears, and the gaudy viſion ſhrinks from his embrace. A paſſage in Seneca's *epiſtles* will explain, and ſeems to ſupport, this interpretation. *Quomodo moleſtus eſt* JUCUNDUM SOMNIUM VIDENTI, *qui excitat*; *aufert enim voluptatem, etiamſi falſam, effectum tamen veræ habentem*; *ſic epiſtola tua mihi fecit injuriam*; *revocavit enim me cogitationi aptæ traditum, & iturum, ſi licuiſſet, ulterius. Juvabat de* æternitate animarum *quærere, imo mehercule credere.* Credebam enim facile opinionibus magnorum virorum, rem gratiſſimam promittentium magis quam probantium! *Dabam me ſpei tantæ. Jam eram faſtidio mihi, jam reliquias ætatis infractæ contemnebam, in immenſum illud tempus & in poſſeſſionem omnis ævi tranſiturus: cum ſubito experrectus ſum, epiſtola tua accepta, & tam* BELLUM SOMNIUM *perdidi* *.

The Platonic philoſophy being then entirely Pythagorean in the point in queſtion, and this latter rejecting the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, we might fairly conclude them both under the ſame predicament.

But as PLATO is eſteemed the peculiar patron of this doctrine; chiefly, I ſuppoſe, on his being the *firſt* who *brought* REASONS *for the* ETERNITY *of the ſoul* †: on this account, it will be proper to be a little more particular.

1. Firſt then, it is very true, that Plato hath argued much for the *eternity*, or, if you will, for the *immortality* of the ſoul. But to know what ſort of immortality he meant, we need only conſider what ſort of arguments he employs. Now theſe, which he was ſo famous for inventing and inforcing, were *natural* and *metaphyſical*, taken from the eſſence and qualities of the ſoul; which therefore concluded only for its *permanency*: and this he certainly

* Epiſt. 102.

† Tuſcul. Diſp. l. i. c. 17. *Primum de animorum* ÆTERNITATE *non ſolum ſenſiſſe idem quod* PYTHAGORAS, *ſed* RATIONEM *etiam attuliſſe.*

believed.

believed *. But for any *moral arguments*, from which only a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments can be deduced, he reſolves them all into tradition, and the religion of his country.

2. As the inventing reaſons for the immortality of the ſoul, was *one* cauſe of his being held the great patron of this doctrine; ſo *another*, was his famous refinement (for it was indeed *his*) of the *natural Metempſychoſis*, the peculiar notion of the Pythagoreans. This *natural Metempſychoſis* was, as we have ſaid, that *the ſucceſſive tranſition of the ſoul into other bodies was phyſical and neceſſary, and excluſive of all moral deſignation whatſoever.* Plato, on receiving this opinion from his maſter, gave it this additional improvement; *that thoſe changes and tranſitions were the purgations of impure minds, unfit, by reaſon of the pollutions they had contracted, to reaſcend the place from whence they came, and rejoin that* SUBSTANCE *from whence they were diſcerped; and conſequently, that pure immaculate ſouls were exempt from this tranſmigration.* Thus Plato's *Metempſychoſis* (which was as peculiarly his, as the other was Pythagoras's) ſeemed indeed to have ſome ſhadow of a *moral* deſignation in it, which his maſter's had not: neither did it, like that, neceſſarily ſubject all to it, without diſtinction; or for the ſame length of time. In this then they differed: But how much they agreed in excluding the notion of all future ſtate of reward and puniſhment, will be ſeen, when in the next ſection we come to ſhew what a kind of exiſtence it was which Pythagoras and Plato afforded to the ſoul, when it had rejoined that univerſal SUBSTANCE, from which it had been diſcerped.

We have now explained the three ſorts of *Metempſychoſis*;—The popular;—That which was peculiar to Pythagoras; and laſtly, That peculiar to Plato. The not diſtinguiſhing the Platonic from the Pythagoric; and both, from the Popular, has occaſioned even

* Tot rationes attulit [Plato] ut velle ceteris, ſibi certè perſuaſiſſe videatur. Cic. Tuſc. Diſp. l. i. c. 21. Καθάπερ ὁ νόμος ὁ πάτριος λέγει, as he expreſſes it in his twelfth book of laws.

the

the Ancients to write with much obſcurity on this matter. What can be more inexplicable and contradictory that the account Servius hath given of it? "Sciendum, non omnes animas ad corpora re-"verti. Aliquæ enim propter vitæ merita non redeunt propter "malam vitam; aliquæ propter fati neceſſitatem." In Æn. vi. ver. 713. Here, he has jumbled into *one*, as the current doctrine of the *Metempſychoſis*, theſe *three* different and diſtinct ſorts: *aliquæ propter vitæ* MERITA *non redeunt*, belonging to the popular notion; *aliquæ redeunt propter fati neceſſitatem*, belonging to Pythagoras's; and *aliquæ propter* MALAM *vitam*, to Plato's.

3. However it is very true, that Plato in his writings inculcates the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments: but this, always in the groſs ſenſe of the populace: that *the ſouls of ill men deſcended into aſſes and ſwine*;—that *the uninitiated lay in mire and filth*;—that *there were three judges of hell:* and talks much of Styx, Cocytus, Acheron, *&c.* and all ſo ſeriouſly *, as ſhews he had a mind to be believed. But did he indeed believe theſe fables? We may be aſſured he did not: for being the moſt ſpiritualized of the Philoſophers, had he really credited a *future ſtate* of rewards and puniſhments, he would have refined and purified it, as he did the doctrine of the *eternity* of the ſoul, which he certainly believed. But he has as good as told us what he really thought of the matter, in his *Epinomis*; where, writing of the condition of a good and wiſe man after death, he ſays, *of whom, both in* JEST *and in* EARNEST, *I conſtantly affirm, that when ſuch a one ſhall have finiſhed his deſtined courſe by death, he ſhall at his diſſolution be ſtript of thoſe many ſenſes which he here enjoyed; and then only participate of one ſimple lot or condition. And, of* MANY, *as he was here, being become* ONE, *he ſhall be happy, wiſe, and bleſſed* †. In this

* In his Gorgias, Phædo, and Republic.

† Ὃν ἐγὼ διϊσχυρίζομαι παίζων καὶ σπουδάζω ἅμα, ὅτε θανάτῳ τις τῶν τοιούτων τὴν αὐτοῦ μοῖραν ἀναπλήσει, χεδὸν ἐάνπερ ἀποθανὼν ᾖ, μήτε μεῖόν τι ἔτι πολλῶν τότε καθάπερ νῦν αἰσθήσεων, μιᾶς τε μοίρας μεμιλημένον μόνον, καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ἕνα γεγονότα, εὐδαίμονά τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ σοφώτατον ἅμα καὶ μακάριον. Sub fin.

paſſage,

paſſage, I underſtand Plato *ſecretly* to intimate, that, when he was in *jeſt*, he held the future happineſs of good men in a peculiar and diſtinct exiſtence, which is the *popular* and *moral notion* of a future ſtate: but, when *in earneſt*, he held, that this exiſtence was not perſonal or peculiar, but a *common life*, without diſtinct ſenſations; a *reſolution* into the τὸ ἕν. And it is remarkable that the whole ſentence has an elegant ambiguity, capable of either meaning. For πολλῶν αἰσθήσεων may either ſignify our many *paſſions and appetites*, or our *many cogitations*. To deny we have the *firſt* of theſe in a future ſtate, makes nothing againſt a diſtinct exiſtence; but to deny the *ſecond*, does. His diſciple Ariſtotle ſeems to have underſtood him as meaning it in this *latter* ſenſe, when in earneſt; and has ſo paraphraſed it as to exclude all peculiar exiſtence *. There is the ſame ambiguity in ἐκ πολλῶν ἕνα, which may either ſignify, that, of his many ſenſations, he hath only one left, the feeling happineſs; or that, from being a part, and in the *number of many individuals* of the ſame ſpecies, he is become *one*, and entire, by being joined to, and united with the univerſal nature. Plato affirms all this ſtill more plainly, in his commentary on Timæus, where he agrees to his author's doctrine of the fabulous invention of the FOREIGN TORMENTS †.

4. In confirmation of the whole, (*i. e.* of Plato's diſbelief of the religious doctrine of a future ſtate, as founded on the will and providence of the Gods) we obſerve, in the laſt place, that the moſt intelligent of the Ancients regarded what Plato ſaid of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, to be ſaid only in the *exoteric* way to the people.

The famous Stoic, *Chryſippus* ‡, when he blames Plato, as not rightly deterring men from injuſtice, by frightful ſtories of future puniſhments, takes it for granted that Plato himſelf gave no credit to them: for he turns his reprehenſion, not againſt that philoſo-

* See hereafter, in Sect. IV. of this Book. † See p. 53. ‡ Plut. de Stoic. repug.

pher's wrong belief, but his wrong judgment, in imagining ſuch childiſh terrors * could be uſeful to the cauſe of Virtue.

Strabo plainly declares himſelf of the ſame opinion, when, ſpeaking of the Indian Brachmans, he ſays, that *they had invented fables in the manner of* Plato, *concerning the immortality of the ſoul, and a future judgment in the ſhades below; and other things of the ſame nature* †.

Celſus owns that every thing which Plato tells us of a future ſtate, and the happy abodes of the virtuous, is an allegory. "But "what (ſays he) we are to underſtand by theſe things, is not "eaſy for every one to find out. To be maſter of this, we muſt "be able to comprehend his meaning, when he ſays, *They cannot, "by reaſon of their imbecillity and ſluggiſhneſs, penetrate into the "higheſt region. But were their nature vigorous enough to raiſe itſelf "to ſo ſublime a contemplation, they would then come to underſtand, "that this was the true heaven, and the true irradiation* ‡." To underſtand this *true irradiation*, the ἀληθινὸν φῶς, we muſt conſider that *light* was one of the moſt important circumſtances of the Pagan Elyſium, as we may ſee in the chapter of the Myſteries; where a certain raviſhing and divine light is repreſented, as making thoſe abodes ſo recommendable;

> Largior hic campos æther & lumine veſtit
> Purpureo——

But this remarkable paſſage of Celſus, beſides the general concluſion to be drawn from it, confirms what we have ſaid of the pecu-

* Ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέροντα τῆς Ἀκκοῦς καὶ τῆς Ἀλφιτοῦς, δι' ὧν τὰ παιδάρια τοῦ κακοσχολεῖν αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνειργοῦσι.

† Παραπλέκουσι δὲ καὶ μύθους, ὥσπερ καὶ ΠΛΑΤΩΝ, περί τε ἀφθαρσίας ψυχῆς, καὶ τῶν καθ' ᾅδου κρίσεων, καὶ ἀλλὰ τοιαῦτα. Geogr. l. xv. p. 1040. Gron. Ed.

‡ Τί δὲ διὰ τούτων ἐμφανίζει, οὐ παντὶ γνῶναι ῥᾴδιον· εἰ μὴ ὅστις ἐπαΐειν δύναιτο, τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνο ὅ φησιν· ὑπ' ἀσθενείας καὶ βραδύτητος οὐχ οἵους ἐτ' εἶναι διεξελθεῖν π' ἔσχατον τὸν ἀέρα· καὶ εἰ ἡ φύσις ἱκανὴ εἴη ἀνασχέσθαι θεοροῦσα, γνῶναι ἂν ὅτι ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθῶς οὐρανὸς καὶ τὸ ἀληθινὸν φῶς. Orig. cont. Celſ. l. vii. p. 352. Sp. Ed.

liar

liar Platonic *Metempſychoſis*. For here Celſus reſolves all Plato's meaning, in his repreſentations of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, into that Metempſychoſis: and we ſhall ſee hereafter, that *that* was reſolvable into the re-union of the ſoul with the Divine Nature, when it became *vigorous enough to penetrate into the higheſt region* *.

The emperor Julian addreſſing himſelf to Heraclius the Cynic, on the ſubject of that ſect, when he comes to ſpeak of the *double doctrine*, and the admiſſion of *fable* into the teachings of the philoſophers, obſerves, that it hath its uſe chiefly in *Ethics* (in which he includes Politics †) and in that *part of theology relating to initiation, and the myſteries* ‡. To ſupport which, he preſently quotes the example of Plato, who, when *he writes of Theology, or as a Theologer, is full of fables in his accounts of the infernal regions* §. From hence it appears that, in the opinion of this learned emperor, Plato did not only not ſpeak his real ſentiments of theſe matters, but that when he did treat of them, it was not as a Philoſopher, but as a Theologer; in which character the ancient Sages never thought themſelves obliged to keep within the limits of truth. What theſe *fabulous relations* were, he intimates, when he previouſly ſpeaks of the fables taught in the *Myſteries*; by which he could only mean their repreſentations of a future ſtate: The great *Secret* of the Myſteries, the doctrine of the Unity, being, in his opinion, of a nature directly contrary to the other.

We now come to the PERIPATETICS and STOICS, who will give us much leſs trouble. For theſe having in ſome degree, though not entirely, thrown off the legiſlative character, ſpoke more openly againſt a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. Indeed the difference in this point, between them and the Plato-

* See note [Q], at the end of this Book.

† —ἠθικόν· οἰκονομικὸν δὲ, τὸ περὶ λίαν δικίαν· πολιτικὸν δὲ, τὸ περὶ πόλιν. Orat. 7.

‡ Καὶ τῷ θεολογικῷ, τῷ τελεστικῷ, καὶ μυστικῷ. Ib.

§ —ἐπεὶ καὶ Πλάτων πολλὰ μεμυθολόγηκαι περὶ τῶν ἐν ᾅδου πραγμάτων θεολογῶν. Ib.

niſts, was only from leſs to more reſerve, as appears from their all having the ſame common principles of philoſophiſing *.

III. Aristotle was the diſciple of Plato, and his Rival. This emulation, though it diſpoſed him to take a different road to fame, in a province yet unoccupied, and to throw off the legiſlative character; yet it ſet him upon writing books of *laws* and *politics*, in oppoſition to his Maſter; whom he takes every occaſion to contradict.

He ſtuck indeed to the ancient method of the *double doctrine*, but with leſs caution and reſerve. For, whereas the Pythagoreans and Platoniſts kept it amongſt the *ſecrets* of their ſchools, he ſeems willing that all the world ſhould take notice of it, by giving public directions to diſtinguiſh between the two kinds †. Accordingly, in his Nicomachian Ethics, he expreſſes himſelf without any ceremony, and in the moſt dogmatic way, againſt a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. *Death* (ſays he) *is of all things the moſt terrible. For it is the final period of exiſtence. And beyond that, it appears, there is neither good nor evil for the dead man to dread or hope* ‡.

And in another place he tells us, that the ſoul, after its ſeparation from the body, will neither *joy* nor *grieve*, *love* nor *hate*, nor be ſubject to any paſſions of the like nature. And leſt we ſhould ſuſpect that this was ſaid of the animal *life* only, he goes further, and obſerves, that it will then neither *remember*, *think*, *nor underſtand* §. It muſt, therefore, according to this Philoſopher, be abſolutely loſt, as to any ſeparate exiſtence.

* Acad. Quæſt. lib. i.

† See Cic. Ep. ad Att. lib. iv. Ep. 16.——in ſingulis libris [de republica] utor proœmiis, ut Ariſtoteles in iis, quos ἐξωτερικοὺς vocat——

‡ Φοβερώτατον δ' ὁ θάνατός· τέλος γὰρ καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι τῷ τεθνεῶτι δοκεῖ, εἴτε ἀγαθὸν, εἴτε κακὸν εἶναι. Eth. ad Nicom. lib. iii. c. 6. p. 130. Ed. Han. 1610. 8vo.

§ τὸ δὲ ΔΙΑΝΟΕΙΣΘΑΙ, καὶ ΦΙΛΕΙΝ ἢ ΜΙΣΕΙΝ, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκείνου πάθη, ἀλλὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔχοντος ἐκεῖνο ἢ ἐκεῖνο ἔχει, διὸ καὶ τότε φθειρομένου, εἴτε ΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΕ, εἴτε φιλεῖ. De anima, i. v.

IV. Zeno,

IV. ZENO, the Founder of the Porch, followed the mode, in writing of *Laws* and a *Republic*. Agreeably to this part of his character, we find, by Lactantius, that he taught a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments in the very terms of Plato: *Eſſe inferos* Zeno Stoicus *docuit*; *& ſedes piorum ab impiis eſſe diſcretas*; *& illos quidem quietas ac delectabiles incolere regiones, hos vero luere pœnas in tenebroſis locis atque in cœni voraginibus horrendis* *. Yet, we know that he and the whole Porch held, that God governed the world only by his general Providence; which did not extend either to Individuals, Cities, or People †: And, not to inſiſt that his follower Chryſippus laughed at theſe things, as the moſt childiſh of all terrors, we know too, that the philoſophic principle of his School was, *that the ſoul died with the body* ‡. Indeed, to compliment their WISE MAN, the Stoics taught that *his* ſoul held it out till the general Conflagration: by which, when we come to ſpeak of their opinion concerning the nature and duplicity of the ſoul, we ſhall find they meant juſt nothing.

However, it was not long before the *Stoics* entirely laid aſide the legiſlative character; for which their Maſter appears to have had no talents, as we may judge by what he lays down in his *Republic*, that *States ſhould not buſy themſelves in erecting temples*; *for we ought not to think there is any thing holy, or ſacred, or that deſerves any real eſteem, in the work of maſons and labourers* §. The good man had forgot that he was writing Laws for a *People*; and ſo turned impertinently enough, to philoſophiſe with the *ſtoical Sage*. The truth is, this ſect had never any great name for Legiſlation: The

* Inſt. lib. vii. ſect. 7.

† Nat. Deor. l. iii. c. 39.

‡ Οἱ Στωϊκοὶ ἐξιϑσαν τῶν σωμάτων ὑποφέρεσϑαι τὴν μὲν ἀσθενεστέραν ἅμα, τοῖς σιγκρίμασι γενέσθαι (ταύτην δὲ εἶναι τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων) τὴν δὲ ἰσχυροτέραν οἷά ἐστι περὶ τὸς ΣΟΦΟΥΣ, καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως. Plut. de Plac. Phil. lib. iv. c. 7.—See the Critical Inquiry into the Opinions and Practice of the Ancient Philoſophers, p. 27—37. 2d ed.

§ Προσϑήσομεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὅτι καὶ Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεὺς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ φησίν· Ἱερά τε οἰκοδομεῖν οὐδὲν δεήσει, ἱερὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν χρὴ νομίζειν, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ ἄξιον καὶ ἅγιον οἰκοδόμων τε ἔργον καὶ βαναύσων. Apud Orig. cont. Cels. p. 6.

reaſon

reaſon is evident. This part of Ethics, more than any other, requires the cultivation of, and adherence to, what is called COMMON NOTICES. Whereas, of all the ancient ſyſtems of Philoſophy, the Stoical *Morals* moſt deviated from Nature *. They ſoon felt the effects which the doctrines of their School had on common life, and therefore in good time laid the ſtudy of Politics quite aſide. After which, they wrote, without the leaſt reſerve, againſt a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments.

Thus EPICTETUS, a thorough Stoic, if ever there was any, ſpeaking of death, ſays, "But whither do you go? no where to "your hurt: you return from whence you came: to a friendly "conſociation with your kindred elements: what there was of "the nature of fire in your compoſition, returns to the element "of fire; what there was of earth, to earth; what of air, to air; "and of water, to water. There is no *Hell*, nor *Acheron*, nor "*Cocytus*, nor *Pyriphlegethon* †."

In another place, he ſays, "The hour of death approaches. Do "not endeavour to aggravate, and make things worſe than they "really are: Repreſent them to yourſelf in their true light. The "time is now come when the *materials of which you are compounded* "*will be reſolved into the elements from which they were originally* "*taken.* What hurt or cauſe of terror is there in this? or what is "there in the world that ABSOLUTELY PERISHETH ‡?"

ANTONINUS ſays, "He who feareth death, either fears that he "ſhall be deprived of all ſenſe, or that he ſhall experience different "ſenſations. If all ſenſations ceaſe, you will be no longer ſubject "to pain and miſery; if you be inveſted with ſenſes of another

* See note [R], at the end of this Book.

† ——Πῆ; εἰς οὐδὲν δεινὸν, ἀλλ' ὅθεν ἐγένου, εἰς τὰ φίλα καὶ συγγενῆ, εἰς τὰ στοιχεῖα· ὅσον ἦν ἐν σοὶ πυρὸς, εἰς πῦρ ἀπεισιν, ὅσον ἦν γηδίου· ὅσον πνευματίου, εἰς πνεύματιον· ὅσον ὑδατίου, εἰς ὕδατιον· οὐδεὶς Ἅιδης, οὐδὲ Ἀχέρων, οὐδὲ Κωκυτὸς, οὐδὲ Πυριφλεγέθων. Apud Arrian. lib. iii. c. 13.

‡ Ἤδη καιρὸς ἀποθανεῖν· μὴ τραγῳδεῖ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' εἶπε ὡς ἔχει ἤδη καιρὸς τὴν ὕλην, ἐξ ὧν συνῆλθεν, εἰς ἐκεῖνα πάλιν ἀναλυθῆναι, καὶ τί δεινὸν, τί μέλλει ἀπόλλυσθαι τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ. l. iv. 7. 1.

"kind,

"kind, you will become another creature, and will continue to "exist as such *."

SENECA, in his consolation to Marcia, daughter of the famous Cremutius Cordus the Stoic, is not at all behind hand, in the frank avowal of the same principles. *Cogita, nullis defunctum malis affici: illa quæ nobis inferos faciunt terribiles,* FABULAM *esse: nullas imminere mortuis tenebras, nec carcerem, nec flumina flagrantia igne, nec oblivionis amnem, nec tribunalia, & reos & in illa libertate tam laxa ullos iterum tyrannos. Luserunt ista poëtæ, & vanis nos agitavere terroribus. Mors omnium dolorum & solutio est, & finis: ultra quam mala nostra non exeunt, quæ nos in illam tranquillitatem,* IN QUA, ANTEQUAM NASCEREMUR, *jacuimus, reponit* †.

LUCIAN, who, of all the Ancients, best understood the intrigues and intricacies of ancient Philosophy, appears to have had the same thoughts of the Stoics upon the point in question. In his *Jupiter Tragicus*, or *discourse* on *Providence*, Damis, the Epicurean, arguing against Providence, silences the Stoic, Timocles, when he comes to the *inequality of events*; because the Author would not suffer his Stoic to bring in a *future state* to remove the difficulty. And, that nothing but decorum, or the keeping each Sect to its own principles, made him leave the Stoic embarrassed, appears from his *Jupiter confuted*, or *discourse on destiny*; where, when Cyniscus presses Jupiter with the same arguments against Providence, Jupiter easily extricates himself: "You appear by this, "Cyniscus, to be ignorant what dreadful punishments await the "wicked after this life, and what abundant happiness is reserved "for the good ‡."

I will only observe in taking leave of this subject, that the famous STOICAL RENOVATION (which hath been opposed to what is here

represented)

* Ὁ τὸν θανατὸν φοβούμενος, ἤτοι ἀναισθησίαν φοβεῖται, ἢ αἴσθησιν ἑτέροιαν, ἀλλ' εἴτε οὐκέτι αἴσθησιν, οὐδὲ κακοῦ τινος αἰσθήσῃ, εἴτε ἀλλοιοτέραν αἴσθησιν κτήσῃ, ἄλλοιον ζῶον ἔσῃ, καὶ τοῦ ζῆν οὐ παύσῃ. viii. 58.

† Cap. 19.

‡ Οὐ γὰρ οἶσθα, ὦ Κυνίσκε, ἡλίκας, μετὰ τὸν βίον, οἱ πονηροὶ τὰς κολάσεις ὑπομένουσιν, ἢ ἐν ὅσῃ οἱ χρηστοὶ εὐδαιμονίᾳ διατρίβουσιν.

repreſented) ſeems to have been conceived on the *natural Metempſychoſis* of Pythagoras. Origen gives the following account of it: "The generality of the *Stoics* not only ſubject every thing mortal "to theſe RENOVATIONS, but the Immortals likewiſe, and the very "Gods themſelves. For after the conflagration of the Univerſe, "which hath happened already, and will happen hereafter, in in-"finite ſucceſſions, the ſame face and order of things hath been "and ever will be preſerved from the beginning to the end *." It is true, the men of this School, to eaſe a little the labouring abſurdity, contend for no more than the moſt exact reſemblance of things, in one *renovation*, to thoſe of another. Thus the next Socrates was not individually the ſame with the laſt, but one exactly like him; with exactly ſuch a wife as Xantippe, and ſuch accuſers as Anytus and Melitus †. Which, however, ſhews the folly of bringing this *renovation* for a proof, that the Stoics believed a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments.

Having now gone through theſe FOUR FAMOUS SCHOOLS, I ſhould have cloſed the ſection, but that I imagined the curious reader would be well pleaſed to know what CICERO thought, on this important point; Cicero, who finiſhed the Conqueſts of his countrymen in Greece, and brought home in triumph, thoſe only remains of their ancient grandeur, their PHILOSOPHY and ELOQUENCE ‡.

* Στοϊκῶν οἱ πολλοὶ μόνον τὴν τῶν θνητῶν περίοδον τοιαύτην εἶναι φασὶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀθανάτων καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς θεῶν, μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἐκπύρωσιν ἀπειράκις γενομένην, καὶ ἀπειράκις ἐσομένην, ἡ αὐτὴ τάξις ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους πάντων γέγονέ τε καὶ ἔστι. περιόμενοι μέντοι θεραπεύειν πῶς τὰς ἀπεμφάσεις οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς, ἐκ οἵδ' ὅπως, ἀπαραλλάκτους φασὶν ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὰ περίοδον τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν προλέξων περιόδων πάντας· ἵνα μὴ Σωκράτης πάλιν γένηται, ἀπαράλλακτός τις τῷ Σωκράτει, γαμήσων ἀπαράλλακτον τὴν Ξανθίππην, καὶ καλλιγορηθησόμενον ὑπὸ ἀπαραλλάκτων Ἀνύτου καὶ Μελίτου. Origenes contra Celſum, l. iv. ed. Spen. p. 208, 209. The nature of this *renovation* is examined at large, and admirably developed, in the Critical Inquiry into the Opinions of the Ancient Philoſophers.

† See note [S], at the end of this Book.

‡ ——Τὸν δ' Ἀπολλώνιον—εἰπεῖν, Σὲ μὲν, ὦ Κικέρων, ἐπαινῶ καὶ θαυμάζω, τῆς δὲ Ἑλλάδος οἰκτείρω τὴν τύχην, ὁρῶν, ἃ μόνα τῶν καλῶν ἡμῖν ὑπελείπετο, καὶ ταῦτα Ῥωμαίοις διὰ σοῦ προσγενόμενα ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΝ τε καὶ ΛΟΓΟΝ, Plut. Vit. Cic.

But

But there are great difficulties in getting to his real ſentiments. I ſhall mention ſome of the chief.

1. Firſt, that which ariſes from the uſe of the *double doctrine*; a circumſtance common to the Greek philoſophy; of its eſſence; and therefore, inſeparable from its exiſtence. The Ancients who lived after Cicero, ſuch as Clemens Alexander, Origen, Syneſius, Salluſt the philoſopher, Apuleius, do in fact ſpeak of it as an inſtrument ſtill in uſe; nor do any other ever mention it as a thing become obſolete. So that when Cicero undertook to explain the Greek Philoſophy to his countrymen, he could not but employ ſo faſhionable a vehicle of ſcience. But how much it contributed to hide the real ſentiments of the uſer, we have ſeen above.

2. Another difficulty ariſes from the peculiar genius of the Sect he eſpouſed, the *New Academy*; which was entirely *ſceptical:* It profeſſed a way of philoſophiſing, in which there was no room for any one to *interfere* with his own opinions; or, indeed, to *have* any. It is true, were we to conſider Cicero as a *ſtrict Academic*, in the Grecian ſenſe of adhering to a Sect, our enquiry would be preſently at an end; or at leaſt very impertinent: but he profeſſed this Philoſophy in a much laxer way; as we ſhall now ſee.

3. And this leads us to another difficulty, ariſing from the manner, in which the Greek Philoſophy was received in Italy. The Romans in general were, by their manners and diſpoſitions, little qualified for ſpeculative ſcience. When they firſt got footing, and had begun a commerce for arts, in Greece, they entertained great jealouſies of the Sophiſts, and uſed them roughly: and it was long before they could be perſuaded to think favourably of a ſet of men, who profeſſed themſelves always able and ready to diſpute for or againſt VIRTUE indifferently *: and even then, the Greek Philoſophy was introduced into Rome, but as a more refined ſpecies of luxury, and a kind of table-furniture, ſet apart for the entertainment of the Great; who were yet very far from the Grecian

* See note [T], at the end of this Book.

humour, *jurare in verba magiſtri:* they regarded the doctrines of the Sect they eſpouſed, not as a rule of life, but only as a kind of Apparatus for their rhetoric ſchools; to enable them to invent readily, and reaſon juſtly, in the affairs of life. Cicero, who beſt knew upon what footing it was received, ſays no leſs, when he ridicules Cato for an unfaſhionable fellow. *Hæc homo ingenioſiſſimus M. Cato auctoribus eruditiſſimis inductus, arripuit,* NEQUE DISPUTANDI CAUSA, UT MAGNA PARS, *ſed ita vivendi* *. The leaſt, then, we may conclude from hence is, that Cicero, laughing at thoſe who eſpouſed a Sect *vivendi cauſa*, did himſelf eſpouſe the Academic, *cauſa diſputandi*: which indeed he frankly enough confeſſes to his adverſary, in this very oration: *fatebor enim*, Cato, *me quoque in adoleſcentia*, diffiſum ingenio meo, quæſiſſe adjumenta doctrinæ. Which, in other words, is, I myſelf eſpouſed a Sect of philoſophy, for its uſe in diſputation. Quintilian, having ſpoken of Cicero as a Philoſopher, when he comes to Cato's nephew, Brutus, (in his Philoſophy, as much in earneſt as his Uncle,) of him, by way of Contraſt to Cicero, he ſays, Egregius vero, multoque quam in Orationibus præſtantior Brutus, ſuffecit ponderi rerum: *ſcias enim ſentire quæ dicit.* As much as to ſay, "in this he was like Cicero, that he was equal to his ſubject; in this however he was unlike, that *he always ſaid what he thought.*" This ſlippery way, therefore, of profeſſing the Greek philoſophy, muſt needs add greatly to the embarras we complain of.

4. A fourth difficulty ariſes from Tully's purpoſe in writing his works of philoſophy: which was, not to deliver his own opinion on any point of ethics or metaphyſics, but to explain to his countrymen, in the moſt intelligible manner, whatever the Greeks had taught concerning them. In the execution of which deſign, no Sect could ſo well ſerve his turn as the NEW ACADEMY, whoſe principle it was, *not to interfere with their own opinions:* and a paſſage, in his Academic queſtions, inclines me to think, he entered

* See note [U], at the end of this Book.

late

late into this Sect, and not till he had formed his project. Varro, one of the dialogists, says to him: *sed de teipso quid est quod audio?* Tully answers: *quanam de re?* Varro replies; *relictam a te* VETEREM JAM, *tractari autem* NOVAM. Varro hints at it again, where speaking afterwards to Tully, he says, *tuæ sunt nunc partes, qui ab antiquorum ratione* NUNC *desciscis, & ea, quæ ab Arcesila novata sunt probas, docere &c.**. This further appears from a place in his *Nature of the Gods* †, where he says, that his espousing the *New Academy* of a sudden, was a thing altogether unlooked for. *Multis etiam sensi mirabile videri, eam nobis potissimum probatam esse philosophiam, quæ lucem eriperet & quasi noctem quandam rebus offunderet, desertæque disciplinæ, & jam pridem relictæ patrocinium* NEC OPINATUM *a nobis esse susceptum.* The change then was late; and after the ruin of the Republic; when Cicero retired from business, and had leisure, in his recess, to plan and execute this noble undertaking. So that a learned Critic appears to have been mistaken, when he supposed the choice of the *New Academy* was made in his youth. *This Sect* (says he) *did best agree with the vast genius and ambitious spirit of* YOUNG CICERO ‡.

5. But the principal difficulty proceeds from the several and various characters he sustained in his life, and writings; which habituated him to feign and dissemble his opinions. He may be considered as an Orator, a Statesman, and a Philosopher. 1. As a STATESMAN, he discharged the office of a PATRIOT, *urbis conservator & parens*, in a Government torn in pieces by the dissensions between Senate and People. But could this be done by speaking his real sentiments to either? Both were very faulty; and, as faulty men generally are, too angry to hear reason. I have given an instance below, in the case of the *Catiline conspiracy*. And the issue of it declares the wisdom of his conduct. He saved the Republic.

* Manutius and Davies, who, I suppose, did not attend to what passed before, agree to throw out the word *nunc*, as perfectly useless and insignificant.

† Lib. i. c. 3.

‡ Remarks upon a late discourse of free-thinking, Part II. Rem. 53.

2. As a Philosopher, his end and design in writing was not to deliver his own opinion, but to explain the Grecian *Philosophy*. On which account he blames those men as too curious, who were for knowing his own sentiments. In pursuance of this design, he brings in Stoics, Epicureans, Platonists, Academics new and old, in order to instruct the Romans in their various opinions, and several ways of reasoning. But whether it be himself or others that are brought upon the stage, it is the *Academic*, not Cicero; it is the Stoic, the Epicurean, not Balbus nor Velleius, who deliver their opinions. 3. As an Orator, he was an *Advocate for his client*, or more properly *personated* him. Verum etiam (says Quintilian) in his causis quibus advocamur, eadem differentia diligenter est custodienda. Utimur enim *fictione personarum*, et velut *ore alieno* loquimur. In this case, then, he was to speak the sentiments of his client, not his own. So that in all these cases, though he acted neither a weak nor an unfair part, he becomes totally inscrutable. For these were Characters, all equally *personated*: and no one more the real man than the other: but each of them taken up, and laid down, for the occasion. This appears from the numerous inconsistencies we find in him, throughout the course of his sustaining them. In his oration *de Harusp. respon. in senatu*, when the popular superstition was inflamed by present prodigies, he gives the highest character of the wisdom of their Ancestors, as Founders of their established Religion: "Ego vero "primùm habeo auctores ac magistros religionum colendarum "majores nostros: quorum mihi tanta fuisse sapientia videtur, ut "satis superque prudentes sint, qui illorum prudentiam, non dicam "assequi, sed, quanta fuerit, perspicere possint." Yet in his treatise *of Laws*, as the reader has seen above*, he frankly declares, that *the folly of their Ancestors had suffered many depravities to be brought into Religion*. Here the Philosopher confuted the Statesman: As, in another instance, the Statesman seems to have got the better of the Philosopher. He defends the paradoxes of the Stoics

* See book II. sect. 6.

in a philoſophical diſſertation: But in his oration for *Muræna*, he ridicules thoſe paradoxes with the utmoſt freedom. Nor under one and the ſame Character, or at one and the ſame time, is he more conſiſtent. In *the orations againſt Catiline*, when he opens the conſpiracy to the *Senate*, he repreſents it as the moſt deep-laid deſign, which had infected all orders and degrees of men in the City. Yet, when he brings the ſame affair before the *People*, he talks of it as only the wild and ſenſeleſs eſcape of a few deſperate wretches; it being neceſſary for his purpoſe, that the *Senate* and *People*, who viewed the *Conſpiracy* from ſeveral ſtations, ſhould ſee it in different lights.

We meet with numbers of the like contradictions, delivered in his own perſon, and under his philoſophic character. Thus, in his *books of divination*, he combats all augury, *&c.* and yet, in his philoſophic *treatiſe of laws*, he delivers himſelf in their favour; and in ſo ſerious and poſitive a manner, that it is difficult not to believe him in earneſt. In a word, he laughed at the opinions of State, when he was amongſt the Philoſophers; he laughed at the doctrines of the Philoſophers, when he was cajoling an Aſſembly; and he laughed heartily at both, when withdrawn amongſt his friends in a corner. Nor, is this the worſt part of the ſtory. He hath given us no MARK to diſtinguiſh his meaning: For, in his *Academic queſtions* *, he is ready to ſwear he always ſpeaks what he thinks: Jurarem per Jovem Deoſque penates, me & ardere ſtudio veri reperiendi, & ea ſentire quæ dicerem †: Yet, in his *Nature of the Gods* ‡, he has ſtrangely changed his note: Qui autem requirunt, quid quaque de re ipſi ſentiamus, curioſius id faciunt quam neceſſe eſt.

If it be aſked then, in which of his writings we can have any reaſonable aſſurance of his true ſentiments? I reply, ſcarce in any, but his EPISTLES. Nor is this ſaid to evade any material

* Lib. iv. ſect. 20.

† See note [X], at the end of this Book.

‡ Lib. i. ſect. 5.

evidence

evidence that may be found in his other works, in favour of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhment: on the contrary, there are many very glaring inſtances of his diſbelief, as far as we can hazard a judgment of his mind. As in his *Offices*, which bids the faireſt of any to come from his heart, he delivers himſelf very effectually againſt it; as will appear in the next ſection. And in his oration for Cluentius to the Judges, he ſpeaks with yet more force on the ſame ſide of the queſtion: "Nam nunc quidem quid tan-" dem illi mali mors attulit? niſi forte ineptiis ac *fabulis* ducimur, " ut exiſtimemus illum apud inferos impiorum ſupplicia perferre, " *&c.* Quæ ſi falſa ſunt, *id quod omnes intelligunt*, quid ei tandem " aliud mors eripuit præter ſenſum doloris?"

Nor will moſt of *thoſe* paſſages, which are uſually brought in ſupport of the opinion, that Tully did really believe the *immortality of the ſoul*, ſtand in any account againſt *theſe:* Becauſe, as will be ſhewn in the next ſection, they beſt agree to a *kind of immortality* very conſiſtent with a thorough diſbelief of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. As to the celebrated argument of Plato for the immortality of the ſoul, explained and inforced by Cicero, it is ſo big with impiety and nonſenſe, that one would wonder how any chriſtian Divine could have the indiſcretion to recommend it as doing credit to ancient Philoſophy; or to extol the inventers and eſpouſers of it, as having delivered and entertained *very juſt, rational, and proper notions* concerning the immortality of the human ſoul. If we examine this Philoſophy as it is delivered us by Plato in his Phædrus, or as it is tranſlated by Cicero in his firſt Tuſculan, we ſhall find it gives the human ſoul the attributes of the Divine Being, and ſuppoſes it to have been from eternity, uncreated and ſelf-exiſtent. Speaking of the *principle of motion*, or the *ſoul*, it ſays, principii autem nulla eſt origo: nam e principio oriuntur omnia: ipſum autem *nullâ ex re aliâ naſci poteſt:* nec enim eſſet id principium quod gigneretur aliunde.——Id autem nec *naſci* poteſt, nec mori.——Hæc eſt propria natura animi atque vis; quæ ſi eſt

una

una ex omnibus, quæ ſe ipſa ſemper moveat, *neque nata* certe eſt, et *æterna* eſt. 1 *Tuſc.* c. 2, 3. It is plain too, that this argument aſſigns the human ſoul a NECESSARY immortality, or an immortality which ariſes from it's nature and eſſence, or from it's original and inherent powers; and not from the Will or appointment of God. We are told that the ſoul is immortal, becauſe it is a ſelf-moving ſubſtance; for that a ſelf-moving ſubſtance can never ceaſe to be, ſince it will always have a power of exiſting within itſelf, independent of any foreign or external cauſe. And what can be ſaid more of God himſelf? ſentit igitur animus ſe moveri, quod cum ſentit, illud una ſentit ſe vi ſua, non aliena, moveri; *nec accidere poſſe, ut ipſe unquam a ſe deſeratur.* 1 Tuſc. c. 23. Here it's immortality is not ſuppoſed to ariſe from the influence of any foreign or external cauſe, but is reſolved into the natural and inherent powers of the ſoul itſelf. Plato ſays, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀγέννητον καὶ ἀδιάφθορον αὐτὸ ἀνάγκη εἶναι——τοῦτο δὲ ἔστε ἀπόλλυσθαι ἔστε γίγνεσθαι δυνατὸν, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀγέννητόν τε καὶ ἀθάνατον ψυχὴ ἂν εἴη. The *neceſſity* here ſpoken of was ſuppoſed to ariſe from an internal faculty and power of the ſoul, or from the principle of ſelf-motion. The force of all this, has been ſhuffled over by the writers againſt the D. L. with only repeating, that, Cicero *inferred the immortality of the ſoul from it's wonderful powers and faculties, on it's principle of ſelf-motion, it's memory, invention, wit and comprehenſion.* As to *ſelf-motion*, the word is equivocal, and may either ſignify the power *given* to a being to begin motion; or a power *inherent* and eſſential to a Being, who has all things within itſelf, and receives nothing from without. Now we have ſhewn, that Plato and his followers uſed *ſelf-motion*, when applied to the ſoul, in this latter ſenſe; and from thence inferred a NECESSARY *immortality* in that Being which had it, an immortality which implied increation and ſelf-exiſtence. As to the other *powers and faculties of memory, invention, wit and comprehenſion*, whatſoever immortality may be *logically* deduced from them, it is not that which Cicero deduces: For, as we ſee, *his* is a ſtrict and proper immortality,

mortality, an exiſtence *from* all eternity, *to* all eternity: In a word, the immortality of the Supreme Being himſelf. Si cernerem (ſays Tully) quemadmodum *naſci* poſſent [facultates animi] etiam quemadmodum interirent viderem. 1 Tuſc. c. 24. And again, when he proves the immortality of the ſoul againſt Panætius, he goes upon the principle that the ſoul cannot be ſhewn to be immortal, but on the ſuppoſition of its being actually ungenerated. Volt enim [Panætius] quod nemo negat, quicquid *natum* ſit interire;——naſci autem animos, quod declaret eorum ſimilitudo——nihil neceſſitatis adfert cur naſcatur, animi ſimilitudo.——1 Tuſc. c. 32, 33. I would therefore have the friends of REASON, not to ſay of REVELATION, conſider whether theſe extravagant notions of the human ſoul, do any honour to ancient Philoſophy? and whether Tully had not acted a more decent and modeſt part to have held conſiſtently, even with Epicurus, the *mortality* of the ſoul, than with Plato that it was *uncreated, ſelf-exiſtent, and neceſſarily eternal?*

It is only then (as we ſay) in his EPISTLES to his friends, where we ſee the *man* diveſted of the *Politician*, the *Sophiſt*, and the *Advocate:* And there he profeſſes his diſbelief of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments in the frankeſt and freeſt manner. To L. Meſcinius he ſays: "Sed ut illa ſecunda moderatè tulimus, ſic "hanc non ſolùm adverſam, ſed funditus everſam fortunam fortiter "ferre debemus; ut hoc ſaltem in maximis malis boni conſequa-"mur, ut mortem, quam etiam beati contemnere debeamus, prop-"terea quod NULLUM SENSUM eſſet habitura, nunc ſic affecti, non "modo contemnere debeamus, ſed etiam optare *." In his epiſtle to Torquatus, he ſays: "Ita enim vivere ut non ſit vivendum, "miſerrimum eſt. Mori autem nemo ſapiens miſerum dixit, ne "beato quidem——ſed hæc conſolatio levis eſt; illa gravior, qua "te uti ſpero: Ego certe utor. Nec enim DUM ERO, angar ulla "re, cum omni vacem culpa: Et ſi NON ERO, *ſenſu omnino carebo* †." Some have taken the *ero* and *non ero*, in this paſſage, to relate *ge-*

* Fam. Ep. l. v. Ep. 21. † Lib. vi. Ep. 3.

nerically,

nerically, to exiſtence or non-exiſtence *abſolutely*; and not, as Tully certainly meant it, *ſpecifically*, to the ſtate of exiſtence or non-exiſtence *here*, i. e. *life* or *death*. But if that were his meaning, that *if he had no being he ſhould have no ſenſe*, Torquatus, for ſo wonderful a diſcovery, might well have returned him his proverb quoted in this Epiſtle, γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας. On the contrary his meaning in all theſe paſſages is, *that he ſhould have no ſenſe, becauſe he ſhould have no being*. So in his Tuſcul. L. i. C. 11. Quomodo igitur, aut cur, mortem malum tibi videri dicis; quæ aut beatos nos efficiet, animis manentibus; aut non miſeros, *ſenſu carentes*, i. e. *animis non manentibus*. But the foregoing paſſage from the epiſtle to Meſcinius, in which we find the ſame thought, and in the ſame expreſſion, puts the meaning out of doubt. Add to this, that it was the very language of the Epicureans, and uſed by Lucretius as an antidote againſt the fear of death,

> "Scilicet haud nobis quidquam, qui NON ERIMUS tum,
> "Accidere omnino poterit SENSUMQUE movere."

But let it be obſerved, that when Cicero talks of death as of the end of man, he does not make this concluſion on the Epicurean principle, that the ſoul was a mere *quality*, but on the Platonic, that it was reſolved into the ſubſtance from whence it was extracted, and had no longer a *particular* exiſtence. Again, to the ſame perſon * he ſays; "Deinde quod mihi ad conſolationem commune "tecum eſt, ſi jam vocer ad exitum vitæ, non ab ea republica "avellar, qua carendum eſſe doleam, præſertim cum id SINE ULLO "SENSU futurum ſit." And again to his friend Toranius †: "Cum "conſilio profici nihil poſſit, una ratio videtur, quicquid evenerit, "ferre moderate, præſertim cum *omnium rerum mors ſit extremum*." That Cicero here ſpeaks his real ſentiments, is beyond all doubt. Theſe are letters of conſolation, to his friends, when he himſelf, by reaſon of the ill ſtate of Public Affairs, much wanted conſola-

* Lib. vi. Ep. 4. † Lib. vi. Ep. 21.

tion; a ſeaſon when men have leaſt diſguiſe, and are moſt diſpoſed to lay open their whole hearts:

" Nam veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo
" Ejiciuntur, & eripitur PERSONA, manet RES *." Lucret.

Here his *real* ſentiments are delivered poſitively; which in his *Tuſculan diſputations* he advances only hypothetically; but with a clearneſs that well comments the conciſeneſs of the foregoing paſſages. M. Video te altè ſpectare & velle in cœlum migrare. A. Spero fore, ut contingat id nobis. " Sed fac, ut iſti volunt, ani-
" mos NON remanere poſt mortem.——M. Mali vero quid affert
" iſta ſententia? Fac enim ſic animum interire, ut corpus. Num
" igitur aliquis dolor, aut omnino poſt mortem SENSUS in corpore
" eſt?—Ne in animo quidem igitur SENSUS remanet, ipſe enim
" nuſquam eſt.—Hoc premendum etiam atque etiam eſt argumen-
" tum, confirmato illo, de quo, ſi mortales animi ſunt, dubitare
" non poſſumus, quin tantus interitus in morte ſit, ut ne minima
" quidem ſuſpicio SENSUS relinquatur †." Now, this is the very language of the Epicureans, as appears from the following words of Pliny: " Poſt ſepulturam aliæ atque aliæ manium ambages. Om-
" nibus a ſuprema die eadem, quæ ante primum: nec magis a morte
" SENSUS ullus aut corpori aut animæ quam ante natalem. Eadem
" enim vanitas in futurum etiam ſe propagat,——alias immortali-
" tatem animæ, alias transfigurationem, alias ſenſum inferis dando,
" & manes colendo, deumque faciendo, qui jam etiam homo eſſe
" deſierit.——Quæ (malum) iſta dementia, iterari vitam morte?
" Quæve genitis quies unquam, ſi in ſublimi SENSUS ANIMÆ ma-
" net ‡."

Plutarch was amongſt the Greeks, what Cicero was amongſt the Latins, as far as concerned the buſineſs of delivering and digeſting the various opinions of the Philoſophers. In his famous

* See note [Y], at the end of this Book.

† Tuſc. Diſp. lib. i. c. 34—36.

‡ Nat. Hiſt. lib. vii. c. 55.

tract

tract of SUPERSTITION he uſes their COMMON arms to combat that evil; and expreſſes himſelf with uncommon force where he ſpeaks of a *future ſtate* as an error eſſential to *ſuperſtition*, and what the general voice of Reaſon, interpreted by ſound Philoſophy, diſclaims. "Death is the final period of our being. But SUPER-"STITION ſays NO.——She ſtretches out life beyond life itſelf. "Her fears extend further than our exiſtence. She has joined to "the idea of death, that other inconſiſtent idea of eternal life in "miſery. For when all things come to an end, then, in the opi-"nion of Superſtition, they begin to be endleſs *."——

I will beg leave to conclude this ſection with two obſervations relative to the general argument. 1. We have juſt given a paſſage from the oration for Cluentius, in which, Cicero having ridiculed the popular fables concerning a future ſtate, he ſubjoins, *if theſe be falſe, as all men ſee they are, what hath death deprived him of, beſides a* SENSE *of pain* †? From this inference of the Orator it appears, that we have not concluded amiſs, when, from ſeveral quotations, interſperſed throughout this work, in which a diſbelief of the *common notion* of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments is implied, we have inferred the writer's diſbelief of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments in *general*. 2. We have ſeen the Philoſophers of every Sect, one while ſpeaking directly for, and at another, as directly againſt a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, without intimating the leaſt change in their principles, or making

* —πέρας ἐστὶ βίῳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁ θάνατος· τῆς δὲ δεισιδαιμονίας, οὐδ' ὅτου· ἀλλ' ὑπερβάλλει τὰς ὅρους ἐπίκεισα τῷ ζῆν, μακρότερον τοῦ βίου ποιοῦσα τὸν φόβον, καὶ συναπλώσα τῷ θανάτῳ κακῶν ἐπίνοιαν ἀθανάτων· καὶ ὅτε παύεται πραγμάτων. ἄρχεσθαι δοκοῦσα μὴ πανομένων.

† Quæ ſi falſa ſunt, id quod omnes intelligunt, quid ei tandem aliud mors eripuit præter SENSUM doloris?—Seneca reaſons in the ſame manner. Mors contemni debet magis quam ſolet: multa enim de illa credimus. Multorum ingeniis certatum eſt ad augendam ejus infamiam. Deſcriptus eſt carcer infernus, & perpetua nocte oppreſſa regio, in qua

——"ingens janitor orci, &c."

Sed etiam cum perſuaſeris iſtas fabulas eſſe, *nec quicquam defunctis ſupereſſe quod timeant*, ſubit alius metus, æque enim timor ne apud inferos ſint, quam ne nuſquam. Ep. 83.

the leaſt heſitation in their profeſſions: So that either we muſt hold them guilty of the moſt groſs and impudent contradictions, which their characters will not ſuffer us to conceive of them; or elſe admit the explanation given above of the DOUBLE DOCTRINE, and the different methods of their *exoteric* and *eſoteric* diſcipline.

Yet to all this it hath been ſaid, "If the Philoſophers diſbelieved the popular Divinities, and yet really believed the being of a God; why might they not reject the popular opinions of a future ſtate, and yet, at the ſame time, hold a future ſtate of real rewards and puniſhments? Now as they who did not believe Hercules and Æſculapius to be Gods, did not for that reaſon diſbelieve the exiſtence of a governing Mind; ſo they that did not believe Æacus or Minos to be judges of Hell, did not for that reaſon diſbelieve all future rewards and puniſhments *." I anſwer, the two caſes are nothing alike; the common fate of this Writer's Parallels.

1. At the very time the Philoſophers diſcard the popular Divinities they declare for the being of a God. Thus when Varro had ſaid that Hercules and Æſculapius, Caſtor and Pollux, were not Gods; he adds, *they only have a right notion of God, who conceive him to be a Soul, actuating and governing all things by his power and wiſdom* †. But now, when theſe Philoſophers exploded Styx, Acheron, and Cocytus, did they ever ſubſtitute any other future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments in their place?

2. The Philoſophers give the popular ſtories of the infernal regions as the *only foundation and ſupport* of future rewards and puniſhments; ſo that, if they explode the popular ſtories, they muſt explode the things themſelves. And what is more, THEY

* Dr. Sykes.

† Quæ ſunt autem illa, quæ prolata in multitudinem nocent? Hæc, inquit, non eſſe Deos Herculem, Æſculapium, Caſtorem, Pollucem. Proditur enim a doctis, quod homines fuerint, et humana conditione defecerint.—But the ſame Varro ſays,—Quod hi ſoli ei videantur animadverſiſſe, quid eſſet Deus, qui crediderunt eum eſſe animam, motu et ratione mundum gubernantem. Apud Auguſt. de Civ. Dei, l. iv. c. 27—31.

TELL

TELL US THAT THEY DID SO. But was this the caſe concerning their popular Divinities? Do they ever repreſent *theſe* as the *only foundation and ſupport* of the belief of a Deity?

3. Laſtly, The Philoſophers held a PRINCIPLE (and we are now about to enter upon that matter) which was inconſiſtent with a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments: in conſequence of which they formally, and in expreſs words, diſclaim and reject all *ſuch ſtate* and condition. But I know of no *principle* they held, inconſiſtent with the belief of a God; nor of any declarations they ever made againſt ſuch belief. We conclude, therefore, that the two caſes are altogether diſſimilar and unrelated.

SECT. IV.

NOTWITHSTANDING this full evidence againſt the PHILOSOPHERS; I much doubt, the general prejudice in their favour, ſupported by the reaſonableneſs of the doctrine itſelf, will be yet apt to keep the reader's opinion on this point ſuſpended.

I ſhall therefore, in the laſt place, explain the CAUSES which withheld the Philoſophers *from believing:* and theſe will appear to have been certain fundamental PRINCIPLES of the ancient Greek Philoſophy, altogether inconſiſtent with the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments.

But to give this its due force, it will be proper to premiſe, that the conſtitution of that Philoſophy, being above meaſure refined and ſpeculative, it was always wont to judge and determine rather on METAPHYSICAL than on MORAL maxims; and to ſtick to all conſequences, how abſurd ſoever, which were ſeen to ariſe from the former.

Of this, we have a famous inſtance in the ancient Democritic Philoſophy: which holding, that not only *ſenſations*, but even the *cogitations* of the mind, were the mere paſſion of the Thinker; and ſo, all *knowledge* and underſtanding, the ſame thing with *ſenſe*; the

the conſequence was, that there could not be any error of falſe judgement; becauſe all paſſion was true paſſion, and all appearance true appearance. From hence it followed, that the ſun and moon were no bigger than they ſeemed to us: and theſe men of reaſon choſe rather to avow this concluſion, than to renounce the *metaphyſic* principle which led them into it.

So juſt is that cenſure which a celebrated French writer paſſes upon them: *when the Philoſophers once beſot themſelves with a prejudice, they are even more incurable than the People themſelves; becauſe they beſot themſelves not only with the prejudice, but with the falſe reaſonings employed to ſupport it* *.

The regard to *metaphyſic* principles being ſo great, the Greek Philoſophers (as we ſhall ſee) muſt needs reject the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, how innumerable and invincible ſoever the *moral* arguments are which may be brought to ſupport it. For now we come to ſhew, that there were two METAPHYSICAL PRINCIPLES concerning GOD and the SOUL, univerſally embraced by all, which neceſſarily exclude all notion of a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment.

The FIRST PRINCIPLE, which led the Philoſophers to conclude againſt ſuch a ſtate was, THAT GOD COULD NEITHER BE ANGRY NOR HURT ANY ONE. This, Cicero aſſures us, was held univerſally; as well by thoſe who believed a Providence, as by thoſe who believed not: "At hoc quidem COMMUNE EST OMNIUM PHILOSOPHORUM, "non eorum modo, qui Deum nihil habere ipſum negotii dicunt, & "nihil exhibere alteri: ſed eorum etiam qui Deum ſemper agere "aliquid & moliri volunt, NUMQUAM NEC IRASCI DEUM NEC "NOCERE †." What concluſion the Epicureans drew from hence (thoſe who, he here ſays, held, Deum nihil habere ipſum negotii),

* Quand les philoſophes ſ'entêtent une fois d'un prejugé, ils ſont plus incurables que le peuple même; parce qu'ils ſ'entêtent également & du prejugé & des fauſſes raiſons dont ils le ſoutiennent. Fontenelle, Hiſt. des Oracles.

† Offic. lib. iii. cap. 28.]

he

he tells us in another place, by the mouth of Velleius their ſpokeſman. "Intelligitur enim" (an expreſſion denoting that, in this point, the philoſophers were agreed) "à beata, immortalique na-"tura, & iram & gratiam ſegregari: quibus remotis, nullos a "ſuperis impendere METUS *." And that the other Sects drew the ſame concluſion (which infers the denial of *a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments*) we ſhall now ſee by Cicero himſelf, who ſpeaks for them all.

He is here commending Regulus for preferring the public good to his own, and the *honeſt* to the *profitable*; in diſſuading the releaſe of the Carthaginian priſoners, and returning back to certain miſery, when he might have ſpent his age at home in peace and pleaſure. All this, he obſerves, was done out of regard to his oath. But it may, perhaps, ſays he, be objected, what is there in an oath? The violator need not fear the wrath of Heaven; for all Philoſophers hold, that *God cannot be angry nor hurt any one.* He replies, that, indeed, it was a conſequence of the principle of *God's not being angry*, that the perjured man had nothing to fear from divine vengeance: but then it was not this *fear*, which was really NOTHING, but juſtice and good faith, which made the ſanction of an oath. The learned will chuſe to hear him in his own words. "M. Atilius Regulus Carthaginem rediit: neque eum "caritas patriæ retinuit, nec ſuorum. Neque vero tum ignorabat "ſe ad crudeliſſimum hoſtem, & ad exquiſita ſupplicia proficiſci: "Sed jusjurandum conſervandum putabat. Quid eſt igitur, dixerit "quis, in jurejurando? Num iratum timemus jovem? At hoc "quidem commune eſt omnium philoſophorum.—NUMQUAM NEC "IRASCI DEUM, NEC NOCERE.—Hæc quidem ratio non magis con-"tra Regulum, quam contra omne jusjurandum valet: Sed in "jurejurando, non qui metus, ſed quæ vis ſit, debet intelligi. Eſt "enim jusjurandum affirmatio religioſa: Quod autem affirmatè, "quaſi Deo teſte, promiſeris, id tenendum eſt: Jam enim non ad

* De Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 17.

"iram

" iram Deorum, quæ NULLA EST ; ſed ad juſtitiam & ad finem " pertinet *." It is true, the ſame Tully ſays †, " deos *placatos* " pietas efficiet et ſanctitas," which looks as if he thought the Gods might be angry ; and that, therefore, by, *quæ nulla eſt*, in the words above, he did not mean, what the words imply,—*quæ vana et commentitia eſt* ; but, what they do not imply—*quæ nihil ad rem pertinet.* But *placatos* is not here uſed in the ſtrict ſpecific ſenſe of *appeaſed*, which infers preceding *anger* ; but in the more looſe generic ſenſe of *propitious*, which infers no ſuch thing. And my reaſon for underſtanding the word in this ſenſe, is, that, two or three lines afterwards, he declares it to be the opinion of the Philoſophers (to which he agrees) *Deos non nocere :* But this opinion was founded on that other, in queſtion, *Deos non iraſci.*

Here then, we ſee, Tully owns the conſequence of this univerſal principle ; that it overthrew the notion of divine puniſhments : And it will appear preſently, that he was not ſingular in this conceſſion ; but ſpoke the ſenſe of his Grecian maſters.

A modern reader, full of the philoſophic ideas of theſe late ages, will be ſurprized, perhaps, to be told, that this conſequence greatly embarraſſed Antiquity ; when he himſelf can ſo eaſily evade it, by diſtinguiſhing between the human paſſions of anger and fondneſs, and the divine attributes of juſtice and goodneſs ; on which the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments is invincibly eſtabliſhed. But the Ancients had no ſuch preciſe ideas of the divine Nature.

Dacier, who underſtood the genius of Antiquity very well, was of the ſame opinion, as appears from his comment on theſe words of Antoninus—*If there be Gods, then leaving the world is no ſuch dreadful thing ; for you may be ſure they will do you no harm.*—εἰ μὲν θεοί εἰσιν, εὐδὲν δεινόν· κακῷ γάρ σε οὐκ ἂν περιβάλοιεν.—Comme les Stoïciens n'avoient aucune idée ni de peines, ni de recompenſes eternelles après la mort, et que le plus grand caractere qu'ils

* Cap. 26, 27, 28, 29. † Offic. ii. 3.

reconnoiſſoient

reconnoiſſoient en Dieu, eſtoit une BONTE INFINIE, ils eſtoient perſuadez qu'apres cette vie on n'avoit rien à craindre, et que c'eſtoit une choſe entierement oppoſée à la nature de Dieu, de faire du mal. La veritable religion a tiré les hommes d'une ſecurité ſi pernicieuſe, &c.—The learned Critic, indeed, expreſſes himſelf very ill, confounding the premiſſes and concluſion, the cauſe and effect, all the way, one with another; but his meaning is plain enough, that (in his opinion) the Ancients were very inexpert in their attempts to ſever (if ever they attempted it) *anger* from God's juſtice, and *fondneſs* from his goodneſs. We ſhall ſhew, by an illuſtrious inſtance, that he was not miſtaken; leſt the reader ſhould ſuſpect that, of an obſcure ſpeculative Principle, we have feigned *one* of general credit and influence.

LACTANTIUS, from a forenſic Lawyer, now become an Advocate for *Chriſtianity*, found nothing ſo much hindered its reception with the Learned as the doctrine of a FUTURE JUDGEMENT; which, their univerſal principle, *that God could not be angry*, directly oppoſed. To ſtrike at the root of this evil, he compoſed a diſcourſe, which Jerom calls, *pulcherrimum opus*, intituled, DE IRA DEI: For he had obſerved, he tells us, that this Principle was now much ſpread amongſt the common People *; he lays the blame of it upon the Philoſophers †; and tells us, as Tully had done before, that all the Philoſophers agreed to exclude the paſſion of anger from the Godhead ‡.

So that the general ſyllogiſm, Lactantius propoſed to anſwer, was this:

If God hath no affections of fondneſs or hatred, love or anger; he cannot reward or puniſh.
But he hath no affections;——
Therefore, &c.

* Animadverti PLURIMOS exiſtimare non iraſci Deum.

† Iidem tamen a Philoſophis irretiti, & falſis argumentationibus capti.

‡ Ita omnes Philoſophi de ira conſentiunt.

Let us ſee then, how he manages: For although his knowledge in the true genius of Chriſtianity was, perhaps, very imperfect, he was exquiſitely well ſkilled in the ſtrong and weak ſide of Pagan Philoſophy. A modern anſwerer would certainly have denied the *major*; but *that* was a Principle received by all parties, as Lactantius himſelf gives us to underſtand, when he ſays, that the Principle of God's not being angry deſtroyed all religion, by taking away a future ſtate *. He had nothing left then but to deny the *minor*: And this, he tells us, is his purpoſe to undertake †.

His buſineſs is to prove, that God hath human paſſions: And though, by ſeveral expreſſions, dropped up and down, he ſeems to be fully ſenſible of the groſsneſs of this Principle; yet, on the other hand, all Philoſophy agreeing to make it the neceſſary ſupport of a future ſtate, he ſets upon his taſk in good earneſt, avoids all refinements, and maintains that there are in God, as there are in man, the paſſions of *love* and *hatred*. Theſe indeed are of two kinds in man, *reaſonable* and *unreaſonable*; in God, the *reaſonable* only are to be found. But, to make all ſure, and provide a proper ſubject for theſe paſſions, he contends ſtrongly for God's *having a human form*: No diſcreditable notion, at that time, in the Church; and which, if I might be indulged a conjecture, I would ſuppoſe, was firſt introduced for that very purpoſe, to which Lactantius here enforces it.

But it is very obſervable, that our Author introduceth this monſtrous notion of *God's having a human form*, with an artful attempt, ſupported by all his eloquence, to diſcredit *human reaſon*; in order to diſpoſe the Reader to believe him, that nothing could be known of God but by *Revelation*. This is an old trick of the

* Qui ſine ira Deum eſſe credentes, diſſolvunt omnem religionem—Sive igitur gratiam Deo, ſive iram, ſive utrumque detraxeris, religionem tolli neceſſe eſt.

† Hæc [*nempe ut iraſcatur Deus*] tuenda nobis, & aſſerenda ſententia eſt: in ea enim ſumma omnis & cardo religionis pietatiſque verſatur.

Diſputers

Diſputers of all times, to make repriſals upon Reaſon; which when found too upright to deflect, muſt be repreſented as too weak to judge. And when once we find an Author, who would be valued for his logic, begin with depreciating Reaſon; we may be aſſured he has ſome very unreaſonable paradox to advance. So when the learned Huetius would paſs upon his readers a number of ſlight chimerical conjectures for *Demonſtrations*, he introduces his work by cavilling at the certainty of the principles of Geometry.

I. Here we ſee how the *Orthodox* evaded this concluſion of Pagan Philoſophy, againſt a ſtate of future puniſhment. Would you know how the *Heretics* managed? They went another way to work, which it may be juſt worth while to mention. The Creator of the *inviſible* world (or the firſt Cauſe) the Marcionites called the GOOD; and the Creator of the *viſible* world, the JUST. Si de Marcionis argueris hæreſi, quæ alterum *bonum*, alterum *juſtum* Deum ferens, illum inviſibilium, hunc viſibilium creatorem—*Hieron. Ep. ad Pammach.* Now they agreed in this, with the Pagans, that the GOOD could not puniſh, but that the JUST would; whoſe office it was to execute vengeance on the wicked. And, at the ſame time, holding an EVIL PRINCIPLE, they called this *Juſt*, the MIDDLE, whoſe office is thus deſcribed in the *dialogue againſt* Marcion.—*To thoſe who conform themſelves to the* GOOD, *the* MIDDLE PRINCIPLE *gives peace*; *but to thoſe who obey the* EVIL, *the* MIDDLE *inflicts tribulation and anguiſh.* Ἡ ἓν μέση ἀρχὴ ὑπηκόοσι τῷ ἀγάθῳ ἄνεσιν διδώσῃ, ὑπηκόοσι δὲ τῷ πονηρῷ θλίψιν δίδωσι. Thus did theſe *Heretics* diveſt the firſt Cauſe, or the GOOD, of his attribute of *juſtice*; and gave it to the *Middle Principle*, becauſe they were not able to ſever it from *anger*. Upon the whole, as Lactantius, himſelf a Philoſopher, was admirably well verſed in all the pagan Syſtems, he could not but underſtand a *Principle*, which all the Philoſophers held; nor could he miſtake a *Conſequence*, which they all drew from it. And as St. Jerom has dignified this tract *de ira Dei*, with the title of PULCHERRIMUM OPUS, we muſt needs conclude that

the method Lactantius took to ſupport a future judgement was ſtrictly conformable to THE OLD POSTURE OF DEFENCE, and approved by the Orthodox of that time.

I. But it may be objected, perhaps, that this principle, of *God's not being angry*, only concluded againſt a future ſtate of *puniſhments*, and not of *rewards*: *Many* of the philoſophers holding the affection of *grace and favour*; though they *all* denied that of *anger*; as Lactantius expreſsly aſſures us: *Ita omnes philoſophi de* ira *conſentiunt, de* gratia *diſcrepant*. To this I reply,

1. That, when the ſanction of *puniſhment* is taken off, the ſtrongeſt influence of a future ſtate is deſtroyed. For while the Ancients made the rewards of Elyſium only *temporary*,

"Has omnes, ubi mille rotam volvere per annos," &c.

they made the puniſhments of Tartarus *eternal*;

"Sedet, æternumque ſedebit
"Infelix Theſeus."

This, Plato teaches in ſeveral places of his works*. And Celſus is ſo far from rejecting it, that he ranks it in the number of thoſe doctrines which ſhould never be abandoned, but maintained to the very laſt †.

It is true, that ſeveral paſſages of Antiquity may be objected to what is here ſaid againſt the *eternity of rewards*; particularly this of Cicero; "Omnibus qui patriam conſervarint, adjuverint, auxe-

* Οἱ δ' ἂν δόξωσιν ἀνιάτως ἔχειν, διὰ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ἢ ἱεροσυλίας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας, ἢ φόνους ἀδίκους καὶ παρανόμους πολλοὺς ἐξειργασμένοι, ἢ ἄλλα ὅσα τυγχάνει ὄντα τοιαῦτα, τούτους δὲ ἡ πρόσηκουσα μοῖρα ῥίπτει εἰς τὸν Τάρταρον, ὅθεν οὔποτε ἐκβαίνουσιν. Phædo, p. 113.—Ἄλλοι δὲ ὀνίανται οἱ τούτους ὀρθῶς διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ὀδυνηρότατα καὶ φοβερώτατα πάθη πάσχοντας τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον. Gorgias, p. 525.

† Τοῦτο μέν γε ὀρθῶς νομίζουσιν, ὡς οἱ μὲν εὖ βιώσαντες εὐδαιμονήσουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι πάμπαν αἰωνίοις κακοῖς συνέξονται· καὶ τούτου δὲ τοῦ δόγματος μήθ' ὅτου, μήτ' ἄλλου ἀνθρώπων μηδεὶς πώποτε ἀποστῇ, ἀπολείπονται. Apud Orig. cont. Celſ. lib. viii.

"rint,

" rint, certum eſſe in cœlo ac definitum locum, ubi beati ÆVO " SEMPITERNO fruantur *." But we are to know, that the Ancients diſtinguiſhed the ſouls of men into three ſpecies : the HUMAN, the HEROIC, and the DEMONIC. The *two laſt*, when they left the body, were indeed believed to enjoy eternal happineſs, for their public ſervices on earth ; not in *Elyſium*, but in *Heaven* ; where they became a kind of demi-gods. But all, of the *firſt*, which included the great body of Mankind, were underſtood to have their deſignation in *Purgatory*, *Tartarus*, or *Elyſium* ; The *firſt* and *laſt* of which abodes were *temporary* ; and the *ſecond* only *eternal*. Now thoſe who had greatly ſerved their Country, in the manner Tully there mentions, were ſuppoſed to have ſouls of the *heroic* or *demonic* kind †.

2. But ſecondly, in every ſenſe of a future ſtate as a *moral deſignation*, rewards and puniſhments neceſſarily imply each other : So that where one is wanting, the other cannot poſſibly ſubſiſt. This was too viſible not to be ſeen by the ancient Philoſophers : Lactantius thus argues with them, on common principles. " *If God* " *be not provoked at impious and wicked men, neither is he pleaſed* " *with the good and juſt.* For contrary objects muſt either excite " contrary affections, or no affections at all. So that he who loves " good men, muſt at the ſame time hate the ill ; and he who hates " not ill men, cannot love the good : Becauſe both to love good " men proceedeth from an abhorrence of ill ; and to hate ill men " from a tenderneſs to the good ‡." And ſo concludes, that the

* Somn. Scip. cap. 3.

† Euſebius, ſpeaking of the political Gods of Egypt, ſupports what is here delivered of thoſe *heroic* or *demonic* ſouls, ἄλλες δὲ ἐκ τύτων ἐπιγείες γενέσθαι, φασὶν, ὑπάρξαντας μὲν θνητὰς, διὰ δὲ σύνεσιν καὶ κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαν τελευτήσαντας τῆς ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΑΣ.—Præp. Evang. l. iii. c. 3.

‡ Si Deus non iraſcitur impiis & injuſtis, nec pios utique juſtoſque diligit : In rebus enim diverſis, aut in utramque partem moveri neceſſe eſt, aut in neutram. Itaque qui bonos diligit, & malos odit ; & qui malos non odit, nec bonos diligit : Quia & diligere bonos, ex odio malorum venit ; & malos odiſſe, ex bonorum caritate deſcendit.

denying

denying God's attribute of *anger*, which removes the *punishments* of a future ſtate, overturns the *ſtate* itſelf. "Sive igitur gratiam "Deo, ſive iram, ſive utrumque detraxeris, religionem tolli ne- "ceſſe eſt."

In all this (as we ſay) he does not in the leaſt miſrepreſent the common concluſions of philoſophy. Plutarch delivering the ſentiments of learned Antiquity on this head, expreſly makes the denial of *future miſery*, to infer the denial of a *future ſtate*. "Death "is the final period of our being. But Superſtition ſays, *no*. She "ſtretches out life beyond life itſelf. Her fears extend further "than our exiſtence. She has joined to the idea of death, that "other inconſiſtent idea of eternal life in miſery. For when "all things come to an end, then, in the opinion of Superſtition, "they begin to be endleſs. Then, I can't tell what, dark and diſ- "mal gates of Tartarus fly open: then, rivers of fire, with all the "fountains of Styx, are broken up, &c.—Thus doth curſed Su- "perſtition oppoſe the voice of God, which hath declared death "to be the end of ſuffering*." *Death*, ſays he, *is the end of ſuffering*, therefore *the end of being*. Only with the ὕστερον πρότερον of the rhetoricians he has here, in the moſt rhetorical of all his diſcourſes, put the concluſion before the premiſſes.

3. But laſtly, I ſhall ſhew (under the next head, to which we are going) that the Philoſophers did not conſider the attribute of *grace and favour* (which they allowed) to be a *paſſion or affection*; though they conſidered *anger* (which they allowed not) under that idea.

II. As the foregoing objection would inſinuate that the univerſal Principle of *God's not being angry*, doth not prove *enough*; ſo, the next pretends, that it proves *too much:* For, ſecondly, it may be objected, that this principle deſtroys God's Providence here, as well as a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments hereafter; which

* ἄδε τινὲς ἀνοίγεσθαι πύλας βαθείας, καὶ πολαμοὶ πυρὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ σκότος ἀπορρῶγες ἀναπεφάνθαι— ἔτως ἡ κακοδαίμων δεισιδαιμονία καὶ θεῷ τὸ μὴ παθεῖν ἐκπέφευγεν.—De Superſt.

Providence

Providence ſeveral of the theiſtical Philoſophers, we know, did believe.

This will require conſideration.

Lactantius ſays: "All the philoſophers agree about the *anger*; "but concerning the *grace* or *favour* they are of different opinions*." And taking it for granted, that they conſidered the *grace* or *favour*, which they held, as well as the *anger*, which they denied, to be *a paſſion or affection*, he argues againſt them as above: and adds, "Therefore the error of thoſe who take away both *grace* and *anger* "is the moſt conſiſtent†." But methinks, the abſurdity of the error here imputed, ſhould have taught Lactantius, that the Philoſophers, who had rejected *anger* becauſe it was an human paſſion, could never give their God *favour* or *fondneſs*, which is another human paſſion: For though they ſometimes dogmatized like lunatics, they never ſyllogized like ideots; though their principles were often unnatural, their concluſions were rarely illogical. He ſhould therefore have ſeen, that thoſe, who held the *gratia* or benevolence of the divine Nature, conſidered it not as a *paſſion or affection*, but as an *efflux from its eſſence* ‡; on which they built their notion of a general Providence. So that when he ſays, *concerning the grace or favour, they are of different opinions*, we are to underſtand no more, than that ſome of them held a Providence, and others denied it.

Let us ſee then what kind of Providence the theiſtical Philoſophers believed. The PERIPATETICS and STOICS went pretty much together in this matter. It is commonly imputed to Ariſtotle, that he held no Providence to be extended lower than the moon: But this is a calumny which Chalcidias raiſed of him. What Ariſtotle meant by the words, which gave a handle to it, was *that a particular providence did not extend itſelf to individuals:* For

* Omnes philoſophi de *ira* conſentiunt, de *gratia* diſcrepant.

† Ergo conſtantior eſt error illorum, qui & iram ſimul, & gratiam tollunt.

‡ See the following quotation from Salluſt the philoſopher.

being

being a fataliſt in natural things, and at the ſame time maintaining free-will in man, he thought, if Providence were extended to individuals, it would either impoſe a neceſſity on human actions, or, as employed on mere contingencies, be itſelf frequently defeated; which would look like impotency: and not ſeeing any way to reconcile free-will and preſcience, he cut the knot, and denied that Providence extended its care over individuals. Zeno's notion of Providence, ſeems to have been as looſe *, yet his fataliſm was more uniform: and, indeed, better ſupported, for he denied free-will in man: Which was the only difference in this matter between him and Ariſtotle.

Here we have a Providence very conſiſtent with a diſbelief of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments; nay, almoſt deſtructive of it.

But the Pythagoreans and Platonists will not be put off ſo: They held a particular Providence, extending itſelf to Individuals: A Providence, which, according to ancient notions, could not be adminiſtered without the *affections of love and anger*. Here then lies the difficulty: Theſe Sects removed all paſſions from the Godhead, eſpecially *anger*; and, on that account, rejected a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments; while yet they believed a Providence, which was adminiſtered by the exerciſe of thoſe very paſſions. For the true ſolution of this difficulty, we muſt have recourſe to a prevailing principle of Paganiſm, often before hinted at, for the clearing up many obſcurities in Antiquity: I mean, that of *local tutelar Deities*. Pythagoras and Plato were deep in the Theology which taught, that the ſeveral regions of the earth were delivered over, by the Creator of the Univerſe, to the vicegerency and government of inferior Gods. This opinion was originally Egyptian; on whoſe authority theſe two Philoſophers re-

* Cotta, in Cicero, explaining the doctrine of the Stoics, ſays, Non curat [Deus] ſingulos homines. Non mirum, ne civitates quidem. Non eas? Ne nationes quidem et gentes. N. D. iii. 39.

ceived

ceived it; though it had been long the popular belief all over the pagan world. Hence, we ſee the writings of the Pythagoreans and Platoniſts ſo full of the DOCTRINE OF DEMONS: A doctrine, which even characterized the Theology of thoſe Sects. Now, theſe *Demons* were ever ſuppoſed to have *paſſions and affections*. On theſe principles and opinions the Greeks formed the *name* of that mixed moral mode, SUPERSTITION: they called it δεισιδαιμονία, which ſignifies the fear of Demons or inferior Gods. And theſe being ſuppoſed, by the *Philoſophers*, to have *paſſions*; and a Species, or at leaſt one of them (called, by the people, THE ENVIOUS DEMON) to be more than ordinary capricious and cruel in the exerciſe of the paſſions, theſe notions gave birth to all the extravagant Rites of attonement *: the practice of which, as we ſay, they called δεισιδαιμονία; intimating, in the very term, the *paſſion* which gave birth to them; and by which alone, the Ancients underſtood a particular Providence could be adminiſtered. And here it is worthy our obſervation, that Chalcidias gives *this* as the very reaſon why the Peripatetics rejected a particular Providence, (he ſays indeed, though falſely, all Providence below the moon) namely, becauſe they held nothing of the adminiſtration of inferior Deities. His words are theſe: "Ariſtotle holds that the providence of God deſcends even "to the region of the moon: but that, below that orb, things "were neither governed by the decrees of God, nor upheld by the "wiſdom and aid of *Angels*. Nor does he ſuppoſe any provident- "tial intervention of *Demons* †." So cloſely united, in the opinion of this writer, whom Fabricius calls *gnariſſimus veteris philoſophiæ* ‡, was the doctrine of a particular Providence, and the doctrine of Demons and ſubaltern Deities.

* See note [Z], at the end of this Book.

† Ariſtoteles Dei providentiam uſque ad lunæ regionem progredi cenſet; infra vero neque providentiæ ſcitis regi, nec angelorum ope conſultiſque ſuſtentari: nec vero Dæmonum proſpicientiam putat intervenire. Com. in Platonis Timæum.

‡ Bibl. Lat. l. iii. c. 7.

But when now the Soul is diſengaged from the body, it is no longer, in their opinion, under the government of Demons; nor conſequently ſubject to the effects of the Demonic paſſions. And what becomes of it then, we ſhall ſee hereafter. A remarkable paſſage in Apuleius, will explain and juſtify the ſolution here given: "God *(ſaith this author)* cannot undergo any *temporary* exerciſe of "his power or goodneſs: And therefore cannot be affected with "indignation or anger; cannot be depreſſed with grief, or elated "with joy. But, being free from all the paſſions of the mind, he "neither ſorrows nor exults; nor makes any *inſtantaneous* reſolution "to act, or to forbear acting. Every thing of this kind ſuits only "the middle nature of the Demons: For they are placed between "Gods and Men; as well in the frame and compoſition of their "minds, as in the ſituation of their abodes, having immortality in "common with the former, and *affections* in common with the "latter. For they are ſubject, like us, to be every way irritated "and appeaſed; ſo as to be inflamed by anger, melted by com-"paſſion, allured by gifts, ſoftened by prayers, exaſperated by ne-"glect, and ſoothed again by obſervance. In a word, to be af-"fected by every thing that can make impreſſion on the human "mind *." Plutarch ſays the ſame thing, but with this remarkable addition, that it was the very doctrine of Plato and Pythagoras †.

On

*—Debet Deus nullam perpeti vel operis vel amoris temporalem perfunctionem; & idcirco nec indignatione nec ira contingi, nullo angore contrahi, nullâ alacritate geſtire: ſed ab omnibus paſſionibus animi liber, nec dolere unquam, nec aliquando lætari, nec aliquid repentinum velle vel nolle. Sed & hæc cuncta, ut id genus cætera, Dæmonum mediocritati congruunt. Sunt enim inter homines & deos, ut loco regionis, ita ingenio mentis interſiti, habentes communem cum ſuperis immortalitatem cum inferis paſſionem. Nam perinde ut nos, pati poſſunt omnia animorum placamenta vel incitamenta; ut & ira incitentur, & miſericordia flectantur, & donis invitentur, & precibus leniantur, & contumeliis exaſperentur, & honoribus mulceantur, aliiſque omnibus, ad ſimilem nobis modum varientur. De Deo Socratis.

† Βέλτιον ἓν οἱ τὰ περὶ τὸν Τυφῶνα καὶ Ὄσιριν καὶ Ἶσιν ἱστορύμενα, μήτε θεῶν παθήματα, μήτε ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΝ εἶναι νομίζοντες, ὡς καὶ ΠΛΑΤΩΝ, καὶ ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΣ, καὶ Ξενοκράτης, καὶ Χρυσίππος,

On the whole then it appears, that the Principle of *God's not being angry*, which ſubverted the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, did not at all affect a particular Providence here; and that the *grace or favour* which ſome of them left unto the Deity was no paſſion or affection, like the *anger*, which they took away; but only a *ſimple benevolence*, which, in the conſtruction of the Univerſe, was directed to the beſt; but did not interfere to prevent diſorders in particular Syſtems. A benevolence too, that went not from the *will*, but the *eſſence* of the ſupreme Being *.

SALLUST, the Philoſopher, writing of the *Gods and the World*, propoſes in his fourteenth chapter, to ſpeak to this queſtion, *how the immutable Gods may be ſaid to be angry and appeaſed* †? In the firſt place, he ſays, that God hath no human paſſions; he *neither rejoices, is angry, nor appeaſed with gifts* ‡: So far is certainly agreeable to truth. But how then? Why, the Gods are *eternally beneficent* (that is, as Seneca ſays below, cauſa Diis benefaciendi NATURA) and beneficent only, and never hurtful §. Thus having avoided one extreme, he falls into another; and ſuppoſeth it to be *blind Nature*, and not *Will*, which determines God's beneficence. The inference from which is, that the rewards and puniſhments of Heaven are the *natural and neceſſary effects of actions*; *not poſitive, arbitrary conſequences, or the deſignation of Will:* And ſo our Philoſopher maintains. For now the difficulty being, that if *nature*

Χρυσίππῳ, ἐπόμενοι τοῖς ΠΑΛΑΙ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΥΣ, ἐξῃρημενεστέρους μὲν ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι λέγουσι, καὶ πολλῷ τῇ δυνάμει τῶν φύσιν ὑπερφερούσας ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ θεῖον οὐκ ἀμιγεῖς, οὐδὲ ἄκρατον ἔχουσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχῆς φύσει καὶ σώματος αἰσθήσει ἐνσυνειληχὸς, ἡδονὴν δεχομένην καὶ πόνον ὅσα ταύταις ἐγγιγνόμενα ταῖς μεταβολαῖς πάθη, τοὺς μὲν μᾶλλον, τοὺς δὲ ἧττον ἐπιφαράττει· γίνοιτο γὰρ ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ δαίμοσιν, ἀρετῆς διαφοραὶ καὶ κακίας. De If. & Of. p. 642.

* So Seneca informs us: Quæ cauſa eſt Diis bene faciendi? NATURA. Errat, ſiquis putat illos nocere velle: Non poſſunt. Nec accipere injuriam queunt, nec facere; lædere etenim lædique conjunctum eſt. Summa illa ac pulcherrima omnium natura, quos periculo exemit, nec periculos quidem fecit. Ep. 95.

† Πῶς οἱ Θεοὶ μὴ μεταβαλλόμενοι, ὀργίζεσθαι καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι λέγονται.

‡ Οὐ χαίρει Θεὸς—ἀλλ' ὀργίζεται—οὐδὲ δώροις θεραπεύεται.

§ Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἀγαθόν τε εἶσιν ΑΕΙ, καὶ ὠφελοῦσι μόνον· βλάπτουσι δὲ οὐδ' ὅλως.

be the cauſe of the beneficence of the Godhead, how can Providence beſtow good on the virtuous man, and evil on the wicked? Our Sophiſt reſolves it thus: "While we are good, we are joined by "ſimilitude of nature to the Gods; and when evil, ſeparated by "diſſimilitude. While we practiſe virtue, we are in union with "them; but defection to vice makes them our enemies; not be-"cauſe they are *angry* at us, but becauſe our crimes interpoſe be-"tween us and their divine irradiations, and leave us a prey to "the avenging Demons.—So that to ſay, God is turned away "from the wicked, is the ſame as to ſay, THE SUN IS HID FROM "A BLIND MAN *." An apt compariſon: and very expreſſive of the principle of this philoſophy; which ſuppoſes the influence of the *Deity*, to be like that of the *Sun*, phyſical and neceſſary; and, conſequently, all reward and puniſhment not the *moral*, but the *natural*, iſſue of things: A Platonic notion, entirely ſubverſive of the proper doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, as conceived every where by the People, and taught by the Chriſtian Religion: which holds, that they ariſe out of God's Goodneſs and Juſtice, not by way of emanation, as light from the Sun, but as the deſignation of *Will:* which diſparts *freely*, though not fancifully or capriciouſly; as, with equal malignity and folly, my reaſoning in this place hath been repreſented.

On the whole, then, we find, that the Pagans in taking away *human paſſions* from God, left him nothing but that kind of natural excellence, which went not from his *will*, but his *eſſence* only; and conſequently, was deſtitute of *morality*. This was one extreme. The primitive Fathers (as Lactantius) underſtanding clearly that the Platonic notion of God overturned a *future judgement*, and not finding the medium, which their Maſters in Science, the Philo-

* Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀγαθοὶ μὲν ὄντες δι' ὁμοιότητα Θεοῖς συναπτόμεθα, κακοὶ δὲ γενόμενοι δι' ἀνομοιότητα χωριζόμεθα· καὶ κατ' ἀρετὰς ζῶντες, ἐχόμεθα τῶν Θεῶν, κακοὶ δὲ γενόμενοι ἐχθροὺς ἡμῖν ποιοῦμεν ἐκείνους· οὐκ ἐκείνων ὀργιζομένων, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων Θεοὺς μὲν ἡμῖν ἐκ εὐνῶν ἐλλάμπειν. Δαίμοσι δὲ κολασικοῖς συναπτόντων.—ὥστε ὅμοιον τὸν Θεὸν λέγειν τοὺς κακοὺς ἀποστρέφεσθαι, καὶ τὸν ΗΛΙΟΝ τοῖς ἐστερημένοις τῶν ὄψεων κρύπτεσθαι.

sophers,

ſophers, had miſſed, ſuppoſed (as we have ſeen) that God had *human paſſions*. This was the other extreme. And whence, I would aſk, did both theſe extremes ariſe, but from neither party's being able to diſtinguiſh between *human paſſions* and the divine attributes of GOODNESS AND JUSTICE? the true medium between *human paſſions* on the one hand, and a *blind excellence of nature*, on the other.

II. I proceed now to the OTHER CAUSE, which kept the Philoſophers from believing a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. As the firſt was an erroneous notion concerning the *nature* of GOD, ſo this was a much more abſurd one concerning the *nature* of the SOUL. For, as our epic Poet ſings,

"Much of the SOUL they talk, but all awry *."

There are but two poſſible ways of conceiving of the *Soul:* we muſt hold it to be, either a QUALITY, or a SUBSTANCE.

1. Thoſe Ancients who believed it to be only a *Quality*, as Epicurus, Dicæarchus, Ariſtoxenus, Aſclepiades, and Galen, come not into the account; it being impoſſible that theſe ſhould not believe its total annihilation upon death. The ingenious conceit of it's SLEEP was reſerved to do honour to modern *Invention.*

2. But the generality of the Philoſophers held it to be a *Subſtance*; and ALL who ſo held, were unanimous that it was a DISCERPED PART OF A WHOLE; and that this *Whole* was GOD; into whom it was again to be *reſolved.*

But concerning this *Whole* they differed.

SOME held that there was only *one* Subſtance in Nature: Others held *two.*

THEY who maintained the *one* Univerſal Subſtance, or TO 'EN, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, were ATHEISTS; and altogether in the ſentiments of the modern Spinoziſts; whoſe Maſter apparently catched this epidemical contagion of human reaſon from Antiquity.

* Par. Reg. Book iv. ver. 313.

The

The OTHERS, who believed there were *two* general Subſtances in nature, GOD and MATTER, were taught to conclude, by their way of interpreting the famous maxim of *ex nihilo nihil fit*, that they were both *eternal*. Theſe were their THEISTS; though approaching ſometimes, on the one hand, to what is called *Spinoziſm*; ſometimes, on the other, to *Manicheiſm*.

For they, who held *two* Subſtances, were again ſubdivided.

Some of them, as the Cyrenaics, the Cynics, and the Stoics, held *both* theſe Subſtances to be *material*; which gave an opening to Spinoziſm: Others, as the Pythagoreans, the Platoniſts, and Peripatetics, held only *one* to be *material*; which gave the like opening to *Manicheiſm*.

Laſtly, the maintainers of the *immateriality* of the divine Subſtance, were likewiſe divided into two parties; the firſt of which held but *one* perſon in the Godhead; the other, *two* or *three*. So that as the *former* believed the Soul to be part of the ſupreme God; the *latter* believed it to be part only of the ſecond or third *Hypoſtaſis*. Origen, ſpeaking of the Greek Philoſophers, ſays, "They plainly ſuppoſe the whole World to be God. The Stoics make it the *firſt* God. As to the followers of Plato, ſome make it the *ſecond*, and ſome the *third* God *."

As they multiplied the Perſons of the Godhead, ſo they multiplied the ſubſiſtence of the Soul; ſome giving *two*, and ſome, more liberally, *three* to every man. But it is to be obſerved, that they eſteemed only one of theſe to be part of God; the others were only elementary matter, or mere qualities.

Theſe things are but hinted at, as juſt ſufficient to our purpoſe: A full explanation of them, though both curious and uſeful, would take up too much room, and lead us too far from our ſubject.

Now, however They, who held the Soul to be a real ſubſtance, differed thus in circumſtantials, yet in this conſequence of its ſub-

* Σαφῶς δὲ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον λέγειν εἶναι θεόν. Στωικοὶ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον. Οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος τὸν δεύτερον· τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν τρίτον. Cont. Celſ. l. v.

ſtantiality,

ſtantiality, *that it was part of God, diſcerped from him, and would be reſolved again into him*, they all, we ſay, agreed. For thoſe who held but *one* ſubſtance, could not but eſteem the ſoul a part of it; and thoſe who held *two*, conſidered thoſe *two* as conjoined, and compoſing an *Univerſe*; juſt as the ſoul and body compoſed a *man*. Of which Univerſe, God was the ſoul; and matter, the body. Hence they concluded, that as the human body was reſolved into its Parent Matter, ſo the ſoul was reſolved into its Parent Spirit.

Agreeably to this explanation, Cicero delivers the common ſentiments of his Greek maſters on this head: "A natura Deorum, ut "doctiſſimis ſapientiſſimiſque placuit, HAUSTOS animos & LIBATOS "habemus *,"" And again: "Humanus autem animus DECERP-"TUS EX MENTE DIVINA, cum alio nullo niſi cum ipſo Deo (ſi hoc "fas eſt dictu) comparari poteſt †."

And, in another place, he ſays,—"animos hominum quadam "ex parte extrinſecus eſſe tractos & hauſtos, ex qua intelligimus "eſſe *extra* divinum animum humanus unde ducatur ‡." He afterwards gives the whole ſyſtem, from Pacuvianus, more at large:

"Quicquid eſt hoc, omnia animat, format, alit, auget, creat,
Sepelit, recipitque in ſeſe omnia, omniumque idem eſt Pater;
Indidemque, eademque oriuntur de integro, atque eodem occidunt §."

And St. Auſtin did not think them injured in this repreſentation. In his excellent work of the *City of God*, he thus expoſes the abſurdity of that general principle: "Quid infelicius credi poteſt, "quam Dei partem vapulare, cum puer vapulat? Jam vero partes "Dei fieri laſcivas, iniquas, impias, atque omnino damnabiles quis "ferre poteſt, niſi qui prorſus inſanit ||?"

* De Divin. l. i. c. 49.
† See note [AA], at the end of this Book.
‡ De Divin. l. i. c. 32.
§ Ib. l. i. c. 57. || L. iv. c. 13.

Now,

Now, leſt the reader ſhould ſuſpect that theſe kind of phraſes, ſuch as, *the ſoul's being part of God*;—*diſcerped from him*;—*of his Nature*; which perpetually occur in the writings of the Ancients, are only *highly figurative expreſſions*, and not meaſurable by the ſevere ſtandard of metaphyſical propriety; he is deſired to take notice of one conſequence drawn from this principle, and univerſally held by Antiquity, which was this, *That the ſoul was eternal, à parte* ANTE, as well as *à parte* POST; which the Latins well expreſſed by the word SEMPITERNUS*.

For this we ſhall produce an authority above exception: "It is "a thing very well known (ſays the accurate Cudworth) that, ac- "cording to the ſenſe of Philoſophers, theſe two things were always "included together, in that one opinion of the Soul's immorta- "lity, namely, its *pre-exiſtence*, as well as its *poſt-exiſtence*. Neither "was there ever any of the Ancients, before *Chriſtianity*, that held "the Soul's future permanency after death, who did not likewiſe "aſſert its pre-exiſtence; they *clearly perceiving* that if it was once "granted, that the ſoul was generated, it could never be proved "but that it might be alſo corrupted: And *therefore* the aſſertors "of the Soul's immortality commonly began here; firſt to prove "its pre-exiſtence†, &c." What this learned man is quoted for, is the fact: And, for that, we may ſafely take his word: As to the reaſon given, *that*, we ſee, is viſionary; invented, perhaps, to hide the enormity of the Principle it came from. The true reaſon was its being a natural conſequence of the opinion, that *the Soul was part of God.* This, Tully plainly intimates, where, after having quoted the verſes from Pacuvianus given above, he ſubjoins, "Quid eſt igitur, cur domus ſit omnium una, eaque communis, "cumque animi hominum *ſemper fuerint futurique ſint*, cur hi, "quid ex quoque eveniat, & quid quamque rem ſignificet, per- "ſpicere non poſſint?" And again as plainly, "Animorum nulla

* See note [BB], at the end of this Book.

† Intellectual Syſtem, p. 38.

"in

" in terris origo inveniri poteſt:—His enim in naturis nihil ineſt,
" quod vim memoriæ, mentis, cogitationis habeat? quod & præte-
" rita teneat, & futura provideat, & complecti poſſit præſentia;
" quæ ſola divina ſunt. Nec invenietur unquam, unde ad homi-
" nem venire poſſint, niſi a Deo.—Ita quicquid eſt illud, quod ſen-
" tit, quod ſapit, quod vult, quod viget, cœleſte & divinum eſt;
" OB EAMQUE REM ÆTERNUM SIT NECESSE EST *."

It hath been obſerved, in the laſt ſection, that the famous argument of Plato, explained, and ſtrongly recommended by Cicero, ſuppoſes the ſoul to have been from eternity, becauſe it is a ſelf-exiſtent ſubſtance; which is plainly ſuppoſing it to have been eternal *à parte ante*, becauſe it is *a part of God.*

Here then is a *conſequence*, univerſally acknowledged, which will not allow the principle, from whence it proceeded, to be underſtood in any other ſenſe than one ſtrictly metaphyſical. Let us conſider it a little. We are told they held the ſoul to be *eternal*: If eternal, it muſt be either independent on God, or part of his ſubſtance. Independent it could not be, for there can be but one independent of the ſame kind of ſubſtance: The Ancients, indeed, thought it no abſurdity to ſay, that God and Matter were both ſelf-exiſtent, but they allowed no third; therefore they muſt needs conclude that *it was part of God.*

And in that ſenſe, indeed, they called it (as we ſee in the laſt ſection) *independent*, when, on account of its original, they gave it this attribute of the Deity; and, with that, joined the others of *ungenerated*, and ſelf-*exiſtent.*

But when the Ancients are ſaid to hold the *pre-* and *poſt-exiſtence* of the Soul, and therefore to attribute a proper eternity to it, we muſt not ſuppoſe that they underſtood it to be eternal in its *diſtinct and peculiar exiſtence*; but that it was *diſcerped* from the ſubſtance of God, in *time*; and would, in *time*, be rejoined, and *reſolved* into

* Fragm. de Conſolatione.

it again. This they explained by a cloſed Veſſel filled with ſea-water, which ſwimming a while upon the ocean, does, on the Veſſel's breaking, flow in again, and mingle with the common maſs. They only differed about the time of this re-union and reſolution: The greater part holding it to be at death *; but the Pythagoreans, not till after many tranſmigrations. The Platoniſts went between theſe two opinions; and rejoined pure and unpolluted ſouls immediately, to the univerſal ſpirit: but thoſe which had contracted much defilement, were ſent into a ſucceſſion of other bodies, to purge and purify them, before they returned to their Parent Subſtance †. And theſe were the two ſorts of the NATURAL METEMPSYCHOSIS, which we have obſerved above, to have been really held by thoſe two Schools of philoſophy ‡.

That we have given a fair repreſentation of the ancient belief in this matter, we appeal to the learned Gaſſendi: "Interim tamen "vix ulli fuere (quæ humanæ mentis caligo, atque imbecillitas eſt) "qui non inciderint in errorem illum de REFUSIONE IN ANIMAM "MUNDI. Nimirum, ſicut exiſtimârunt ſingulorum animas parti-"culas eſſe animæ mundanæ, quarum quælibet ſuo corpore, ut "aqua vaſe, includeretur; ita & reputârunt unamquamque ani-"mam, corpore diſſoluto, quaſi diffracto vaſe, effluere, ac Animæ "mundi, e qua deducta fuerit, iterum uniri; niſi quod plerumque "ob contractas in impuro corpore ſordeis, vitiorumque maculas, "non prius uniantur, quàm ſenſim omneis ſordeis exuerint, & aliæ "ſeriùs, aliæ ocyùs repurgatæ, atque immunes ab omni labe evaſe-"rint §." A great Authority! and the greater, for that it pro-

* See the Critical Inquiry into the Opinions and Practice of Ancient Philoſophers, p. 125, & ſeq. 2d edit.

† Nec enim omnibus iidem illi ſapientes arbitrati ſunt eundem curſum in cœlum patere. Nam vitiis & ſceleribus contaminatos deprimi in tenebras, atque in cœno jacere docuerunt: caſtos autem, puros, integros, incorruptos, bonis etiam ſtudiis atque artibus expolitos, levi quodam ac facili lapſu ad Deos, id eſt, ad naturam ſui ſimilem pervolare. Fragm. de conſolatione.

‡ See note [CC], at the end of this Book.

§ Animadv. in decimum librum Diogenis Laertii, p. 550.

ceeded

ceeded from the plain view of the fact only: Gaſſendi appearing not to have been ſenſible of the conſequence here deduced from it, namely, *that none of the ancient philoſophers* COULD *believe a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments*. Otherwiſe, we may be ſure, he had not failed to urge that conſequence, in his famous Apology for Epicurus; whoſe monſtrous errors he all along ſtrives to palliate, by confronting them with others as bad, amongſt the Theiſtic ſects of Philoſophy.

Thus we ſee, that this very opinion of the *Soul's eternity*, which hath made modern writers conclude that the ancient Sages believed a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment, was, in truth, the very reaſon why they believed it not.

The *primitive chriſtian* writers were more quick-ſighted: They plainly ſaw, this Principle was deſtructive of ſuch future ſtate, and therefore employed all their Eloquence, and more ſucceſsfully than they did their Logic, to oppoſe it. Thus Arnobius (not indeed attending to the *double doctrine* of the ancient Philoſophy) accuſes Plato of *contradiction*, for holding this Principle, and yet, at the ſame time, preaching up a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment *.

But it muſt be confeſſed, ſome of the *Fathers*, as was their cuſtom, ran into the oppoſite extreme; and held the Soul to be naturally *mortal*; and, to ſupport this, maintained its *materiality*: Juſt as in the caſe before, to ſupport *human paſſions* in the Godhead,

* Quid? Plato idem veſter in eo volumine, quod de animæ immortalitate compoſuit, non Acherontem, non Stygem, non Cocytum fluvios, & Pyriphlegetontem nominat, in quibus animas aſſeverat volvi, mergi, exuri? Et homo prudentiæ non pravæ, & examinis judiciique perpenſi, rem inenodabilem ſuſcipit, ut cum animas dicat immortales, perpetuas, & corporali ſoliditate privatas; puniri eas dicat tamen, & doloris afficiat ſenſu. Quis autem hominum non vidit, quod ſit immortale, quod ſimplex, nullum poſſe dolorem admittere; quod autem ſentiat dolorem, immortalitatem habere non poſſe? Et qui poterit territari formidinis alicujus horrore, cui fuerit perſuaſum, tam ſe eſſe immortalem quam ipſum Deum primum; nec ab eo judicari quidquam de ſe poſſe, cum ſit una immortalitas in utroque, nec in alterius altera conditionis poſſit æqualitate vexari? Adver. Gentes, l. ii. p. 52—64. Ed. Lugd. Bat. 1651. Quarto.

they gave him a *human form.* Tatian, Tertullian, and Arnobius, fell into this fooliſh error. Others indeed, as Juſtin Martyr, and Irenæus, went more ſoberly to work; affirming only, againſt the notion of its *eternity*, that it was *created* by God, and depended continually upon him for its duration. In the heat of diſpute, indeed, ſome unwary words may now and then drop from the ſobereſt of them, which ſeem to favour the doctrine of the Soul's *materiality:* But it is but candid to correct them by the general tenor of their ſentiments.

This was the true original of every thing looking ſo untowardly, in the writings of the *Fathers:* which had Mr. Dodwell conſidered, he had never written ſo weak a book as his *epiſtolary diſcourſe* againſt the Soul's immortality, from the *judgment of the Fathers*; whoſe opinions he hath one while egregiouſly miſtaken; at another, as groſly miſrepreſented.

Having now ſeen that the Philoſophers in general, held *the Soul to be part of God, and reſolvable into him*; leſt any doubt ſhould remain, I ſhall ſhew in the next place, that this was, more eſpecially, believed by the famous PHILOSOPHIC QUATERNION: And if held by them, we cannot have the leaſt doubt of the reſt.

Cicero, in the perſon of Velleius, the Epicurean, accuſes PYTHAGORAS, for holding that the human ſoul was diſcerped from the ſubſtance of God, or the univerſal nature. "Nam Pythagoras, qui cen-" ſuit animum eſſe per naturam rerum omnem intentum & commean-" tem, ex quo noſtri animi carperentur, non vidit diſtractione huma-" norum animorum diſcerpi & lacerari Deum *." Here, Velleius does not (as hath been pretended) exaggerate or ſtrain matters, to ſerve his purpoſe. Pythagoras held the old maxim *ex nihilo nihil fit*, and, therefore, muſt needs hold the ſoul to be taken from ſome foreign and external ſubſtance. And he allowed only two ſubſtances, *God* and *matter*: therefore, as he taught the Soul was immaterial, he could not poſſibly conceive it to be any other than a Part of God. So that

* Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 11.

Velleius's

Velleius's conſequence naturally follows, that as Pythagoras held the ſoul to be a Subſtance not a Quality, he muſt ſuppoſe it to be torn and diſcerped from the Subſtance of God. To the ſame purpoſe, Sextus Empiricus:—Pythagoras *and* Empedocles, *and the whole company of the* Italic *ſchool, hold that our Souls are not only of the ſame nature with one another, and with the Gods, but likewiſe with the irrational ſouls of brutes: For that there is one ſpirit that pervades the Univerſe, and ſerves it for a ſoul; which unites us and them together* *. That Pythagoras and Plato held the *human* ſoul to be of the ſame nature with God, has been ſeen at large; that they ſuppoſed the *brutal* ſoul to be of the ſame nature with the human, which is the other particular here aſſerted by Sextus Empiricus, appears from the teſtimony of Plutarch——Πυθαγόρας, Πλάτων, λογικὰς μὲν εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων καλουμένων, τὰς ψυχὰς, ἐ μὴν λογικῶς ἐνεργέσας παρὰ τὴν δυσκρασίαν τῶν σωμάτων †.—For the Ancients taught that the diſcerped Parts of this univerſal Spirit, the Anima mundi, or whatſoever name they gave it, acted with different degrees of activity and force, according to the different nature and diſpoſition of the Matter with which theſe parts were inveſted. Laſtly, Laertius tells us, that Pythagoras ſuppoſed *the ſoul to be different from the life*; *and immortal*; *for that the Subſtance, from which it was diſcerped, was immortal* ‡.

If we may give credit to the ancient Chriſtian writers, we ſhall find they too charge the Pythagoreans with theſe very principles. Jerom ſays,—"Juxta Pythagoricorum dogmata, qui hominem "exæquant Deo, et de ejus dicunt eſſe *ſubſtantia* §." Auſtin ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe—"Cedant et illi quos quidem puduit dicere

* Οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Πυθαγόραν καὶ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα, καὶ τῶν Ἰταλῶν πολῆϑος, φασὶ μὴ μόνον ἡμῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ϑεοὺς εἶναί τινα κοινωνίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα τῶν ζώων· ἓν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν πνεῦμα, τὸ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου διῆκον ψυχῆς τρόπον, τὸ καὶ ἡμᾶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἑνοῦν, lib. ix. Adv. Phyſic. § 127.

† Plac. Phil. l. v. c. 20.

‡ Διαφέρειν τε ψυχὴν, ζωῆς· ἀϑάνατόν τε εἶναι αὐτὴν, ἐπειδήπερ καὶ τὴ ἀφ' ἧ ἀπέσπασται, ἀϑάνατός ἐστι. Vit. Phil. l. viii. § 28.

§ Cteſiphon. adver. Pelag.

"Deum

" Deum corpus eſſe, verumtamen *ejuſdem naturæ*, cujus ille eſt, " animos noſtros eſſe putaverunt; ita non eos movet tanta *muta-* " *bilitas animæ, quam Dei naturæ tribuere nefas eſt* *."

PLATO, without any ſoftening, frequently calls the Soul, God; and part of God, NOYN AEI ΘEON. Plutarch ſays, " *Pythagoras and Plato held the ſoul to be immortal: For that launching out into the Soul of the univerſe, it returns to its parent and originat* †." Tertullian charges this opinion home upon him. " Primo quidem " oblivionis capacem animam non cedam, quia tantam illi con- " ceſſit divinitatem, ut *Deo adæquetur* ‡." Arnobius does no leſs, where he apoſtrophiſes the Platoniſts in this manner: " Ipſe deni- " que animus, qui immortalis à vobis & Deus eſſe narratur, cur " in ægris æger ſit, in infantibus ſtolidus, in ſenectute defeſſus? " Delira, & fatua, & inſana § !" The latter part of the ſentence is commonly read thus;——*Cur in ægris æger ſit, in infantibus ſtolidus, in ſenectute defeſſus, delira, & fatua, & inſana?* The Critics think ſomething is here wanting before the three laſt words. But it appears to me only to have been wrong pointed; there ſhould be a note of interrogation inſtead of a comma at *defeſſus?*——*Delira, & fatua, & inſana*, making a ſentence of itſelf, by means of *narratis* underſtood. Hermias in his *Irriſ. Gent. Phil.* expreſſes himſelf, on the ſame occaſion, pretty much in the ſame manner: ταῦτα ἂν τί χρὴ καλεῖν; ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τεραστίαν, ἢ ἄνοιαν, ἢ μανίαν, ἢ ῥάστην. Euſebius expreſſly ſays, that Plato held the ſoul to be *ungenerated*, and to be derived by way of *emanation from the firſt cauſe*; as being unwilling to allow that it could be *made out of nothing*. Which neceſſarily implies, that, according to Plato's doctrine, God was the material or ſubſtantial cauſe of the Soul, or that the Soul was part of his ſubſtance ||.

* De civ. Dei, viii. 5.

† Πυθαγόρας, Πλάτων, ἀΐδιον εἶναι τὴν ψυχήν· ἐξιοῦσαν γὰρ εἰς τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ψυχὴν, ἀναχωρεῖν πρὸς τὸ ὁμογενές. De Plac. Phil. l. iv. c. 7.

‡ De anima, c. xxiv. § Adv. Gentes, l. ii. p. 47.

|| Ὁ δέ γε Πλάτων, ἀσωμάτας μὲν καὶ τοιαύτας οὐσίας, τὰς λογικὰς φύσεις ὁμοίως Ἑβραίοις ἴσασιν, διαπίπτει δὲ τῆς ἀκολουθίας· πρῶτον μὲν, ἀγενήτους εἶναι φάσκων αὐτὰς ὥσπερ καὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἔπειτα ἐξ ἀπορρήτου τοῦ μὴ ὄντος αὐτὰς γεγονέναι διδόναι βέλεται. Præp. Evang. l. xiii. c. 15.

There

There is indeed a paſſage in Stobæus, which hath been underſtood by ſome, to contradict what it here delivered as the ſentiments of Plato. It is where Speuſippus, the nephew and follower of Plato, ſays, *that the* MIND *was neither the ſame with* THE ONE, *nor* THE GOOD; *but had a peculiar nature of its own* *. Our Stanley ſuppoſes † him to ſpeak here of the *human mind:* And then, indeed, the contradiction is evident. But that learned man ſeems to have been miſtaken, and miſled by his author, Stobæus; who has miſplaced this *placit*, and put it into a chapter with ſeveral others, which relate to the *human mind.* I conceive it to be certain that Speuſippus was here ſpeaking of a different thing; namely, of the nature of the third hypoſtaſis in the Platonic Trinity; the ΝΟΥΣ, or λόγος, ſo intitled by his uncle; which he would, by the words in queſtion, perſonally diſtinguiſh from the ΤΟ ̓ ̔ΕΝ, the ONE, the *firſt* perſon; and from the Τ̓ΑΓΑΘΟΝ, the GOOD, the *ſecond* in that Trinity.

ARISTOTLE thought of the Soul like the reſt, as we learn from a paſſage quoted by Cudworth ‡ out of his Nichomachean *ethics*; where having ſpoken of the ſenſitive ſoul, and declared it to be mortal, he goes on in this manner: *It remains that the mind or intellect, and that alone (pre-exiſting) enter from without, and be only* DIVINE §.

But then he diſtinguiſhes again concerning this *Mind* or *intellect*, and makes it two-fold; *agent* and *patient:* The former of which, he concludes to be *immortal*, and the latter *corruptible.—The agent Intellect is only immortal and eternal, but the paſſive is corruptible* ||. Cudworth thinks this a very doubtful and obſcure paſſage; and imagines Ariſtotle was led to write thus unintelligibly, by his doctrine of *forms* and *qualities*; which confounds corporeal with

* Σπευσίππος τὸν νῶν ἔτε τῷ ἑνὶ, ἔτε τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸν αὐτὸν, ἰδιοφυῆ δέ. Eccl. Phyſ. l. i. c. 1.

† Hiſt. of Phil. Part. v. Art. SPEUSIPPUS, c. 2.

‡ Intell. Syſtem, p. 55.

§ Λείπεται δὲ τὸν νῶν μόνον θύραθεν ἐπεισιέναι, καὶ θεῖον εἶναι μόνον.

|| Τοῦτο μόνον ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀΐδιον, ὁ δὲ παθητικὸς νοῦς φθαρτός.

incorporeal

incorporeal ſubſtances: But had that excellent perſon reflected on the general doctrine of the ΤΟ᾽ ἝΝ, he would have ſeen, the paſſage was plain and eaſy: and that Ariſtotle, from the common principle of the Human Soul's being part of the Divine Subſtance, draws a concluſion againſt a future ſtate of ſeparate exiſtence; which, though (as it now appears) all the Philoſophers embraced, yet all were not ſo forward to avow. The obvious meaning of the words then is this: *The agent Intelligent* (ſays he) *is only immortal and eternal, but the paſſive, corruptible, i. e.* The particular ſenſations of the ſoul *(the paſſive Intelligent)* will ceaſe after death; and the ſubſtance of it (*the agent Intelligent*) will be reſolved into the Soul of the Univerſe. For it was Ariſtotle's opinion, who compared the Soul to a *raſa tabula*, that human ſenſations and reflections were paſſions: Theſe therefore are what he finely calls, the *paſſive Intelligent*; which, he ſays, ſhall ceaſe, or is corruptible. What he meant by the *agent Intelligent*, we learn from his commentators; who interpret it to ſignify, as Cudworth here acknowledges, the DIVINE INTELLECT; which gloſs Ariſtotle himſelf fully juſtifies, in calling it ΘΕΙΟΝ, *divine*. But what need of many words? The Learned well know, that the *intellectus agens* of Ariſtotle was the very ſame with the *anima mundi* of Plato and Pythagoras.

Thus, this ſeeming extravagance in dividing the human mind into *agent* and *patient*, appears very plain and accurate: But the not having this common key to the ancient Metaphyſics, hath kept the followers of Ariſtotle long at variance amongſt themſelves, whether their maſter did, or did not believe the Soul to be immortal. The anonymous writer of the life of Pythagoras, as we find it in the Extract, by Photius, ſays, *that* Plato *and* Ariſtotle *with one conſent agree that the Soul is immortal: Though ſome, not fathoming the profound mind of* Ariſtotle, *ſuppoſe that he held the Soul to be mortal**;

* Ὅτι Πλάτων, φησὶ, καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, ἀθάνατον ὁμοίως λέγεσι τὴν ψυχήν· κἂν τινες εἰς τὸν Ἀριστοτέλους νοῦν οὐκ ἐμβαθύνοντες, θνητὴν νομίζουσιν αὐτὸν λέγειν. Phot. Bibl. Cod. 259.

that

that is, miſtaking the *paſſive Intelligent* (by which Ariſtotle meant the preſent partial ſenſations) for the Soul itſelf, or the *agent Intelligent*. Nay, this way of talking of the *paſſive Intelligent* made ſome, as Nemeſius, even imagine that he held the Soul to be only a quality *.

As to the STOICS, Cleanthes held (as Stobæus tells us) that *every thing was made out of one, and would be again reſolved into one* †. But let Seneca ſpeak for them all.—*And why ſhould you not believe ſomething divine to be in him, who is indeed* PART OF THE GODHEAD? *That* WHOLE, *in which we are contained, is* ONE, *and that* ONE *is* GOD; *we being his Companions and Members* ‡.

Epictetus ſays, the Souls of men *have the neareſt relation to God, as being parts, or fragments of him, diſcerped and torn from his Subſtance.* Συναφεὶς τῷ θεῷ, ἅτε αὐτοῦ μόρια ὄντα ἢ ἀποσπάσματα. This paſſage amongſt others, equally ſtrong, is quoted by the learned Dr. *Moor*, in his book of the *Immortality of the ſoul* §. And one cannot but ſmile at the good Doctor's explanation of a general Principle which he could by no means approve. *Theſe expreſſions* (ſays he) *make the Soul of man a ray or beam of the Soul of the World, or of God. But we are to take notice,* THEY ARE BUT METAPHORICAL PHRASES. So, the Socinian, to texts of ſcripture full as ſtrong for the *doctrine of the Redemption*. And ſo, indeed, men of all Parties, when they would remove what ſtands in their way. They firſt change Things into Figures; and then change Figures into nothing.—But here the learned Doctor was, more than ordinary, unlucky in the application of his ſolution: for Arrian, the Interpreter of Epictetus, tells us, by an apt compariſon, what is meant by being part of the

* Οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι λέγουσιν οὐσίαν, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ Δικαίαρχος ἀνούσιον. De Nat. Hom.

† Eclog. Phyſ. c. 20.

‡ Quid eſt autem, cur non exiſtimes in eo divini aliquid exiſtere qui Dei pars eſt? Totum hoc, quo continemur, & unum eſt, & Deus: & ſocii ejus ſumus, & membra. Ep. 92.

§ Book iii. chap. 16.

τὸ ἓν, *I am*, ſays he, *a man, a part of the* τὸ πᾶν, *as an hour is part of the day*; εἰμὶ ἄνθρωπος, μέρος τῶν πάντων, ὡς ὥρα ἡμέρας—

Laſtly, Marcus Antoninus, as a conſolation againſt the fear of death, ſays, *To die is not only according to the courſe of nature, but of great uſe to it.* We ſhall conſider *how cloſely man is united to the* GODHEAD, *and in what part of him that union reſides; and what will be the condition of that part or portion when it is reſolved into the* ANIMA MUNDI *. Here the doctrine of the τὸ ἓν is hinted at; but writing only to Adepts, he is a little obſcure. The Editors have made a very confuſed comment and tranſlation: the common reading of the latter part of the paſſage is, Καὶ ὅταν πῶς ἔχῃ διακέῃλαι τὸ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῦτο μόριον· which is certainly corrupt. Gataker very accurately tranſpoſed the words thus: Καὶ πῶς ἔχῃ ὅταν, and for διακέῃλαι, read διΐκῃλαι. Meric Caſaubon, more happily, διαχέῃλαι. They have the true reading between them: But not being aware that the doctrine of the *refuſion* was here alluded to, they could not ſettle the text with any certainty. The laſt word MOPION can ſignify nothing elſe but a diſcerped particle from *the Soul of the world.* Epictetus uſes it in that ſenſe, in the paſſage above; and it ſeems to be the technical term for it.

But though here the imperial Stoic muſt be owned to be a little obſcure; yet we have his own elucidating comment upon it, in another place. "You have hitherto exiſted as a PART [or have "had a particular exiſtence]; you will hereafter be abſorbed and loſt "in the Subſtance which produced you: or rather, you will be "aſſumed into the Divine Nature, or the Spermatic Reaſons †." And again, "Every Body will be ſoon loſt and buried in the uni-"verſal Subſtance. Every Soul will be ſoon abſorbed and ſunk in "the Univerſal Nature ‡."

* Τῦτο μέντοι ἐ μόνον φύσεως ἔργον ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ κ) συμφέρον αὐτῇ· πῶς ἄπειλαι θεῦ ἀνθρωπῳ, κ) καὶὰ τί αὐτῦ μέρῳ, κ) πῶς ἔχῃ ὅταν διαχέῃλαι τὸ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῦτο μόριον. Εἰς ἑαυτὸν, L. ii. c. 12.

† ΕΝΥΠΕΣΤΗΣ ΩΣ ΜΕΡΟΣ· ΕΝΑΦΑΝΙΣΘΗΣΗ ΤΩ ΓΕΝΝΗΣΑΝΤΙ· μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναληφθήσῃ εἰς τὸν λόγον αὐτῦ τὸν σπερματικὸν καὶὰ μέλαβολήν. l. iv. c. 14.

‡ Πᾶν τὸ ὕλικον ἀναφανίζεσθαι τάχιστα τῇ τῶν ὅλων ὐσίᾳ, κ) πᾶν αἰτίον εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων λόγον τάχιστα ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι. L. vii. c. 10.

After

After all this, one cannot ſufficiently admire how Cudworth* came to ſay,——"All thoſe *Pagan* Philoſophers who aſſerted the "incorporeity of Souls, muſt of *neceſſity*, in like manner, ſuppoſe "them not to have been made out of pre-exiſting matter, but by "God, *out of nothing*. *Plutarch* being *only here to be excepted*, by "reaſon of a certain odd hypotheſis which he had, that was pecu-"liarly his own, of a third principle beſides God and Matter, an "evil Demon, ſelf-exiſtent: who therefore ſeems to have ſuppoſed "all particular human ſouls to have been made neither out of no-"thing, nor yet out of matter or body pre-exiſting, but out of a "certain ſtrange commixture of the ſubſtance of the evil Soul, and "God blended together; upon which account he does affirm ſouls "to be not ſo much ἔργον, as μέρος θεοῦ, not ſo much *the work of* "*God, as part of him.*" Plutarch's words are theſe: "The ſoul "is not ſo much the work and production of God, as a part of "him,——nor is it made by him, but from him, and out of him." Ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ—οὐκ ἔργόν ἐϛι τοῦ θεοῦ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ μέρος—οὐδ' ΥΠ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ΑΠ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ΕΞ αὐτοῦ γέγονεν†. On all which I will only make this obſervation: If Plutarch called the Soul *a part of God*, only in a figurative or popular ſenſe, what hindered him from conſidering it as the *mere work and production of God?* Nay how could it have been conſidered otherwiſe? for figurative expreſſion relates not to the *Nature* of *ideas*, but only to the *Mode of conveying them.*

1. But Cudworth thinks thoſe Philoſophers, who held the *incorporeity* of the Soul, muſt of *neceſſity* believe it to be made by God *out of nothing*. Why ſo? Becauſe they could not poſſibly ſuppoſe it to be made out of *pre-exiſting Matter*. But is there no other pre-exiſting Subſtance in being, beſides Matter? Yes, the *divine*. Out of this, then, it might have been made. And from this, in fact, the Philoſophers did ſuppoſe it to be made. The learned author, therefore, has concluded too haſtily.

* Intellectual Syſtem, p. 741.

† Plat. Quæſt.

2. He thinks Plutarch was *ſingle*, in conceiving the ſoul to be a *part*, rather than a *work* of God; and that Plutarch was led into that error by the Manichean principle: But how this principle ſhould lead any one into ſuch an error is utterly inconceivable. It is true, indeed, that he who already believes the Soul to be μέρος, or μόριον θεοῦ, a part or particle of the Divinity, if at the ſame time he hold TWO PRINCIPLES, will naturally ſuppoſe the Soul to take a part from each. And ſo indeed did Plutarch: And in *this only*, differed from the reſt of the Philoſophers: who, as to the general tenet of μέρος, and not ἔργον θεοῦ, that the ſoul was *rather a part, than a work of God*, were all of the ſame opinion with him.

Such was the general doctrine on this point, before the coming of CHRIST: But then, thoſe Philoſophers, who held out againſt the FAITH, contrived, after ſome time, to new model both their Philoſophy and Religion; making their Philoſophy more religious, and their Religion more philoſophical: Of which I have given many occaſional inſtances, in the courſe of this work. So, amongſt the philoſophic improvements of Paganiſm, the ſoftening this doctrine was one; the modern Platoniſts confining the notion of *the Soul's being part of the divine Subſtance*, to *thoſe of brutes* *. *Every irrational power* (ſays PORPHYRY) *is reſolved into the life of the whole* †. And, it is remarkable, that then, and not till then, the Philoſophers began *really* to believe a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. But the wiſer of them had no ſooner laid down the Doctrine of the TO' 'EN than the Heretics, as the Gnoſtics, Manicheans, and Priſcillians, took it up. Theſe delivered it to the Arabians, from whom the Atheiſts of theſe ages have received it.

Such then being the general notion concerning the nature of the Soul, there could be no room for the belief of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments: and how much the Ancients underſtood

* See note [DD], at the end of this Book.

† See note [EE], at the end of this Book.

the

the diſbelief of the one to be the conſequence of holding the other, we have a remarkable inſtance in STRABO. This excellent writer ſpeaking of the Moſaic Religion, thus expreſſeth himſelf: *For he* [Moſes] *affirmed and taught that the* Egyptians *and* Libyans *conceived amiſs, in repreſenting the Divinity under the form of beaſts and cattle: and that the* Greeks *were not leſs miſtaken, who pictured him in a human ſhape; for God was that only* ONE, *which contains all mankind, the earth, and ſea,* WHICH *we call* HEAVEN, THE WORLD, AND THE NATURE OF ALL THINGS *. This, indeed, is the rankeſt *ſpinoziſm*: But very unjuſtly charged on the Jewiſh Lawgiver, who hath delivered, in his divine writings, ſuch an idea of the Deity, that had he drawn it on ſet purpoſe to oppoſe to that abſurd opinion, he could not have done it more effectually. What then, you will ſay, could induce ſo ingenuous a writer to give this falſe repreſentation of an Author, to whoſe Laws he was no ſtranger? The ſolution of the difficulty (which Toland has written a ſenſeleſs diſſertation † to aggravate and envenom) ſeems to be this: Strabo well knew, that all who held the ΤΟ῾ ῞ΕΝ, neceſſarily denied a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment; and finding in the Law of Moſes ſo extraordinary a circumſtance as the omiſſion of a future ſtate in the national Religion, he concluded backwards, that the reaſon could be no other than the Author's belief of the ΤΟ῾ ῞ΕΝ: For theſe two ideas were inſeparably connected in the philoſophic imagination of the Greeks. He was ſupported in this reaſoning by the common opinion of the Greek Philoſophers of that time, that the τὸ ἓν was an Egyptian doctrine: and he was not ignorant from whence Moſes had all his learning.

But now, though the notion is ſhewn to be ſo malignant, as, more or leſs, to have infected all the ancient Greek philoſophy; yet

* Ἔφη γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐδίδαξεν, ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς φρονοῦσιν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι θηρίοις εἰκάζοντες, καὶ βοσκήμασι τὸ θεῖον· οὐδ' οἱ Λίβυες· οὐκ εὖ δὲ οὐδ' οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀνθρωπομόρφους τυπώντες· εἷς γὰρ ἐν τοῦτο μόνον θεὸς τὸ περιέχον ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας, καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, ὃ καλοῦμεν οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσμον καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων φύσιν. Geog. lib. xvi.

† See his Origines Judaicæ.

no one, I hope, will ſuſpect, that any thing ſo abſurd and unphiloſophical will need a formal confutation. Mr. Bayle thinks it even more irrational than the plaſtic atoms of Epicurus: *The atomic ſyſtem is not, by a great deal, ſo abſurd as* ſpinoziſm*: And judges it cannot ſtand againſt the demonſtrations of Newton: *In my opinion* (ſays he) *the* Spinoziſts *would find themſelves embarraſſed to ſome purpoſe, if one obliged them to admit the demonſtrations of Mr.* Newton †. In this he judged right; and we have lately ſeen a treatiſe, intituled, *An inquiry into the nature of the human ſoul*, &c. ſo well reaſoned on the principles of that philoſophy, as totally to diſpel the impious phantaſm of *ſpinoziſm*. He who would have juſt and preciſe notions of God and the Soul, may read that book; one of the beſt purſued pieces of reaſoning, that, in my humble opinion, the preſent times, greatly advanced in true philoſophy, have produced.

But it will be aſked, From whence then did the Greeks learn this ſtrange opinion? for we know they were not ΑΥΤΟΔΙΔΑΚΤΟΙ. It will be ſaid, perhaps, from Egypt; where they had all their other learning: And the books which go under the name of Trismegistus, and pretend to contain a body of the ancient Egyptian wiſdom, being very full and explicit in favour of the doctrine of the ΤΟ᾽ ἝΝ, have very much confirmed this opinion: Now though that impoſture hath been ſufficiently expoſed ‡, yet on pretence, that the writers of thoſe books took the ſubſtance of them from the ancient Egyptian phyſiology, they preſerve, I do not know how, a certain authority amongſt the learned, by no means due unto them.

However, I ſhall venture to maintain, that the *notion* was purely Grecian.

* Le Syſteme des atomes n'eſt pas à beaucoup près auſſi abſurde que le ſpinoziſm. Crit. Dict. Article Democrite.

† Je croi que les ſpinoziſtes ſe trouveroient bien embaraſſés, ſi on les forçoit d'admettre les demonſtrations de Mr. Newton. Ibid. Art. Leucippe. Rem. (G) à la fin.

‡ Iſ. Caſaubon cont. Bar. Exerc. 1. N° 18.

1. For

1. For firſt, it is a refined, remote, and far-fetched, yet imaginary concluſion from true and ſimple principles. But the ancient Barbaric philoſophy, as we are informed by the Greeks, conſiſted only of detached placits or tenets, delivered down from tradition; without any thing like a purſued hypotheſis, or ſpeculation founded on a ſyſtem *. Now refinement and ſubtilty are the conſequence only of theſe inventions.

But of all the Barbarians, this humour would be leaſt ſeen in the Egyptians; whoſe Sages were not ſedentary ſcholaſtic *Sophiſts*, like the Grecian; but men employed and buſied in the public affairs of Religion and Government. Men of ſuch characters, we may be ſure, would puſh even the more ſolid ſciences no farther than to the uſes of life. In fact, they did not, as appears by a ſingular inſtance, in the caſe of Pythagoras. Jamblichus tells us, that *he ſpent two and twenty years in Egypt, ſtudying aſtronomy and geometry* †: And yet after his return to Samos, he himſelf diſcovered the famous 47th *propoſition* of the *firſt book of* Euclid. This, though a very *uſeful*, is yet a very *ſimple* theorem; and not being reached by the Egyptian Geometry, ſhews they had not advanced far in ſuch ſpeculations. So again, in Aſtronomy: Thales is ſaid to be the firſt who predicted an eclipſe of the ſun; nor did the Egyptians, nor any other Barbarians, pretend to diſpute that honour with him. To this it may be ſaid, that the Egyptians certainly taught Pythagoras the true conſtitution of the Solar ſyſtem in general: and, what is more extraordinary, the doctrine of Comets in particular, and of their revolutions, like the other planets,

* Ἀλλ' ἐδὲ οἱ παλαίταλοι τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐπὶ τὸ ἀμφισβητεῖν ϗ ἀπορεῖν ἐφέρονλο——οἱ μὲν γὰρ νέωτεροι τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι φιλοσόφων ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας κενῆς τε ϗ ἀτελοῦς, ἐλεγκτικῶς, ἅμα ϗ ἐριστικῶς, εἰς τὴν ἄχρηστον ἐξάγονται φλυαρίαν· ἔμπαλιν δὲ ἡ βάρβαρος φιλοσοφία, τὴν πᾶσαν ἔριν ἐκβάλλουσα.—Clem. Alex. Strom. l. viii. in prin.

† Δύο δὴ ϗ εἴκοσιν ἔτη καλὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις διετέλεσιν ἀστρονόμων ϗ γεωμετρῶν.—Vit. Pyth. c. 4.

round

round the ſun *; which is eſteemed a modern diſcovery; at leaſt it needed the greateſt effort of Newton's genius to render it probable; and ſtill the periods of their revolutions are only gueſſed at. We grant they taught him this: but it is as true, that they taught it not ſcientifically, but dogmatically, and as they received it from Tradition; of which, one certain proof is, that the Greeks ſoon loſt or entirely neglected it, when they began to hypotheſiſe †.

It will be aſked then, in what conſiſted this boaſted Wiſdom of Egypt; which we have ſo much extolled throughout this work; and for which liberty we have ſo large warrant from *holy Scripture?* I reply, In the ſcience of LEGISLATION and CIVIL POLICY: But this, only by the way.

That the Egyptians did not philoſophiſe by hypotheſis and ſyſtem, appears farther from the character of their firſt Greek diſciples. Thoſe early *Wiſe men*, who fetched their Philoſophy from Egypt, brought it home in detached and independent *placits*; which was certainly as they found it. For, as the ingenious writer of *the enquiry into the life of* Homer ſays, *there was yet no* SEPARATION *of*

* It is recorded by Ariſtotle and Plutarch: and thus expreſſed by Amm. Marcellinus. "Stellas quaſdam, *ceteris ſimiles*, quarum *ortus obituſque*, quibus ſint temporibus *præſtituti* "humanis mentibus ignorari." l. xxv. c. 10.

† *Fixas* in ſupremis mundi partibus immotas perſiſtere, & planetas his inferiores circa ſolem revolvi, terram pariter moveri curſu annuo, diurno vero circa axem proprium, & ſolem ceu focum univerſi in omnium centro quieſcere, antiquiſſima fuit philoſophantium ſententia. Ab Ægyptiis autem aſtrorum antiquiſſimis obſervationibus propagatam eſſe hanc ſententiam veriſimile eſt. Et etiam ab illis & a gentibus conterminis ad Græcos gentem magis philologicam quam philoſophicam, philoſophia omnis antiquior juxta et ſanior manaſſe videtur. Subinde docuerunt Anaxagoras, Democritus, et alii nonnulli, terram in centro mundi immotam ſtare, & aſtra omnia in occaſum, aliqua celerius, alia tardius moveri, idque in ſpatiis liberrimis. Namque orbis ſolidi poſtea ab Eudoxo, Calippo, Ariſtotele, introducti ſunt; declinante in dies philoſophia primitus introductâ, et novis Græcorum commentis paulatim prævalentibus. Quibus vinculis *antiqui* planetas in ſpatiis liberis retineri, deque curſu rectilineo perpetuo retractos, in orbem regulariter agi docuere, non conſtat. In hujus rei explicationem orbes ſolidos excogitatos fuiſſe opinor. Newton. de mundi ſyſtemate.

WISDOM;

WISDOM; *the philoſopher and the divine, the legiſlator and the poet were all united in the ſame perſon.* Nor had they yet any Sects, or ſucceſſion of Schools. Theſe were late; and therefore the Greeks could not be miſtaken in their accounts of this matter.

One of the firſt, as well as nobleſt ſyſtems of Phyſics, is the Atomic theory, as it was revived by Des Cartes. This, without doubt, was a Greek invention; nothing being better ſettled, than that Democritus and Leucippus were the authors of it *. But Poſidonius, either out of envy or whim, would rob them of this honour, and give it to one Moſchus a Phenician. Our excellent Cudworth has gone into this fancy; and made of that unknown Moſchus, the celebrated Lawgiver of the Jews. But the learned Dr. Burnet hath clearly overthrown this notion, and vindicated the right of the diſcovery to the two Greeks †.

This being the caſe, we may eaſily know what Plato meant in ſaying, that the *Greeks improved whatever ſcience they received from the Barbarians* ‡. Which words, Celſus ſeems to paraphraſe, where he ſays, the Barbarians were good at INVENTING OPINIONS, but the Greeks were only able to PERFECT and SUPPORT them §. And Epicurus, whoſe ſpirit was entirely ſyſtematic as well as atheiſtic, finding none of theſe delicacies amongſt the Barbarians, uſed to maintain that *the Greeks knew only how to philoſophiſe* ||. So much

* See note [FF], at the end of this Book.

† "Præterea non videtur mihi ſapere indolem antiquiſſimorum temporum iſte modus "philoſophandi per hypotheſes & principiorum ſyſtemata; quem modum, ab intro- "ductis atomis, ſtatim ſequebantur philoſophi. Hæc Græcanica ſunt, ut par eſt cre- "dere, et ſequioris ævi. Duraſſe mihi videtur ultra Trojana tempora philoſophia tra- "ditiva, quæ ratiociniis et cauſarum explicatione non nitebatur, ſed alterius generis & "originis doctrinâ, primigeniâ et παλροπαραδότῳ." Archæol. Phil. l. i. c. 6.

‡ Διὸ καὶ ὡς ὁ Πλάτων φησὶν, ὅ, τι ἂν καὶ παρὰ βαρβάρων μάθημα λάβωσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, τοῦτο ἄμεινον ἐκφέρουσι. Anon. de Vit. Pyth. ap. Photium, Cod. 249.

§ Καὶ εὐγνωμόνως γε ἐνεδείξει ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπὸ βαρβάρων ἀρχῇ τῷ λόγῳ, ἐπαινῶν ὡς ἱκανὸς εὑρεῖν δόγματα τοὺς βαρβάρους, προσίθεσι δὲ τοῦτοις, ὅτι κρῖναι καὶ βεβαιῶσασθαι τὰ ὑπὸ βαρβάρων εὑρεθέντα ἀμείνονες εἰσὶν Ἕλληνες. Orig. cont. Celſum, p. 5.

‖ Ὁ δὲ Ἐπίκυρος ἔμπαλιν, ὑπολαμβάνει μόνους φιλοσοφῆσαι Ἕλληνας δύνασθαι. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 302. ed. Morel. 1629.

was the author of *the voyage of Cyrus* miſtaken in thinking that *the Orientaliſts had a genius more ſubtile and metaphyſical than the Greeks* *. But he apparently formed his judgement in this matter, from the modern genius of the people, acquired ſince the time they learnt to ſpeculate of the Greek Philoſophers; whoſe writings, ſince the Arabian conqueſts, have been tranſlated into the languages of the *Eaſt*.

It appears therefore, from the nature of the Barbaric philoſophy, that ſuch a notion as the ΤΟ ἝΝ could not be Egyptian.

2. But we ſhall ſhew next, that it was in fact a Greek invention; by the beſt argument, the diſcovery of the Inventors.

Tully, ſpeaking of Pherecydes Syrus, the Maſter of Pythagoras, ſays, that he was the firſt who affirmed the ſouls of men were ETERNAL, "Quod literis extet, Pherecydes Syrus primum "dixit animos hominum eſſe SEMPITERNOS; antiquus ſane; fuit "enim meo regnante gentili. Hanc opinionem diſcipulus ejus "Pythagoras maximè confirmavit †." This is a very extraordinary paſſage. If it be taken in the common ſenſe of the interpreters, that Pherecydes *was the firſt, or the firſt of the* Greeks, *who taught the* IMMORTALITY *of the ſoul*, nothing can be more falſe or groundleſs. Tully himſelf well knew the contrary, as appears from ſeveral places of his works, where he repreſents the *immortality of the ſoul*, as a thing taught from the moſt early times of memory, and by all mankind; the author and original of it, as Plutarch aſſures us, being entirely unknown; which indeed might be eaſily gathered, by any attentive conſiderer, from the very early practice of deifying the dead. Cicero therefore, who knew that Homer taught it long before; who knew that Herodotus recorded it to have been taught by the Egyptians from the moſt early times, muſt needs mean a different thing; which the exact propriety of the word *ſempiternus* will lead us to underſtand. Donatus the

* Voiez Diſc. ſur la mythologie.

† Tuſc. Diſp. l. i. c. 16.

gram-

grammarian says, that SEMPITERNUS *properly relates to the Gods, and* PERPETUUS *to men*; *Sempiternum ad Deos, perpetuum proprie ad homines pertinet* *: Thus a proper ETERNITY is given to the Soul; a consequence which could only spring, and does necessarily spring from the principle, of the Soul's being *part of God*. So that Cicero hath here informed us of a curious circumstance; which not only fixes the doctrine of the TO' 'EN to Greece, but records the Inventor of it: And this is farther confirmed by what he adds, that Pythagoras, the scholar of Pherecydes, took it from his master; and by the authority of his own name added great credit to it. So great indeed, that, as we have seen, it soon overspread all the Greek philosophy. And I make no question but it was Pherecydes's broaching this impiety, and not hiding it so carefully as his great Disciple did afterwards, by the *double doctrine*, which made him pass with the people, for an Atheist. And if the story of his mocking at all religious worship, which Ælian † mentions, be true, it would much support the popular opinion.

Tatian is the only ancient writer I know of, who seems to be apprized of this intrigue; or to have any notion of *Pherecydes's* true character. Tatian writing to the *Greeks*, against their Philosophers, says, Aristotle *is the heir of* Pherecydes's *Doctrine*; *and traduces the notion of the soul's immortality* ‡; i. e. rendered the notion odious, διαβάλλει: as *such an immortality* certainly was to the Christian Church. How true it is that Aristotle was *heir* to this Doctrine, may be seen above in the Interpretation of a passage in the *Nichomachean ethics* §. But it hath much embarassed Tatian's commentators to find on what his censure was grounded.

That *Pherecydes* was the inventor of this notion, and not barely the first bringer of it to the *Greeks*, may not only be collected

* In And. Ter. Act. v. Sc. vi.

† Var. Hist. l. iv. c. 28.

‡ Ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοτέλης τῷ Φερεκύδου δόγματι κληρονόμος ἐστὶ, καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς διαβάλλει τὴν ἀθανασίαν. Orat. ad Gr. c. 412.

§ See p. 111.

from what hath been ſaid above of the different genius of the *Greek* and *Barbaric* philoſophy, but from what *Suidas* tells us of his being ſelf-taught, and having no maſter or director of his ſtudies *.

But as the *Greeks* had two Inventors of their beſt *phyſical* principle, *Democritus* and *Leucippus*; ſo had they two likewiſe of this their very worſt in *metaphyſics*. For we have as poſitive atteſtation that THALES was one of them, as that *Pherecydes* was the other. *There are* (ſays *Laertius*) *who affirm, that* Thales *was the firſt who held the ſouls of men to be* IMMORTAL †; ΑΘΑΝΑ΄ΤΟΣ, an epithet, in the philoſophic ages of Greece, which as properly ſignified the immortality of the *Gods*; as ΄ΑΦΘΑΡΤΟΣ ſignified the immortality of *men* ‡. The ſame objection holds here againſt underſtanding it in the common ſenſe, as in the caſe of Pherecydes.

The ſum then of the argument is this: THALES and PHERECYDES, who, we are to obſerve, were contemporaries, are ſaid to be the *firſt* who taught the *immortality of the ſoul* §. In the common ſenſe of this aſſertion, they were not the firſt; and known not to be the firſt, by thoſe who affirmed they were ſo. The ſame Antiquity informs us, that they held the doctrine of the ΤΟ᾽ ΄ΕΝ; which likewiſe, commonly went by the name of the *immortality*. Nor is there any perſon earlier than theſe on record, for holding this doctrine. We conclude therefore, that thoſe who tell us they were the firſt who taught the *immortality of the ſoul*, neceſſarily meant that they were the firſt who held it to be *part of the divine ſubſtance*. This, I ſay, we may conclude, although Plutarch had not expreſsly affirmed it of *one* of them, where he ſays, that Thales *was the* FIRST *who taught the ſoul to be an eternal-moving, or a ſelf-moving Nature* ||. But none, but God alone, was ſuppoſed to

* Αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκ ἐσχηκέναι καθηγητὴν, ἀλλ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἀσκῆσαι. Voc. Φερεκύδ.

† ΄Ενιοι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν πρῶτον εἰπεῖν φασὶν ἀθανάτους τὰς ψυχάς. l. i. § 24.

‡ So Euſebius ſpeaking of the political Gods of Egypt, ſays: ΄Αλλως δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἐπιγείους γενέσθαι φασὶν, ὑπάρξαντας μὲν ΘΝΗΤΟΥΣ, διὰ δὲ σύνεσιν καὶ κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων ἐνεργεσίαν τελευχόντας τῆς ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΑΣ—Præp. Evang. l. iii. c. 3.

§ Suidas ſpeaking of Pherecydes ſays: ᾽Εξηλοτύπει δὲ τὴν Θάλητος δόξαν. Voc. Φερεκύδ.

‖ Θαλῆς ἀπεφήνατο ΠΡΩΤΟΣ τὴν ψυχὴν, φύσιν ᾽ΑΞΙΚΙΝΗΤΟΝ ἢ ᾽ΑΥΤΟΚΙΝΗΤΟΝ. Plac. Phil. l. iv. c. 2.

be

be ſuch a *Nature:* Therefore the Soul, according to Thales, was part of the divine Subſtance; and he, according to Plutarch, was the *firſt* who held this opinion.

3. But though the Greeks were the inventors of this impious notion; yet we may be aſſured, as they had their firſt learning from Egypt, it was the recognition of ſome Egyptian Principles which led them into it. Let us ſee then what thoſe principles were.

The Egyptians, as we are aſſured by the concurrent teſtimony of Antiquity, were amongſt the firſt who taught that the ſoul ſurvived the body and was *immortal.* Not, like the Greek Sophiſts, for ſpeculation; but for a ſupport to their practical doctrine of a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment: and, every thing being done in Egypt for the ſake of Society, a future ſtate was inforced to ſecure the general doctrine of a Providence. But ſtill there would remain great difficulties concerning the ORIGIN OF EVIL, which ſeemed to affect the moral attributes of God. And it was not enough for the purpoſes of Society, that there was a divine Providence, unleſs that Providence was underſtood to be perfectly *good* and *juſt.* Some ſolution therefore was to be given; and a better could not be well found, than the notion of the METEMPSYCHOSIS, or tranſmigration of Souls; without which, in the opinion of Hierocles *, the ways of Providence are not to be juſtified. The neceſſary conſequence of this doctrine was, that the *Soul* is elder than the *Body:* So having taught before, that the *Soul* was eternal, *à parte poſt*; and now, that it had an exiſtence before it came into the *Body*, the Greeks, to give a rounding to their ſyſtem, taught, on the foundation of its pre-exiſtence, that it was eternal too, *à parte ante.* This is no precarious conjecture; for Suidas, after having told us that Pherecydes (whom we have ſhewn above to be one of the inventors of the notion of the Soul's *proper eternity*) had no maſter, but ſtruck every thing out of his own thoughts; adds,

* Lib. de prov. apud Phot. Bib. Cod. 214.

that

that *he had procured certain ſecret Phenician books* *. Now we know from Euſebius's account of Sanchoniatho, and the famous fragment there preſerved, that theſe ſecret Phenician Books contained the Egyptian wiſdom and learning.

The Greeks having thus given the Soul *one* of the attributes of the Divinity; another Egyptian doctrine ſoon taught them to make a perfect *God almighty* of it.

We have obſerved, that the *Myſteries* were an Egyptian invention; and that the great *ſecret* in them was the *unity of the Godhead.* This was the firſt of the ἀπορρήτα; in which, we are told, their Kings, and Magiſtrates, and a ſelect number of the beſt and wiſeſt, were inſtructed. It is clear then that the doctrine was delivered in ſuch a manner as was moſt uſeful to Society: But the principle of the ΤΟ' ἘΝ is as deſtructive to Society, as Atheiſm can well make it. However, having ſuitable conceptions of the Deity thus *found*, they repreſented him, *as a* SPIRIT *diffuſing itſelf through the world, and intimately pervading all things.* Παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τὸ διῆκόν ἐστι πνεῦμα, ſays *Horapollo.* And Virgil, where he gives us the ἀπόρρητα of the *Myſteries*, deſcribes the Godhead in the ſame manner:

> SPIRITUS intus alit, totamque infuſa per artus
> MENS agitat molem, & magno ſe corpore miſcet.

And thus, the Egyptians, in a figurative and moral ſenſe, teaching that GOD WAS ALL THINGS †; the Greeks drew the concluſion, but in a literal and metaphyſical; that ALL THINGS WERE GOD, Ἕν τι τὰ πάντα, ſay the poems going under the name of Orpheus; and ſo ran headlong into what we now call *Spinoziſm.* But theſe propoſitions the Greeks afterwards father'd upon the Egyptians. The Aſclepian *dialogue* tranſlated into Latin by Apuleius, ſays,

* Αὐτὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐσχηκέναι καθηγητὴν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἀσκῆσαι, κτησάμενον τὰ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΩΝ ἀπόκρυφα βιβλία.

† Δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς δίχα θεοῦ μηδὲν ὅλως συνεστάναι. Idem.

OMNIA

OMNIA UNIUS ESSE, ET UNUM ESSE OMNIA. And again: *Nonne hoc dixi* OMNIA UNUM ESSE, ET UNUM OMNIA? Μόρια τῦ θεῦ πάντα ἐστιν· εἰ δὲ πάντα μόρια, πάντα ἄρα ὁ θεός· πάντα ἓν ποιῶν, ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖ.—— ἐάν τις ἐπιχείρησῃ τὸ πᾶν χ᾽ ἓν χορίσαι, τὸ πᾶν τῦ ἑνὸς λύσα ἀπολέσει τὸ πᾶν, πάντα γὰρ ἓν εἶναι δεῖ*. This paſſage cannot be well underſtood without recollecting what has been juſt obſerved above, of the Egyptian *premiſſes* and the Greek *concluſion*. Now the Platoniſt, who forged theſe books, conſcious of the Greek *concluſion*, artfully endeavours, in theſe words, to ſhew, it was a neceſſary conſequence of the Egyptian *premiſſes*; which, he would make us believe, conveyed an imperfect repreſentation of the Univerſe without it. *If any man* (ſays he) *go about to ſeparate the All from the One, he will deſtroy the All; for All ought to be One.*

4. But this miſtake concerning the birth-place of Spinoziſm, for a miſtake it is, being chiefly, as we ſee, ſupported by the books, which go under the name of Hermes Triſmegiſtus, it will be proper to ſay ſomething to that matter.

The moſt virulent enemies, the CHRISTIAN FAITH had to encounter, on its firſt appearance in the world, were the PLATONISTS and PYTHAGOREANS. And *national Paganiſm*, of which, theſe Sects ſet up for the defenders, being, by its groſs abſurdities, obnoxious to the moſt violent retortion, their firſt care was to cover and ſecure it, by *allegorizing* its GODS, and *ſpiritualizing* its WORSHIP. But leſt the novelty of this invention ſhould diſcredit it, they endeavoured to perſuade the world, that this refinement was agreeable to the ancient myſterious wiſdom of Egypt: in which point, ſeveral circumſtances concurred to favour them. 1. As firſt, that known, uncontroverted fact, that the Greek RELIGION and PHILOSOPHY came originally from Egypt. 2. The ſtate of the Egyptian *philoſophy* in their times. The power of Egypt had been much ſhaken by the Perſians; but totally overturned by the Greeks. Under the Ptolemies, this famous Nation ſuffered an entire revolu-

* Lib. xvi. of the works of Triſmegiſt, publiſhed by Ficinus.

tion

tion in their Learning and Religion; and their Prieſts, as was natural, began to philoſophiſe in the Grecian mode; At the time we ſpeak of, they had, for ſeveral ages, accuſtomed themſelves ſo to do; having neglected and forgotten all the old Egyptian learning: which, if we conſider their many ſubverſive revolutions, will not appear at all ſtrange to thoſe who know, that this Learning was conveyed from hand to hand, partly by unfaithful *Tradition*, and partly by equivocal *Hieroglyphics*. However, an opinion of Egypt's being the repoſitory of the true old Egyptian Wiſdom, derived too much honour to the colleges of their Prieſts, not for them to contrive a way to ſupport it. 3. This they did (and it leads me to the third favourable circumſtance) by forging books under the name of Hermes Trismegistus, the great Hero and Lawgiver of the old Egyptians. They could not have thought of a better expedient: For, in the times of the Ptolemies, the practice of forging books became general; and the Art arrived at its perfection. But had not the Greeks of this time been ſo univerſally infatuated with the deluſion of miſtaking their own Philoſophy for the old Egyptian, there were marks enough to have detected the forgery. Jamblichus ſays, *the books that go under the name of* Hermes *do indeed contain the* Hermaic *doctrines*, THOUGH THEY OFTEN USE THE LANGUAGE OF THE PHILOSOPHERS: *For they were tranſlated out of the* Egyptian *tongue by* MEN NOT UNACQUAINTED WITH PHILOSOPHY *. Theſe, it muſt be owned, were Tranſlators of truſt! who, inſtead of giving the *Egyptian Philoſophy* in Greek, have given us the *Greek Philoſophy* in the Egyptian tongue; if at leaſt what Jamblichus ſays be true, that theſe forgeries were firſt fabricated in their own country language. But whether this Writer ſaw the cheat, or was himſelf in the deluſion, is hard to ſay: He has owned enough; and made the matter much worſe by a bad vindication. But the credit of theſe forgeries, we

* Τὰ μὲν φερόμενα, ὡς Ἑρμοῦ ἑρμαϊκὰς περιέχει δόξας, εἰ καὶ τῇ τῶν φιλοσόφων γλώττῃ, πολλάκις χρῆται, μεταγέγραπται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας γλώττης ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν φιλοσοφίας μὲν ἀπείρως ἐχόντων. De Myſt.

may

may well imagine, had its foundation in ſome genuine writings of Hermes. There were in fact, ſuch writings: and, what is more, ſome fragments of them are yet remaining; ſufficient indeed, if we wanted other proof, to convict the *books that go under the name of* Hermes, of impoſture. For what Euſebius hath given us, from SANCHONIATHO, concerning the *Coſmogony*, was taken from the genuine works of Thoth or Hermes: and in them we ſee not the leaſt reſemblance of that ſpirit of refinement and ſpeculation, which marks the character of thoſe forged writings: every thing is plain and ſimple; free of all hypotheſis or metaphyſical reaſoning; thoſe inventions of the later Greeks.

Thus the Pythagoreans and Platoniſts, being ſupplied both with open *prejudices* and concealed *forgeries*, turned them, the beſt they could, againſt Chriſtianity. Under theſe auſpices, Jamblichus compoſed the book juſt before mentioned, OF THE MYSTERIES; meaning the profound and recondite doctrines of Egyptian wiſdom: Which, at bottom, is nothing elſe but the *genuine Greek Philoſophy*, imbrowned with the dark fanaticiſm of eaſtern cant.

But their chief ſtrength lay in the *forgery:* And they even interpolated the very *forgery*, the better to ſerve their purpoſe againſt *Chriſtianity.*

It is pleaſant enough to obſerve how ſome primitive *Apologiſts* defended themſelves againſt the authority of theſe books. One would imagine they ſhould have detected the cheat; which, we ſee, was eaſy enough to do. Nothing like it: Inſtead of that, they oppoſed fraud to fraud: for ſome Heretics (the learned Beauſobre, in his *Hiſtory of Manicheiſm*, very reaſonably ſuppoſes a Gnoſtic to have been concerned) had added whole books to this noble collection of *Triſmegiſt:* In which they have made Hermes ſpeak plainer of the myſteries of the chriſtian Faith, than even the Jewiſh Prophets themſelves. All this was done with a ſpirit not unlike that of the two law-ſolicitors, of whom the ſtory goes, that when one of them had forged a bond, the other, inſtead of

losing time to detect the cheat, produced evidence to prove that it was paid at the day. But this was the humour of the times: for the Grammarians, at the height of their reputation under the Ptolemies, had shamefully neglected *critical learning*, which was their province, to apply themselves to the *forging of books*, under the names of old authors. There is a remarkable passage in Diogenes Laertius, which is obscure enough to deserve an explanation; and will shew us how common it was to oppose forgery to forgery. He is arguing against those who gave the origin of Philosophy (which he would have to be from Greece) to the Barbarians; that is, the Egyptians—*But these* (says he) *ignorantly apply to the* Barbarians *the illustrious inventions of the* Greeks; *from whence not only Philosophy, but the very Race of mankind had its beginning. Thus we know* Musæus *was of* Athens, *and* Linus *of* Thebes: *The former of these, the son of* Eumolpus, *is said to be the first, who wrote, in verse, of the sphere, and of the generation of the Gods; and taught, that* ALL THINGS PROCEED FROM ONE, AND WILL BE RESOLVED BACK AGAIN INTO IT *. To see the force of this reasoning, we are to suppose, that they whom Laertius is here confuting, relied principally on this argument, to prove that Philosophy came originally from the Barbarians, namely, that the great principle of the Greek Philosophy, the TO' ἓN *and the* REFUSION, was an Egyptian notion. To this he replies, not so: Musæus taught it originally in Athens. The dispute, we see, is pleasantly conducted: His adversaries, who supported the common, and indeed, the true opinion of Philosophy's coming first from the Barbarians, by the false argument of the τὸ ἓν's being originally Egyptian, took this on the authority of the forged books of *Trismegist*; and Laertius opposes it by as great a forgery, the fragments which went under the name of Musæus †.

* Λανθάνουσι δ' αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατορθώματα, ἀφ' ὧν μὴ ὅτι γε φιλοσοφία, ἀλλὰ καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων ἦρξε, Βαρβάροις προσάπτοντες. ἰδοὺ γοῦν παρὰ μὲν Ἀθηναίοις γέγονε Μουσαῖος, παρὰ δὲ Θηβαίοις Λίνος· καὶ τὸν μὲν, Εὐμόλπου παῖδα φασὶ, ποιῆσαι δὲ θεογονίαν καὶ σφαῖραν πρῶτον· φάναι τε ἐξ ἑνὸς τὰ πάντα γενέσθαι, καὶ εἰς ταὐτὸν ἀναλύεσθαι. Lib. i. § 3.

† See note [GG], at the end of this Book.

These

Theſe are my ſentiments of the Impoſture. Caſanbon ſuppoſes the whole a forgery of ſome Platonic Chriſtians: But Cudworth has fully ſhewn the weakneſs of that opinion; yet is ſometimes inclined to give them to the pagan Platoniſts *of thoſe times*; which ſeems full as weak.

1. Becauſe they are always mentioned, both by *Chriſtian* and *Pagan* writers, as works long known, and of ſome conſiderable ſtanding. 2. Becauſe, had *thoſe Platoniſts* been the authors, they would not have delivered the doctrine of the ſoul's conſubſtantiality with the Deity, and its refuſion into him, in the groſs manner in which we find it in the books of *Triſmegiſt*. For, as we have ſhewn above by a paſſage from Porphyry *, they had now confined that irreligious notion to the Souls of brutes. At other times, this great Critic ſeems diſpoſed to think that they might indeed be genuine, and tranſlated, as we ſee Jamblichus would have them, from old Egyptian originals: But this, we preſume, is ſufficiently overthrown by what has been ſaid above.

In a word, theſe forgeries (containing the rankeſt *Spinoziſm* †) paſſed unſuſpected on all hands; and the Principle of the τὸ ἓν and *the refuſion* went currently, at that time, for Egyptian: And though, ſince the revival of learning, the cheat hath been detected, yet the falſe notion of their original hath kept its ground. The celebrated M. La Croze has declared himſelf in favour of it. This is nothing ſtrange; for learned, like unlearned men, are often carried away by Party. But that ſo diſcerning a man ſhould think the notion well ſupported by a paſſage in a Greek Tragic, (where the Writer, to keep decorum, puts the ſentiment into the mouth of an *Egyptian* Woman,) is very ſtrange. Theonoe, the

* See p. 116; and note [DD], at the end of this Book.

† As in the following paſſage, Οὐκ ἤκουσας ἐν τοῖς Γενικοῖς, ὅτι ἀπὸ μιᾶς ψυχῆς τῆς τῶν παντὸς πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ εἰσιν;——As where it is affirmed of the world, πάντα ποιεῖν, καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀποποιεῖν.——Of the incorruptibility of the ſoul; πῶς μέρος τι δύναται φθαρῆναι τοῦ ἀφθάρτου, ἢ ἀπολέσαι τι τοῦ θεοῦ—ὁ νοῦς οὐκ ἐστιν ἀποτετμημένος τῆς οὐσιότητος τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἡπλωμένος καθάπερ τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς.

Daughter of Proteus, is made to ſay, *The mind or ſoul of the deceaſed doth not live* [i. e. hath no ſeparate exiſtence] *but hath an immortal ſenſation, ſliding back again into the immortal Æther* *.

Why I have been thus ſolicitous to vindicate the pure EGYPTIAN WISDOM from this opprobrium, will be ſeen in its place.

And now, to ſum up the general argument of this laſt ſection. Theſe two errors in the *metaphyſical* ſpeculations of the Philoſophers, concerning *the nature of* GOD, *and of the* SOUL, were the things which neceſſarily kept them from giving credit to a doctrine, which even their own moral reaſonings, addreſſed to the People, had rendered highly probable in itſelf. But, as we obſerved before, it was their ill fate to be determined rather by *metaphyſical* than *moral* arguments. This is beſt ſeen by comparing the belief and conduct of SOCRATES with the reſt. He was ſingular, as we ſaid before, in *confining* himſelf to the ſtudy of morality; and as ſingular in *believing* the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. What could be the cauſe of his belief but this reſtraint; of which his belief was a natural conſequence? For having confined himſelf to MORALS, he had nothing to miſlead him: Whereas the reſt of the philoſophers applying themſelves, with a kind of fanaticiſm, to *phyſics* and *metaphyſics*, had drawn a number of abſurd, though ſubtil concluſions, which directly oppoſed the conſequences of thoſe moral arguments. And as it is common for parents to be fondeſt of their weakeſt and moſt deformed iſſue, ſo theſe men, as we ſaid, were eaſier ſwayed by their *metaphyſical* than *moral* concluſions. But SOCRATES, by impoſing this modeſt reſtraint upon himſelf, had not only the advantage of believing ſteadily, but of informing his hearers, of what he really believed; for not having occaſion for, he did not make uſe of, the *double doctrine*. Both theſe circumſtances, Cicero (under the perſon of

* ——— ——— ὁ Νῷς
Τῶν καθανόντων ζῇ μὲν ὲ, γνώμην δ' ἔχει,
Ἀθάνατον, εἰς ἀθάνατον Αἰθέρ' ἐμπεσών. Helen. Eurip.

Lelius)

Lelius) alludes to in the Character he gives of this divine Sage.—Qui Apollinis Oraculo ſapientiſſimus eſt judicatus, *non tam hoc, tum illud, ut in pleriſque, ſed* IDEM *dicebat ſemper*, ANIMOS HOMINUM ESSE DIVINOS: *iiſque cum e corpore exceſſiſſent reditum in Cælum patere optimoque et juſtiſſimo cuique expeditiſſimum* *.—By which words, Cicero, as we obſerve, ſeems to refer to *the double doctrine* of the reſt of the Philoſophers, who ſometimes pretended to believe a future ſtate, and ſometimes profeſſed to hold the extinction or refuſion of the human ſoul.

Thus, as the apoſtle PAUL obſerves, the Philoſophers PROFESSING THEMSELVES TO BE WISE, BECAME FOOLS †. Well therefore might he warn his followers leſt they too ſhould BE SPOILED THROUGH VAIN PHILOSOPHY ‡: and one of them, and he no ſmall fool neither, is upon record for having been thus *ſpoiled*; SYNESIUS biſhop of Ptolemaïs. He went into the church a Platoniſt; and a Platoniſt he remained; as extravagant and as abſurd as any he had left behind him §. This man, forſooth, could not be brought to believe the *Apoſtle's Creed*, of the reſurrection: And why? Becauſe he believed with *Plato* that the ſoul was before the Body; that is, eternal, *à parte ante:* and the conſequence they drew from this was (as we have ſhewn) the very thing which diſpoſed the Platoniſts to reject all future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. However, in this ſtation, he was not for ſhaking hands with *Chriſtianity*, but would ſuppoſe ſome grand and profound myſtery to lie hid under the Scripture account of the RESURRECTION. This again was in the very ſpirit of Plato; who, as we are told by Celſus, concealed many ſublime things of this kind, under his popular doctrine of a future ſtate ‖. It was juſt the ſame with the Jewiſh Platoniſts at the time when the doctrine of a future ſtate

* De Amicitia, c. iv.

† Rom. i. 22. ‡ Coloſ. ii. 8.

§ See a full account of this man, his principles, his ſcruples, and his converſion, in The Critical Inquiry into the Opinions of the Philoſophers, &c. c. xiv.

‖ See note (‡) p. 66.

became

became national amongſt that people. And Philo himſelf ſeems diſpoſed to turn the notion of Hell into an allegory, ſignifying an impure and ſinful life *.

But it was not peculiar to the *Platoniſts* to allegorize the doctrine of the *reſurrection*. It was the humour of all the *Sects* on their admiſſion into *Chriſtianity*. Et ut carnis reſtitutio negetur (ſays Tertullian) de una OMNIUM PHILOSOPHORUM SCHOLA ſumitur †. Yet in another place he tells us, that *every Hereſy received its* SEASONING *in the ſchool of Plato*. Doleo bona fide Platonem factum HÆRETICORUM OMNIUM Condimentarium ‡. For the Philoſophers being, in their moral lectures in their ſchools (in imitation of the language of the *Myſteries*, whoſe phraſeology it was the faſhion to uſe both in *Schools* and *Courts*) accuſtomed to call vicious habits, *death*; and reformation to a good life ἈΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ or a *reſurrection*, they were diſpoſed to underſtand the RESURRECTION OF THE JUST in the ſame ſenſe. Againſt theſe peſts of the Goſpel it was § that the learned apoſtle Paul warned his diſciple Timothy, SHUN (ſays he) PROFANE AND VAIN BABBLINGS, *for they will increaſe unto more ungodlineſs. And their word will eat as doth a canker: of whom is* Hymenæus *and* Philetus, *who concerning the Truth have erred, ſaying that* THE RESURRECTION IS PAST ALREADY; *and overthrow the faith of ſome* ||.

And here I will beg leave to obſerve, that whenever the holy Apoſtles ſpeak of, or hint at the Philoſophers or Philoſophy of Greece, which is not ſeldom, they always do it in terms of contempt or abhorrence. On this account I have not been aſhamed nor afraid to ſhew, at large, that the reaſons they had for ſo doing were juſt and weighty. Nor have I thought myſelf at all concerned

* See his tract, De congreſſu quærendæ eruditionis cauſâ.

† De præſc. adv. Hæret. ‡ De Anim. c. 23.

§ Hinc illæ fabulæ & genealogiæ indeterminabiles, & quæſtiones infructuoſæ, & *ſermones ſerpentes velut cancer:* à quibus nos Apoſtolus refrænans, nominatim philoſophiam, &c. Tertul. de præſc. adv. Hæret.

|| 2 Tim. ii. 16.

to

to manage the reputation of a ſet of men, who, on the firſt appearance of *Chriſtianity*, moſt virulently oppoſed it, by all the arts of ſophiſtry and injuſtice: and when, by the force of its ſuperior evidence, they were at length driven into it, were no ſooner in, than they began to deprave and corrupt it *. For from their *profane and vain babblings*, Tertullian aſſures us, every hereſy took its birth. *Ipſi illi* SAPIENTIÆ PROFESSORES, *de quorum ingeniis omnis hæreſis animatur* †. And, in another place, he gives us their genealogy. "Ipſæ denique hæreſes à PHILOSOPHIA ſubornantur. Inde "Æones & formæ, neſcio quæ, & trinitas hominis apud *Valenti-* "*num:* PLATONICUS fuerat. Inde *Marcionis* deus melior de tran- "quillitate, a STOICIS venerat; & uti anima interire dicatur, ab "EPICUREIS obſervatur: ET UT CARNIS RESTITUTIO NEGETUR, "DE UNA OMNIUM PHILOSOPHORUM SCHOLA SUMITUR; et ubi "materia cum deo æquatur, ZENONIS diſciplina eſt: et ubi aliquid "de igneo deo allegatur, HERACLITUS intervenit. Eædem materiæ "apud hæreticos & philoſophos volutantur; iidem retractatus im- "plicantur. Unde malum, & quare? & unde homo, & quomodo? "*& quod proximè Valentinus propoſuit, unde deus?* Scilicet & de "Enthymeſi, ectromate inſerunt ARISTOTELEM, qui illis dialecti- "cam inſtituit, artificem ſtruendi & deſtruendi, verſipellem in ſen- "tentiis coactam, in conjecturis duram, in argumentis operariam, "contentione moleſtam, etiam ſibi ipſi omnia retractantem, nequid "omnino tractaverit. Hinc illæ fabulæ & genealogiæ indetermi- "nabiles, & quæſtiones infructuoſæ & SERMONES SERPENTES "VELUT CANCER, a quibus nos apoſtolus refrænans ‡, &c." One would almoſt imagine, from theſe laſt words, that Tertullian had

* See the Introduction to Julian, or a Diſcourſe concerning his attempt to rebuild the Temple.

† Adv. Marc. l. i. The author of a fragment concerning the Philoſophers going under the name of Origen, ſays the ſame thing: ἀλλ' ἔστιν αὐτοῖς [Αἱρετικοῖς] τὰ δοξαζόμενα ἀρχὴν μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλήνων σοφίας λαβόντα, ἐκ δογμάτων φιλοσοφουμένων, καὶ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΩΝ ἐπικεχειρημένων καὶ ἀσχολούντων ῥεμβομένων.

‡ De præſc. adv. Hæret. p. 70, 71. Ed. Par. 1580.

foreſeen

foreſeen that ARISTOTLE was to be the founder of the SCHOOL DIVINITY.

He obſerves, that the Hereſy, which *denies the Reſurrection of the Body*, aroſe out of the whole School of Gentile philoſophy. But he omits another, which we have ſhewn ſtood upon as wide a bottom; namely, that which *holds the* HUMAN SOUL TO BE OF THE SAME NATURE AND SUBSTANCE WITH GOD; eſpouſed before his time by the Gnoſtics, and afterwards, as we learn by St. Auſtin, by the Manichæans and Priſcillianiſts *.

Why the heathen Philoſophers of our times ſhould be diſpleaſed to ſee their ancient brethren ſhewn for knaves in practice, and fools in theory, is not at all ſtrange to conceive: but why any elſe ſhould think themſelves concerned in the force and fidelity of the drawing, is to me a greater myſtery than any I have attempted to unveil. For a ſtronger proof of the neceſſity of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt cannot, I think, be given than this, That the SAGES OF GREECE, with whom all the WISDOM of the world was ſuppoſed to be depoſited †, had PHILOSOPHISED themſelves out of the moſt evident and uſeful TRUTH with which mankind hath any concern.

Beſides, what greater regard could any one ſhew to the authority of the Sacred Writers than to juſtify their CENSURE *of the Greek philoſophy*; a cenſure which Deiſts and Fanatics, though for different ends, have equally concurred to repreſent as a condemnation of human learning in general?

In concluſion, it is but fit we ſhould give the reader ſome account why we have been ſo long and ſo particular on this matter.

* Priſcillianiſtæ quos in Hiſpania Priſcillianus inſtituit, maxime Gnoſticorum & Manichæorum dogmata permixta ſectantur; quamvis et ex aliis hæreſibus in eas ſordes, tanquam in ſentinam quandam horribili confuſione confluxerint. Propter occultandas autem contaminationes & turpitudines ſuas habent in ſuis dogmatibus & hæc verba, Jura, perjura, ſecretum prodere noli. Hi, ANIMAS DICUNT EJUSDEM NATURÆ ATQUE SUBSTANTIÆ CUJUS EST DEUS. Aug. De Hæreſibus.

† 1 Cor. i. 20.

One

One reaſon was (to mention no other at preſent) to obviate an objection, which might poſſibly be urged againſt our proof, of *the divine legation of* MOSES, *from the omiſſion of a future ſtate*. For if now the Deiſts ſhould ſay (and we know they are ready to ſay any thing) that *Moſes did not propagate that doctrine, becauſe he did not believe it*; we have an anſwer ready: having ſhewn from fact, *that the not believing a doctrine ſo uſeful to ſociety, was eſteemed no reaſon for the Legiſlator not to propagate it*. I ſay, having ſhewn it from the practice of the Philoſophers: For as to the Lawgivers, that is, thoſe who were not Philoſophers profeſſed, it appears, by what can be learnt from their hiſtory and character, that they *all believed*, as well as taught, a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. And indeed how ſhould it be otherwiſe? for they were free from thoſe *metaphyſical whimſies*, concerning GOD and the SOUL, which had ſo beſotted the Greek Philoſophers. And I know of nothing elſe that could hinder any man's believing it.

Againſt all this force of *evidence*, weak, indeed, as it is againſt the force of *prejudice*, the learned Chancellor of Gottingen has oppoſed his Authority, which is great, and his talents of reaſoning and eloquence, which are ſtill greater. "Magnam non ita pridem (ſays he) ut Antiquiores mittam, ingenii vim et doctrinæ copiam impendit, ut in hanc nos ſententiam induceret GUILIELMUS WARBURTONUS, vir alioquin egregius & inprimis acutus, in celeberrimo et eruditiſſimo libro, quem, *The Divine Legation of Moſes demonſtrated*, inſcripſit Lib. iii. Sect. 4. Jubet ille nos exiſtimare OMNES PHILOSOPHOS, qui animorum immortalitatem docuerunt, eamdem clam negaſſe. Naturam rerum revera Dei loco habuiſſe atque mentes hominum Particulas cenſuiſſe ex mundi anima decerptas, et ad eam poſt corporum obitum reverſuras. Verum, ut taceam, *Græcorum tantum Philoſophos* eum teſtari, quum aliis tamen Populis ſui etiam Philoſophi fuerint, a Græcorum ſententiis multis modis ſemoti, ut hoc, inquam, ſeponam, *non apertis & planis teſtimoniis* cauſam ſuam agit Vir præclarus, quod in tanti momenti accuſatione

neceſſarium videtur, ſed *conjecturis tantum*, exemplis nonnullis, denique conſectariis ex inſtitutis quibuſdam et dogmatibus Philoſophorum quorumdam ductis."—*De rebus Chriſt. ante Conſtantinum Magnum*, p. 18. Here the learned Critic ſuppoſing the queſtion to be,—What the *Philoſophers of the ancient World in general* thought concerning a future ſtate? charges the *Author of the Divine Legation* with falling ſhort in his proof, *which reaches*, ſays he, *only the Greek Philoſophers, though there were many other in the world beſides, who dogmatiſed on very different principles.* Now I had again and again declared, that I confined my Inquiry to the *Greek Philoſophers.* We ſhall ſee preſently, for what reaſon. What then could have betrayed this great Man into ſo wrong a repreſentation? It was not, I am perſuaded, a want of candour, but of attention to the Author he criticized.—For, ſeeing *ſo much* written by me againſt the principles of thoſe Ancients who propagated the doctrine of a future ſtate, he unwarily concluded that it was in my purpoſe to *diſcredit* the doctrine, as diſcoverable by the light of nature; and, on that ground, rightly inferred that my buſineſs was with the whole tribe of Ancient Philoſophers: and that to ſtop at the Greeks was miſtaking the extent of my courſe. But a little attention to my general argument would have ſhewn him, that this inquiry into the real ſentiments of a race of Sages, then moſt eminent in all political and moral Wiſdom, concerning this point, was made ſolely to ſhew the vaſt *importance* of the doctrine of a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment to ſociety, when it was ſeen that theſe men, who publicly and ſedulouſly taught it, did not indeed believe it. For this end the Greek Philoſophers ſerved my purpoſe to the full. Had my end been not the *importance*, but the *diſcredit* of the Doctrine (as this learned man unluckily conceived it) I had then, indeed, occaſion for much more than their ſuffrage to carry my point.

In what follows of this learned Criticiſm I am much further to ſeek for that candour which ſo eminently adorns the writings of this worthy perſon. He pretends I have not proved my charge againſt

againſt the *Greek Philoſophers*. Be it ſo. But when he ſays, I have not ATTEMPTED it *by any clear and evident teſtimonies*; *but only by conjectures*; *by inſtances in ſome Particulars*; *by conſequences deduced from the doctrines and Inſtitutes of certain of the Philoſophers*; This, I cannot reconcile to his ingenuous ſpirit of criticiſm. For what are all thoſe paſſages given above, from Timæus the Locrian, from Diogenes Laertius, from Plutarch, Sextus Empiricus, Plato, Chryſippus, Strabo, Ariſtotle, Epictetus, M. Antoninus, Seneca, and others, but *teſtimonies*, *clear and evident*, either of the parties concerned, or of ſome of their ſchool, or of thoſe who give us hiſtorical accounts of the Doctrines of thoſe Schools, that none of the Theiſtical Sects of *Greek Philoſophy* did *believe* any thing of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments.

So much for that kind of evidence which the learned perſon ſays I have not given.

Let us conſider the nature of that kind, which he owns I have given, but owns it in terms of diſcredit.—In tanti momenti accuſatione—*conjecturis* tantum, *exemplis* nonnullis denique *conſectariis* ex inſtitutis, &c.——

1. As to the CONJECTURES he ſpeaks of—Were theſe offered for the purpoſe he repreſents them; that is to ſay, directly to inforce the main queſtion, I ſhould readily agree with him, that in an *accuſation of ſuch moment* they were very impertinently urged. But they are employed only occaſionally to give credit to ſome of thoſe particular *teſtimonies*, which I eſteem *clear and evident*, but which he denies to exiſt at all, in my inquiry.

2. By what he ſays of the *inſtances or* EXAMPLES *in ſome particulars*, he would inſinuate that what a ſingle Philoſopher ſays, holds only againſt himſelf, not againſt the Sect to which he belongs: though he inſinuates it in defiance of the very genius of the Greek Philoſophy, and of the extent of that temper (by none better underſtood than by this learned man himſelf) which diſpoſed the Members of a School

——*jurare in verba Magiſtri.*

3. With

3. With regard to the INFERENCES *deduced from the Doctrines and Inſtitutes of certain of the Philoſophers*; by which he principally means thoſe *deduced* from their ideas of *God* and the *Soul*; We muſt diſtinguiſh.

If the *inference*, which is charged on an opinion be diſavowed by the Opinioniſt, the charge is *unjuſt*.

If it be neither avowed nor diſavowed, the charge is *inconcluſive*.

But if the *Conſequence* be acknowledged, and even contended for, the charge is *juſt*: and the evidence reſulting from it has all the force of the moſt direct proof.

Now the *Conſequence* I draw from the Doctrines of the Philoſophers concerning *God* and the *Soul*, in ſupport of my charge againſt them, is fully and largely acknowledged by them. The learned perſon proceeds, and aſſures his reader that, by the ſame way of reaſoning, he would undertake to prove that none of the Chriſtian Divines believed any thing of that future ſtate which they preached up to the people. "Ego quidem mediocris ingenii homo et tanto "viro quantus eſt *Warburtonus* longe inferior, Omnes Chriſtiano- "rum Theologos nihil eorum, quæ publice tradunt, credere, et "callide hominum mentibus impietatis venenum afflare velle, con- "vincam, ſi mihi eadem eos via invadendi poteſtas concedatur, qua "Philoſophos Vir doctiſſimus aggreſſus eſt."

This is civil. But what he gives me on the ſide of *ingenuity*, he repays himſelf on the ſide of *judgement*. For if it be, as he ſays, that by the ſame kind of reaſoning which I employ to convict the Philoſophers of Impiety, the Fathers themſelves might be found guilty of it, the ſmall talent of ingenuity, which nature gave me, was very ill beſtowed.

Now if the Learned Perſon can ſhew that *Chriſtian Divines*, like the *Greek* Philoſophers, made uſe of a *double doctrine—that they held it lawful to deceive, and ſay one thing when they thought another—that they ſometimes owned and ſometimes denied a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment—that they held God could not be angry, nor hurt any one—*

one—that the ſoul was part of the ſubſtance of God—and avowed that the conſequence of theſe ideas of God and the Soul was, no future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments——When, I ſay, he has ſhewn all this, I ſhall be ready to give up the *Divines*, as I have given up the *Philoſophers*.

But if, inſtead of this, he will firſt of all miſrepreſent the force of my reaſoning againſt the Philoſophers, and then apply it, thus miſrepreſented, againſt the Divines; bringing vague *conjectures* in ſupport of the main queſtion; making the *caſe* of particulars (Syneſius for inſtance) to include the whole body; or urging *conſequences* not ſeen, or abhorred when ſeen (ſuch as Polytheiſm from the Trinity): If, I ſay, with ſuch kind of proof (which his ingenuity and erudition may find in abundance) he will maintain that he has proved the charge in queſtion as ſtrongly againſt Chriſtian Divines as I have done againſt the Greek Philoſophers: why then—I will agree with the firſt Sceptic I meet, that all enquiries concerning the Opinions either of the one ſet of men or of the other, is an idler employment than picking ſtraws: For when Logic and Criticiſm will ſerve no longer to diſcover Truth, but may be made to ſerve the wild vagaries, the blind prejudices and the oblique intereſts of the *Diſputers of this World*, it is time to throw aſide theſe old Inſtruments of Vanity and Miſchief.

SECT. V.

BUT it may now perhaps be ſaid, "Though I have deſigned well, and have obviated an objection ariſing from the preſent queſtion; yet—Was it not imprudent to employ a circumſtance for this purpoſe, which ſeems to turn to the diſcredit of the Chriſtian doctrine of a future ſtate? For what can bear harder on the REASONABLENESS of this doctrine, than that the beſt and wiſeſt of Antiquity did not believe a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments?"

To

To this I reply,

1. That if the authority of the *Greek Philoſophers* have found weight with us in matters of religion, it is more than ever the *ſacred Writers* intended they ſhould; as appears from the character they have given us of them, and of their works.

2. Had I, indeed, contented myſelf with barely ſhewing, that the Philoſophers rejected the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, without explaining the grounds on which they went; ſome ſlender ſuſpicion, unfavourable to the Chriſtian doctrine, might perhaps have ſtaggered thoſe weak and impotent minds which cannot ſupport themſelves without the Crutch of AUTHORITY. But when I have at large explained thoſe grounds, which, of all philoſophic tenets, are known to be the moſt abſurd; and the reader hath ſeen theſe adhered to, while the beſt *moral arguments* for it were overlooked and neglected, the weight of their concluſions loſes all its force.

3. But had I done nothing of this; had I left the Philoſophers in poſſeſſion of their whole AUTHORITY; that authority would have been found impertinent to the point in hand. The ſuppoſed force of it ariſeth on a very fooliſh error. Thoſe, who miſtake CHRISTIANITY for *only a republication of the Religion of nature*, muſt, of courſe, ſuppoſe the doctrine it teacheth of a future ſtate, to be one of thoſe which *natural religion* diſcovers. It would therefore ſeem a diſcredit to that *Republication*, were not the doctrine diſcoverable by human reaſon; and ſome men would be apt to think it was not, when the Philoſophers had miſſed of it. But our holy Religion (as I hope to prove in the laſt book) is quite another thing: and one conſequence of its true nature will be ſeen to be this, that the CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE of a future ſtate is not in the number of thoſe which *natural Religion* teacheth. The authority of the Philoſophers, therefore, is entirely out of the queſtion.

4. But again, it will be found hereafter, that this *fact* is ſo far from weakening the doctrines of Chriſtianity, that it is a ſtrong argument for the *truth* of that Diſpenſation.

5. Yet

5. Yet as we have often ſeen writers deceived in their repreſentations of *Pagan Antiquity*; and, while zealouſly buſy in giving ſuch a one as they imagined favourable to *Chriſtianity*, they have been all along differving it; Leſt I myſelf ſhould be ſuſpected of having fallen into this common deluſion, I ſhall beg leave, in the laſt place, to ſhew, that it is juſt ſuch a repreſentation of ANTIQUITY as this I have given, which can poſſibly be of ſervice to our holy Faith. And that, conſequently, if what is here given be the *true*, it does revealed Religion much ſervice.

This will beſt appear by conſidering the USUAL VIEWS men have had, and the conſequent methods they have purſued, in bringing PAGAN ANTIQUITY into the ſcene.

THEIR deſign has been, either to illuſtrate the REASONABLENESS, or to ſhew the NECESSITY of *Chriſtianity*.

If the ſubject were REASONABLENESS, their way was to repreſent this *Antiquity*, as comprehending all the fundamental truths, concerning God and the Soul, which our holy Religion hath revealed. But as greatly as ſuch a repreſentation was ſuppoſed to ſerve their purpoſe, the Infidels, we ſee, have not feared to join iſſue with them on the allowed *fact*; and with much plauſibility of reaſoning, have endeavoured to ſhew, that THEREFORE CHRISTIANITY WAS NOT NECESSARY. And this very advantage, TINDAL (under cover of a principle, which ſome modern Divines afforded him, of *Chriſtianity's being only a republication of the Religion of nature*) obtained over ſome writers of conſiderable name.

If THE deſign were to ſhew the NECESSITY of Chriſtianity, they have then taken the other courſe, and (perhaps miſled by a ſenſe of the former miſchief) run into the oppoſite extreme; in repreſenting Pagan *Antiquity* as ignorant even of the firſt principles of Religion, and moral duty. Nay, not only, that it knew nothing, but that nothing could be known; for that human Reaſon was too weak to make any diſcoveries in theſe matters. Conſequently, that *there never was any ſuch thing as natural religion*; and that what glimmerings of knowledge men have had of this kind, were only the

dying

dying ſparks of primitive Tradition. Here the Infidel again turned their own artillery upon them, in order to diſmount that boaſted REASONABLENESS OF CHRISTIANITY, on which they had ſo much inſiſted: And indeed, what room was there left to judge of it, after human Reaſon had been repreſented as too weak and too blind to decide?

Thus while they were contending for the *reaſonableneſs*, they deſtroyed the *neceſſity*; and while they urged the *neceſſity*, they riſked the *reaſonableneſs* of *Chriſtianity*. And theſe infidel retortions had an irreſiſtible force on the principles on which our Advocates ſeemed to go; namely, *that Chriſtianity was only a republication of primitive natural Religion* *.

It appears then, that the only view of *Antiquity* which gives ſolid advantage to the CHRISTIAN CAUSE, is ſuch a one as ſhews natural Reaſon to be CLEAR enough to PERCEIVE Truth, and the neceſſity of its deductions when propoſed; but not generally STRONG enoug to DISCOVER it, and draw right deductions from it. Juſt ſuch a view as this, I have here given of *Antiquity*, as far as relates to the point in queſtion; which I preſume to be the TRUE; not only in that point, but likewiſe with regard to the ſtate of NATURAL RELIGION IN GENERAL: where we find human Reaſon could penetrate very far into the eſſential difference of things; but, wanting the true principles of Religion, the Ancients neither knew the origin of obligation, nor the conſequence of obedience. REVELATION hath diſcovered theſe Principles; and we now wonder, that ſuch prodigies of parts and knowledge could commit the groſs abſurdities which are to be found in their beſt diſcourſes on morality. But yet this does not hinder us from falling into a greater and a worſe deluſion. For having of late ſeen ſeveral excellent ſyſtems of Morals, delivered as the *Principles of natural Religion*, which diſclaim, or at leaſt do not own, the aid of *Revelation*, we are apt to think them, in good earneſt, the diſcoveries of natural Reaſon;

* See note [HH], at the end of this Book.

and

and ſo to regard the extent of its powers as an objection to the *neceſſity* of any further light. The objection is plauſible; but ſure, there muſt be ſome miſtake at bottom; and the great difference in point of excellence, between theſe *ſuppoſed* productions of mere Reaſon, and thoſe *real* ones of the moſt learned Ancients, will increaſe our ſuſpicion. The truth is, theſe modern ſyſtem-makers had aids, which as they do not acknowledge, ſo, I will believe, they did not perceive. Theſe aids were the true principles of Religion, delivered by *Revelation:* principles ſo early imbibed, and ſo clearly and evidently deduced, that they are now miſtaken to be amongſt our firſt and moſt natural ideas: But thoſe who have ſtudied Antiquity know the matter to be far otherwiſe.

I cannot better illuſtrate the ſtate and condition of the human mind, before *Revelation*, than by the following inſtance. A ſummary of the ATOMIC PHILOSOPHY is delivered in the *Theætetus* of *Plato:* yet being given without its principles, When Plato's writings, at the revival of learning, came to be ſtudied and commented upon, this ſummary remained abſolutely unintelligible: for there had been an interruption in the ſucceſſion of that School for many ages; and neither Marcilius Ficinus, nor Serranus, could give any reaſonable account of the matter. But as ſoon as DES CARTES had revived that Philoſophy, by excogitating its principles anew, the miſt removed, and every one ſaw clearly (though Cudworth, I think, was the firſt who took notice of it) that Plato had given us a curious and exact account of that excellent Phyſiology. And Des Cartes was now thought by ſome, to have borrowed his original ideas from thence; though, but for the revival of the *Atomic* principles, that paſſage had ſtill remained in obſcurity. Juſt ſo it was with reſpect to the powers of the HUMAN MIND. Had not *Revelation* diſcovered the true principles of *Religion*, they had without doubt continued altogether unknown. Yet on their diſcovery, they appeared ſo conſonant to human Reaſon, that men were apt to miſtake them for the production of it.

Cicero (and I quote him as of ſuperior authority) underſtood much better the true limits and extent of human knowledge. He owns the ſtate of natural Reaſon to be juſt what is here delivered; clear enough to perceive Truth, when propoſed, but not, generally, ſtrong enough to diſcover it. His remarkable words are theſe—— "Nam neque tam eſt acris acies in naturis hominum, & ingeniis, "ut res tantas quiſquam, NISI MONSTRATAS, poſſit videre: neque "tanta tamen in rebus obſcuritas, ut eas non penitus acri vir in- "genio cernat, ſi modo adſpexerit *."

SECT. VI.

I HAVE now gone through the ſecond general propoſition, which is, That all mankind, especially the most wise and learned nations of Antiquity, have concurred in believing, and teaching, that the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments was necessary to the well-being of society. In doing this, I have preſumed to enter the very *Penetralia* of Antiquity, and expoſe its moſt venerable ſecrets to open day. Some parts of which having been accidentally and obſcurely ſeen by the owl-light of infidelity, were imagined by ſuch as Toland, Blount, and Coward (as is natural for objects thus ſeen by falſe Braves), to wear ſtrange gigantic forms of terror: and with theſe they have endeavoured to diſturb the ſettled piety of ſober *Chriſtians*.

The ridiculous uſe theſe men have made of what they did not underſtand, may perhaps recal to the reader's mind that ſtale atheiſtical objection, that Religion is only a creature of politics, a State-engine, invented by the Legiſlator, to draw the knot of Civil Society more cloſe. And the rather, becauſe *that* objection being founded on the apparent uſe of Religion to Civil Policy, I

* De Orat. l. iii. c. 31.

may

may be ſuppoſed to have added much ſtrength to it, by ſhewing in this work, in a fuller manner than, perhaps, has been done before, the EXTENT OF THAT UTILITY; and the large ſphere of the Legiſlator's agency, in the application of it.

For thus ſtood the caſe: I was to prove MOSES's *divine aſſiſtance*, from his being ABLE to leave out of his Religion, the doctrine of a *future ſtate*. This required me to ſhew, that this doctrine was *naturally* of the utmoſt importance to Society. But of all the arguments, by which that importance may be proved, the plaineſt, if not the ſtrongeſt, is the conduct of LAWGIVERS. Hence the long detail of circumſtances in the *ſecond* and *third* books.

But indeed it not only ſerved to the purpoſe of my particular queſtion, but, appeared to me, to be one of the leaſt equivocal proofs of the truth of RELIGION in general; and to deſerve, in that view only, to be carefully examined and explained. I conſidered this part, therefore, and deſire the reader would ſo conſider it, as a *whole* and ſeparate work of itſelf, to PROVE THE TRUTH OF RELIGION IN GENERAL, FROM ITS INFINITE SERVICE TO HUMAN SOCIETY, though it be but the *introduction* to the truth of the MOSAIC.

Let us examine it: Lawgivers have unanimouſly concurred in propagating Religion. This could be only from a ſenſe and experience of its UTILITY; in which they could not be deceived: Religion therefore has a general *utility*. We deſire no more to eſtabliſh its *truth*.

For, TRUTH AND GENERAL UTILITY NECESSARILY COINCIDE; that is, Truth is *productive* of Utility; and Utility is *indicative* of Truth. That truth is *productive* of utility, appears from the nature of the thing. The obſerving truth, is acting as things really *are*: he who acts as things really are, muſt gain his purpoſed end: all diſappointment proceeding from acting as things *are not*: Juſt as in reaſoning from true or falſe principles, the concluſion which follows muſt be neceſſarily right or wrong. But gaining this end

is utility or happineſs; diſappointment of the end, hurt or miſery. If then Truth *produce* utility, the other part of the propoſition, that utility *indicates* truth, follows of neceſſity. For not to follow, ſuppoſes two different kinds of GENERAL UTILITY relative to the ſame creature, one proceeding from truth, the other from falſhood; which is impoſſible; becauſe the natures of thoſe utilities muſt then be different, that is, one of them muſt, at the ſame time, be, and not be, utility *. Wherever then we find *general utility*, we may certainly know it for the product of Truth, which it indicates. But the practice of Lawgivers ſhews us, that *this utility* reſults from Religion. The conſequence is, that RELIGION, *or the idea of the relation between the creature and the Creator, is true.*

However, as the unanimous concurrence of Lawgivers to ſupport Religion, hath furniſhed matter for this poor infidel pretence, I ſhall take leave to examine it more thoroughly.

Our Adverſaries are by no means agreed amongſt themſelves: Some of them have denied the truth of Religion, becauſe it was of no UTILITY; Others, becauſe it was of ſo GREAT. But commend me to the man, who, out of pure genuine ſpite to Religion, can employ theſe two contrary ſyſtems together, without the expence ſo much as of a bluſh †. However the Syſtem moſt followed, is *the political invention of Religion for its uſe:* the other being only the idle exerciſe of a few Dealers in paradoxes ‡.

I have begun theſe volumes with an examination of the *firſt* of theſe ſyſtems; and ſhall now end them with a confutation of the *other*. For the Unbeliever driven from his firſt hold, by our ſhewing the *utility* of religion, prepoſterouſly retires into *this*, in orer to recover his ground.

CRITIAS of Athens, one of the thirty tyrants, and the moſt execrable of the thirty, is at the head of this diviſion; whoſe prin-

* See note [II], at the end of this Book.

† See Blount's Anima Mundi, and Original of Idolatry.

‡ Such as the Author of Du Contract Social, ch. VIII. p. 192.

ciples

ciples he delivers in the moſt beautiful Iambics *. His words are to this purpoſe: "There was a time when man lived like a ſavage, "without government or Laws, the miniſter and executioner of "violence; when there was neither reward annexed to virtue, nor "puniſhment attendant upon vice. Afterwards, it appears, that "men invented civil Laws to be a curb to evil. From hence, "Juſtice preſided over the human race; force became a ſlave to "right, and puniſhment irremiſſibly purſued the tranſgreſſor. But "when now the laws had reſtrained an open violation of right, "men ſet upon contriving, how to injure others, in ſecret. And "then it was, as I ſuppoſe, that ſome CUNNING POLITICIAN, well "verſed in the knowledge of mankind, counterplotted this deſign, "by the invention of a principle that would hold wicked men in "awe, even when about to ſay, or think, or act ill in private. "And this was by bringing in the BELIEF OF A GOD; whom, he "taught to be immortal, of infinite knowledge, and of a nature "ſuperlatively excellent. This God, he told them, could hear and "ſee every thing ſaid and done by mortals here below: nor could "the firſt conception of the moſt ſecret wickedneſs be concealed "from him, of whoſe nature, knowledge was the very eſſence. "Thus did our POLITICIAN, by inculcating theſe notions, become "the author of a doctrine wonderfully taking; while he hid truth "under the embroidered veil of fiction. But to add ſervile dread to "this impreſſed reverence, the Gods, he told them, inhabited that "place, which he found was the repoſitory of thoſe Mormo's, and "panic terrors, which man was ſo dexterous at feigning, and ſo "ready to fright himſelf withal, while he adds imaginary miſeries "to a life already over-burthened with diſaſters. That place, I "mean, where the ſwift corruſcations of enkindled meteors, accom-"panied with horrid burſts of thunder, run through the ſtarry vaults "of heaven; the beautiful fret-work of that wiſe old Architect, "TIME. Where a ſocial troop of ſhining orbs perform their regular

* See note [KK], at the end of this Book.

"and

" and benignant courſes: and from whence refreſhing ſhowers de-
" ſcend to recreate the thirſty earth. Such was the habitation he
" aſſigned for the Gods; a place moſt proper for the diſcharge of
" their function: And theſe the terrors he applied, to circumvent
" ſecret miſchief, ſtifle diſorder in the ſeeds, give his Laws fair play,
" *and introduce Religion, ſo neceſſary to the Magiſtrate.*—This, in
" my opinion, was the TRICK, whereby mortal man was firſt
" brought to believe that there were immortal Natures."

How excellent a thing is juſtice! ſaid ſomebody or other, on obſerving it to be practiſed in the dens of thieves and robbers. How uſeful, how neceſſary a thing is *Religion!* may we ſay, when it forces this confeſſion of its power, from its two moſt mortal enemies, the Tyrant and the Atheiſt.

The account here given of RELIGION is, that it was A STATE INVENTION: that is, *that the* idea *of the relation between the creature and the Creator was formed and contrived by politicians to keep men in awe.* From whence the Infidel concludes it to be VISIONARY and GROUNDLESS. From the MAGISTRATE's large ſhare in the Eſtabliſhment of ancient national Religions, two conſequences are drawn: the one by *Believers*; the other by *Unbelievers.* The Firſt conclude that therefore theſe *national Religions* were of political original: and this the ancient Fathers of the Church ſpent much time and pains to prove. The Second conclude, from the ſame fact, that therefore *Religion in general*, or the idea of the relation between the creature and the Creator, was a politic invention, and not founded in the nature of things. And if, in confuting this, I ſtrengthen and ſupport the other concluſion, I ſuppoſe, that, in ſo doing, I give additional ſtrength to the cauſe of *Revelation*; otherwiſe the *Fathers* were very much miſtaken. And though Infidels, indeed, in their writings, affect to dwell upon this concluſion, " that *Superſtition* was a State-invention;" it is not, I preſume, on account of any ſervice, which they imagine it can do their cauſe; but becauſe it enables them to ſtrike obliquely, under that cover,

at

at *Religion* in general, when they do not care to appear without their maſk. But if ever they ſhould take it into their heads to deny, that there is any better proof of *Superſtition's* being a mere politic invention than that *Religion in general* is ſo, let them take notice that I have here anſwered them beforehand. On the whole then, if I prove that Religion in general was not a politic invention, I enervate all the force of the Atheiſt's argument againſt *Revelation*, taken from the *invention of Religion*. For that *Superſtition* was of human original, both parties ſeem to agree: though not *all of it* the invention of Stateſmen, as we ſhall ſee preſently, when we come to ſhew that *one ſpecies* of Idolatry was *in uſe* even before the inſtitution of civil Society.

I ſhall prove then, and in a very few words, that their *fact* or *poſition* is *firſt*, IMPERTINENT, and *ſecondly*, FALSE. For,

I.

Were it true, as it certainly is not, that *Religion was invented by Stateſmen*, it would not therefore follow that *Religion is falſe*. A conſequence that has been, I do not know how, allowed on all hands; perhaps on the miſtaken force of one or other of theſe Propoſitions.

I. Either, *that Religion was not found out, as a truth, by the uſe of Reaſon.*

II. Or, *that it was invented only for its Utility.*

III. Or laſtly, *that the Inventors did not believe it.*

I. *As to Religion's not being found out, as a truth, by the uſe of reaſon*, we are to conſider, that the finding out a truth by reaſon, neceſſarily implies the exerciſe of that faculty, in proportion to the importance and difficulty of the ſearch: ſo that where men do not uſe their reaſon, truths of the utmoſt certainty and higheſt uſe will remain unknown. We are not accuſtomed to reckon it any objection to the moſt uſeful civil truths, that divers ſavage nations in Africa and America, remain yet ignorant of them.

Now the objection againſt the truth of Religion, is founded on this

this pretended fact, that the Lawgiver taught it to the people from the moſt early times. And the Infidel Syſtem is, that man from his firſt appearance in the world, even to thoſe early times of his coming under the hands of the Civil Magiſtrate, differed little from brutes in the uſe of his rational faculties; and that the improvement of them was gradual and ſlow; for which, Antiquity is appealed to, in the account it gives us concerning the late invention of the arts of life. Thus, according to their own ſtate of the caſe, Religion was taught mankind when the generality had not begun to cultivate their rational faculties; and, what is chiefly remarkable, it was TAUGHT BY THOSE FEW WHO HAD.

It is true, our holy Religion gives a different account of *theſe firſt men:* But then it gives a different account too of the *origin of Religion.* And let our Adverſaries prevaricate as they will, they muſt take *both* or *neither.* For that very thing which was only able to make the firſt men ſo enlightened, as they are repreſente in Scripture, was *Revelation*; and, this allowed, the diſpute is at an end.

If it ſhould be ſaid, That "ſuppoſing Religion true, it is of ſo much importance to mankind, that God would never ſuffer us to remain ignorant of it:" I allow the force of the objection: but then we are not to preſcribe to the Almighty his WAY of bringing us to the knowledge of his Will. It is ſufficient to juſtify his goodneſs, that he hath done it: and whether he choſe the way of REVELATION, or of REASON, or of the CIVIL MAGISTRATE, it equally manifeſts his wiſdom. And why it might not happen to this *truth*, as it hath done to many others of great importance, to be firſt ſtumbled upon by chance, and miſtaken for a mere *utility*; and afterwards ſeen and proved to be what it is, I would beg leave to demand of theſe mighty Maſters of reaſon.

II. *As to Religion's being invented only for its utility:* This, though their palmary argument againſt it, is, of all, the moſt unlucky. It proceeds on a ſuppoſed inconſiſtency between *utility* and *truth.* For men

men perceiving much of it, between private, partial, utility and truth, were abſurdly brought to think there might be the ſame inconſiſtence, between general utility and ſome truths. This it was which led the ancient Sages into ſo many errors. For neither *Philoſopher* nor *Lawgiver* apprehending THAT TRUTH AND UTILITY DID COINCIDE; the Firſt, while he neglected utility, miſſed (as we have ſeen) of the moſt momentous *truths:* and the Other, while little ſolicitous about truth, miſſed in many inſtances (as we ſhall ſee hereafter) of *utility*. But general utility and all truth, neceſſarily coincide. For truth is nothing but that natural or moral relation of things, whoſe obſervance is attended with univerſal benefit. We may therefore as certainly conclude that *general utility* is always founded on *truth*, as that *truth* is always productive of *general utility*. Take then this conceſſion of the Atheiſt for granted, *that Religion is productive of public good*, and the very contrary to his inference, as we have ſeen above, MUST follow: namely, *that Religion is true*.

If it ſhould be urged, That "experience maketh againſt this reaſoning; for that it was not *Religion*, but SUPERSTITION, that, for the moſt part, procured this public utility; and ſuperſtition, both ſides agree to be *erroneous*." To this we reply, that *Superſtition* was ſo far from procuring any good in the ancient world, where it was indeed more or leſs mixed with all the national Religions, that the good which Religion procured, was allayed with evil, in proportion to the quantity of Superſtition found therein. And the leſs of Superſtition there was in any national Religion, the happier, *cæteris paribus*, we always find that people; and the more there was of it, the unhappier. It could not be otherwiſe, for, if we examine the caſe, it will appear, That all thoſe *advantages* which reſult from the *worſhip of a ſuperior Being*, are the conſequences only of the *true principles of Religion:* and that the *miſchiefs* which reſult from ſuch worſhip, are the conſequences only of the *falſe*; or what we call *Superſtition*.

The wiſer Ancients (in whoſe times, SUPERSTITION, with it's malignant embraces, had twined itſelf round the noble trunk of RELIGION, had poiſoned her benigneſt qualities, deformed all her comelineſs, and uſurped her very NAME) were ſo ſtruck and affected with what they ſaw and felt, that ſome of them thought, even ATHEISM was to be preferred before her. PLUTARCH compoſed a fine rhetorical diſcourſe in favour of this ſtrange paradox; which hath ſince given frequent occaſion to much ſophiſtical declamation. M. BAYLE hath ſupported Plutarch's Theſis at large, in an *Hiſtorical and Philoſophical Commentary*: Yet, by neglecting, or rather confounding, a real and material DISTINCTION, neither the ancient nor the modern Writer hath put the reader fairly into poſſeſſion of the queſtion. So that, both the SUBJECT and the PREDICATE of the Propoſition are left in that convenient ſtate of ambiguity which is neceſſary to give a *Paradox* the air and reputation of an *Oracle*.

The ambiguity in the *ſubject* ariſeth from the word SUPERSTITION's being ſo laxly employed as to admit of two ſenſes: either as a THING ADVENTITIOUS TO RELIGION, with which it is fatally apt to mix itſelf; Or as a CORRUPT SPECIES OF RELIGION. In the firſt ſenſe, Superſtition is of *no uſe at all*, but of infinite miſchief; and worſe than Atheiſm itſelf: In the ſecond ſenſe, of a corrupt Religion, it is of *great ſervice*; For, by teaching a Providence, on which mankind depends, it impoſeth a neceſſary curb upon individuals, ſo as to prevent the miſchiefs of mutual violence and injuſtice. It is likewiſe, indeed, of *great diſſervice*: for, by infuſing wrong notions of the moral attributes of God, it hinders the progreſs of Virtue; and ſometimes ſets up a falſe ſpecies of it. However, in the ſenſe of a *corrupt Religion*, the Reader ſees, it is infinitely preferable to Atheiſm: As in a Drug of ſovereign efficacy, the application even of that which by time or accident is become decayed or viciated, is, in deſperate diſorders, greatly to be preferred to the rejection; though it may engender bad habits in the Conſtitution it preſerves; which, the ſound and pure ſpecies would not have

have done. Now one of the leading fallacies, which runs through PLUTARCH's little Tract, keeps under the cover of this ambiguity, in the SUBJECT.

The ambiguity in the PREDICATE does as much ſervice to ſophiſtry. "Superſtition (they ſay) *is worſe* than Atheiſm." They do not tell us, TO WHOM; but leave us to conclude, that they mean, both to PARTICULARS and to SOCIETY; as taking it for granted, that if worſe to *one*, it muſt needs be worſe to the *other*. But here they are miſtaken: and ſo, from this ambiguity ariſes a *new* fallacy, which mixes itſelf with the other. The degree of miſchief cauſed by Superſtition is different, as it reſpects its objects, *Individuals* or *Societies*. Superſtition, as it ſignifies only a CORRUPT RITE, is more hurtful to Societies than to Individuals; and, to both, *worſe* than Atheiſm. But as it ſignifies a CORRUPT RELIGION, it is leſs hurtful to Societies than to Individuals; and, to both, *better* than Atheiſm. The confounding this *diſtinction* makes the ambiguity in which Bayle principally delights to riot. And this, by the aſſiſtance of the other from Plutarch, ſupports him in all his groſs equivocations, and imperfect eſtimates: Till at length, it encourages him to pronounce, in the moſt general terms, that *Superſtition is worſe than Atheiſm* *.

BAYLE is a great deal too diffuſed to come within the limits of this examination. But as PLUTARCH led the way; and hath even dazzled BACON himſelf †, with the ſplendor of his diſcourſe; I propoſe to examine his arguments, as they lie in order: Whereby it will appear that, beſides the capital fallacies above detected, it abounds with a variety of other ſophiſms, poured out with a profuſion which equals, and keeps pace with, the torrent of his wit and eloquence.

This famous Tract is, as we have obſerved, a florid declamation, adorned with all the forms and colouring of Rhetoric; when

* Penſées diverſes ecrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne à l'occaſion de la comete qui parût au mois de Decembre 1680. Et continuation des Penſées diverſes, &c.

† See his Eſſays; where this paradox of Plutarch is ſupported.

the queſtion demanded ſevere reaſoning, and philoſophical preciſion. At the ſame time, it muſt be owned, that it is of a genius very different from thoſe luxuriant, and, at the ſame time, barren Diſſertations of the Sophiſts. It is painted all over with bright and lively images, it ſparkles with witty alluſions, it amuſes with quaint and uncommon ſimilies; and, in every decoration of ſpirit and genius, equals the fineſt compoſitions of Antiquity: Indeed, as to the ſolidity and exactneſs of the Logic, it is on a level with the meaneſt. His REASONING is the only part I am concerned with: and no more of this, than lies in one continued COMPARISON between Atheiſm and Superſtition: For, as to his poſitive proofs, from fact, of the actual miſchiefs of Superſtition, I am willing they ſhould be allowed all the force they pretend to.

It will be proper, in the firſt place, to obſerve, That it is hard to ſay, What Plutarch intended to infer from this laboured *Compariſon between Atheiſm* and *Superſtition*; in which, he, all the way, gives the preference to *Atheiſm:* For though, throughout the courſe of the argument, he conſiders each, only as it affects *Particulars*, yet, in his concluſion, he makes a general inference in *favour of Atheiſm with regard to Society*. But, it will not follow, that, becauſe Atheiſm is leſs hurtful to *Particulars*, it is therefore leſs hurtful to *Societies* likewiſe. So that, to avoid all ſophiſtical dealing, it was neceſſary theſe two queſtions ſhould be diſtinguiſhed; and ſeparately conſidered. However, let us examine his reaſoning on that ſide where it hath moſt ſtrength, *The effects of Atheiſm and Superſtition on* PARTICULARS.

1. He ſets out in this manner—"Ignorance concerning the nature of the Gods, where it meets with a bold and refractory temper, as in a rough and ſtubborn ſoil, produces ATHEISM; where it encounters flexible and fearful manners, as in rank and low land, there it brings forth SUPERSTITION *."——This is by no means

* Τῆς περὶ θεῶν ἀμαθίας καὶ ἀγνοίας εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς δίχα ῥυείσης, τὸ μὲν ὥσπερ ἐν χωρίοις τισὶ σκληροῖς καὶ ἀντιτύποις, ἤθεσι τὴν ἀθεότητα, τὸ δὲ, ὥσπερ ἐν ὑγροῖς καὶ ἁπαλοῖς, τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐμπεποίηκεν.—περὶ δεισιδ. Steph. Ed. 8vo. vol. i. p. 286.

an

an exact, or even generally true account of the origin of these evils. There are various causes which incline men to Atheism, besides fool-hardiness; and, to Superstition, besides cowardice. The affectation of singularity; the vanity of superior knowledge; and, what Plutarch himself, in another place of this very Tract, assigns as a general cause, *the sense of the miseries of Superstition*, have frequently inclined men to this fatal obliquity of judgment. On the other hand, ignorance of Nature; impatience to pry into futurity; the unaccountable turns in a man's own fortune, to good or bad; and, above all, a certain reverence for things established, carry them into *Superstition*. And as *these* considerations are equally adapted to affect the hardy and the pusillanimous; so the *others*, mentioned before, as soon get possession of the fearful as of the bold. Nay, FEAR itself is often the very passion which most forcibly inclines a wicked man, who hath nothing favourable to expect from divine Justice, to persuade himself that there is none to fear. Plutarch owns as much; and says expressly, that "the end the Atheist proposes in his opinions is to exempt himself from all *fear* of the Deity *."—Again, we find, by the Histories of all times, that Superstition seizeth, along with the weak and fearful, the most daring and determined, the most ferocious and untractable. Tyrants, Conquerors, Statesmen, and Great Generals, with all the savage tribes of uncivilized Barbarians, submit tamely to this galling Yoke.

But our Author's account of the different births of Atheism and Superstition was no more than was necessary to support his Thesis. He all along estimates the two evils by the miseries they bring on those who are under their dominion. These miseries arise from the passions they create. But, of all the passions, FEAR is the most tormenting. The pusillanimous mind is most subject to fear. And it is over the fearful (he says) that Superstition gains the

* Τέλος ἐστὶν αὐτῇ τὸ μὴ νομίζειν θεὸς, τὸ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι. p. 287.

ascendant.

aſcendant. This, therefore, was to be laid down as a poſtulatum. The reſt follows in order.

2. For now coming to his parallel, he begins with a confeſſion—"That both errors are very bad. But as Superſtition is accompanied with paſſion or affection, and Atheiſm free from all paſſion, Superſtition muſt needs be the greater evil; as in a broken limb, a *compound* fracture is much worſe than a *ſimple*. Atheiſm (he ſays) may pervert the mind, but Superſtition both *ulcerates* and perverts. A man who believes no God hath none to fear; but he who believes God to be a capricious or vindictive Being hath a great deal to fear *."—This is wittily ſaid: but Nature talks another language. We ſhould beware how we credit poetical ſimilies; or even philoſophical analogies; which, indeed, is but poetry, once removed. They both have their hopes and fears. Though the Atheiſt has no God to fear, yet the miſerable forlorn condition of a World without a Ruler muſt keep him under perpetual alarms, in the apprehenſion of the diſmal effects which Chance and Hazard may produce in the Material ſyſtem; either by removing the parts of it (whoſe preſent poſition ſupports the harmony of the whole) too far from, or elſe by bringing them too near to, one another.

And now again, the rapidity of Plutarch's invention throws him on a Compariſon, to ſupport his reaſoning, which entirely overturns it—"He (ſays our author) who thinks Virtue a *corporeal being* is only abſurd. Here we have an error without paſſion. But he who thinks Virtue a *mere name* is miſerable; for his error is attended with paſſion †."—How ſo?——"Becauſe ſuch a one lies under the ſad reflection of having loſt his ableſt ſupport." But muſt not a man's being deprived of the LAWGIVER be as ſenſible a mortification, as his being deprived of the LAW, whoſe exiſtence depends upon the *Lawgiver?* On the other ſide, Though Superſti-

* Ἅπασα μὲν ἔν κρίσις ψευδὴς, ἄλλως τε κἂν ᾖ περὶ ταῦτα μοχθηρὸν, τῇδε κ᾽ πάθει προύσει μοχθηρότερον· πᾶν γὰρ πάθος ἔοικεν ἀπάτῃ φλεγμαίνουσα εἶναι, &c. p. 286, 7.

† Πάλιν οἴονταί τινες εἶναι σῶμα τὴν ἀρετὴν, &c. p. 286.

tion

ion hath its *fears*, it hath its *hopes* alſo: which, upon the whole, I think, to be more eligible than that ſuppoſed freedom of the Atheiſt (even as our author draws it) from all paſſion and affection. For though the ſuperſtitious man may think perverſely concerning the means whereby the Deity is appeaſed, yet he thinks him placable; and ſuppoſeth the means to be in his own power. So that he is not under the tyranny of that *pure and unmixed fear*, which Plutarch repreſents in ſuch a manner as if all Nature furniſhed out proviſion to the ſuperſtitious man, for food and exerciſe to this paſſion. Whereas the affection of Superſtition is equal between hopes and fears: It is the proper temper of the ſuperſtitious man, which more inclines him towards one than to the other. But Plutarch had before, gratuitouſly, laid it down as an axiom, "That the eſſential temperament of the ſuperſtitious man is fear and cowardice."

3. However, all this would not have been ſufficient to ſupport the weakneſs of his declamatory reaſoning, without the aſſiſtance of two commodious ſophiſms, to ſet it off. The firſt, indeed, is of a ſlender make, and hath little more in it than ſound. He ſays "the very *name* ſhews, the eſſence of ſuperſtition to be *Fear*: For the Greek name of this moral mode, δεισιδαιμονία, ſignifies a *fear of the gods*." A Roman might with the ſame pretence aver, that the eſſence of ſuperſtition is *Love*: For that the Latin word *ſuperſtitio*, hath a reference to the *love we bear to our children, in the deſire that they ſhould ſurvive us*; being formed upon the obſervation of certain religious practices deemed efficacious for procuring that happy event. The other ſophiſm is more material; and conſiſts in putting the change upon us, and repreſenting the God of the Superſtitious man, by whom he ſuppoſes the world to be governed, in falſe and odious colours, as an *envious Being*, *hurtful to man* *: For it is not the *good*, but the EVIL DEMON whom the ſuperſtitious man *thus* repreſents: Not the Being which he wor-

* —Οἰόμενόν τ' εἶναι θεὸς, εἶναι δὲ λυπηρὸς καὶ βλαβερὸς, p. 267.

ſhips;

ſhips; but the Being which he avoids and deteſts. The ſuperſtitious man, indeed, foolithly enough, ſuppoſeth, that the God whom he acknowledgeth to be good, is capricious, inconſtant, and vindictive. But then, from that eſſential quality of GOODNESS, which belongs to him as GOD, he concludes, that this Being may be appeaſed by ſubmiſſion, and won upon by oblations and atonements. All this, Plutarch himſelf confeſſeth: and in words which directly contradict the account he here gives of the God of the ſuperſtitious man. *Superſtition* (ſays he) *agitated by many contrary paſſions, ſuffereth itſelf to ſuſpect that* THE GOOD *itſelf may be evil* *. Plutarch has therefore acted unfairly, and to ſerve a purpoſe, in thruſting in the ſuperſtitious man's *evil Demon*, in the place of his *God*. This conduct will bear the harder upon his ingenuity, as he held the doctrine of the TWO PRINCIPLES: and, therefore, can hardly be ſuppoſed to have changed the object inadvertently, or without deſign.

4. Having made the *God* of the ſuperſtitious man, a *Devil*, he hath, conſiſtently enough, repreſented the ſuperſtitious man's condition to be the very ſtate of the *damned*: "That his pains have not remiſſion; that he carries Hell in his boſom, and finds the Furies in his dreams †." The terms of the original are very elegant: But as they plainly allude to the *ſhews of the myſteries*, I think the author ſhould have been ſo fair to recollect, that there was an ELYSIUM as well as a TARTARUS both in the *Dreams* of the ſuperſtitious man and in the *ſhews* of the Myſteries. And that as Tartarus and Elyſium were alike the fictions of ſuperſtition, they were alike the objects of the ſuperſtitious Man's dreams. His natural temperament and the redundancy of a particular humour would determine the colour of the Scene. The Atheiſt therefore,

* Ἡ δὲ δεισιδαιμονία πολυπάθεια κακὸν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὑποτοῦσα. φοβεῖται τὰς θεὰς καὶ καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς θεάς. p. 291.

† ——Ὥστερ ἐν ἀσεβῶν χώρῳ, τῷ ὕπνῳ τῶν δεισιδαιμόνων, εἴδωλα φρικώδη καὶ τεράστια φαρμάκων, καὶ ποινάς τινας ἐγείρουσα καὶ προβοῦσα τὴν ἀθλίαν ψυχὴν ἐκ τῶν ὕπνων ἐκδιώκει τοῖς ὀνείροις, μαστιζομένην καὶ κολαζομένην αὐτὴν ὑφ' αὑτῆς, ὡς ὑφ' ἑτέρου, καὶ δεινὰ προστάγματα καὶ ἀλλόκοτα λαμβάνουσαν.—p. 288.

who,

who, he ſays, enjoys the benefit of repoſe, might have his ſleep diſturbed by *the cries of the damned* as well as the ſuperſtitious man; whom he repreſents as kept in perpetual alarms by this paſſion; becauſe the *habit of the body* makes the very ſame impreſſions on the fancy, in ſleep, which the *ſtate of the mind* does on the imagination while awake.

5. But, "from the tyranny of Superſtition, he ſays, there is no reſpite nor eſcape; becauſe, in the opinion of the ſuperſtitious man, all things are within the juriſdiction of his God; and this God is *inexorable and implacable* *." From ſuch a Being, indeed, there can be no eſcape, nor reſpite from torment. But, as was ſaid before, this is not the ſuperſtitious man's *God*, but his *Devil*. Beſides, the attribute of *implacability* totally removes, what our Author makes the other half of the miſeries of Superſtition; its ſlaviſh attention to the fooliſh and coſtly buſineſs of expiations and atonements: A practice ariſing from the idea of *placability*, and neceſſarily falling with it.

6. Therefore, as if conſcious of this prevarication, he adds: "That the ſuperſtitious man fears even his beſt-conditioned Gods, the *Beneficent*, the *Preſervers:* that the Gods, from whom men ſeek grandeur, affluence, peace, concord, and ſucceſs, are the objects of his dread and terror †." Here we ſee the ſuperſtitious man is at length confeſſed to have Gods very different from thoſe before aſſigned unto him. However, we muſt not think that even theſe will afford him any ſolace or conſolation. It is well that the whole proof of this cruel excluſion lies in the ambiguity of the terms, φρίττων and τρέμων: which, when they ſignify the *fearing ſlaviſhly*, do indeed imply *miſery:* But when they ſignify *fearing religiouſly*, do as certainly imply a *bleſſing*; becauſe they deter the ſubject, they

* Ὁ δὲ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἀρχὴν ὡς τυραννίδα φοβέμενος σκυθρωπὴν καὶ ἀπαραίτητον, πῶ μείαξῃ, πῶ φυγῇ, ποίαν γῆν ἄθεον εὕρῃ, ποίαν θάλασσαν, p. 289.

† —Ὁ φοβέμενος τὰς παλιρρύας καὶ γενεθλίας, ὁ φρίττων τὰς σωτῆρας καὶ τὰς μειλιχίους, τρέμων καὶ δεδοικὼς παρ' ὧν αἰτήμεθα πλοῦτον, εὐπορίαν, ὁμόνοιαν, εἰρήνην, ὄρθωσιν λόγων καὶ ἔργων τῶν ἀρίστων. p. 289.

influence, from evil. Now, when theſe terms are applied to the Gods confeſſedly beneficent, they can ſignify only a *religious fear*; unleſs when Plutarch hath defined SUPERSTITION to be, the *fearing ſlaviſhly*, we will be ſo complaiſant to allow that the SUPERSTITIOUS MAN * cannot *fear religiouſly*. And where is the abſurdity in flying for refuge to Gods, ſo feared? Though Plutarch puts it among the contradictions of Superſtition †.—It is remarkable, that theſe *good-conditioned* Gods, here deſcribed as τὰς σωτῆρας καὶ τὰς μειλιχίους, are called by our author πατρῴους καὶ γενεθλίους, *his native and country Gods*. Yet if we conſider the ſtories of Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Bacchus, Diana, &c. we ſhall find no great reaſon to extol their morals. But here lay the diſtreſs of the affair. Plutarch was a Prieſt of this claſs of Deities; and *Greece*, at that time, being over-run with ſtrange Gods, and labouring under Eaſtern ſuperſtitions, it was proper to blacken this *foreign* worſhip, for the ſake of the *national:* So that Plutarch, like the fair Trader, in an ill humour with Interlopers, reckons all Eaſtern Rites as even worſe than Atheiſm. Hence his famous exclamation to his Countrymen, which the noble author of the *Characteriſtics* quotes with much exultation, and transferred bitterneſs. "O wretched Greeks "(ſays Plutarch, ſpeaking to his then declining countrymen) who "in a way of ſuperſtition run ſo eaſily into the reliſh of barbarous "nations, and bring into Religion that frightful mien of ſordid "and vilifying devotion, ill-favoured humiliation and contrition, "abject looks and countenances, conſternations, proſtrations, dis-"figurations, and in the act of worſhip diſtortions, conſtrained and "painful poſtures of the body, wry faces, beggarly tones, mum-"pings, grimaces, cringings, and the reſt of this kind.——A ſhame "indeed to us *Grecians!*——Shall we, while we are nicely ob-"ſervant of other forms and decencies in the Temple, ſhall we "neglect this greater decency in voice, words, and manners; and

* See p. 169.

† ——φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς, καταφεύγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς θεούς. p. 291.

"with

" with vile cries, fawnings, and proſtitute behaviour, betray the " natural dignity and majeſty of that divine Religion, and NATIO- " NAL WORSHIP, *delivered down to us by our forefathers, and purged* " *from every thing of* BARBAROUS *and ſavage kind* *." Such then were the circumſtances of the time; and theſe, together with the perſonal views of our Author, were, I ſuppoſe, the cauſes which gave birth to this famous Tract, OF SUPERSTITION. To proceed,

7. Another advantage of *Atheiſm* over *Superſtition*, in Plutarch's reckoning, is, " that the Atheiſt is ſecured from the impreſſions of a *future ſtate* †." It is no wonder that we find this in the number of the Atheiſt's bleſſings, when we conſider that our Author regarded a future ſtate as a Fable, at beſt, invented for the reſtraint of evil. Yet, whatever pleaſure the Atheiſt may take in his ſecurity from this terror, it is certain, Society would ſuffer by taking off ſo uſeful a curb upon the manners of the people.

8. Our Author then proves, and indeed proves it effectually, " That ſuperſtition is much worſe than the true knowledge of the Deity ‡."

9. He conſiders next the different effects of Atheiſm and Superſtition on their ſubjects, *in the diſaſtrous accidents of life*. And here again, Atheiſm, as uſual, is found to have the advantage. " The Atheiſt indeed curſes chance, and blaſphemes Providence; but the ſuperſtitious man complains of his Gods, and thinks himſelf hated or forſaken of them §."—The Atheiſt is well come on. Hitherto Plutarch had repreſented his Favorite as always calm and

* Miſcel. Reſl. vol. III. Miſc. ii. c. 3.

† Τὶ δεῖ μακρὰ λέγειν, πῖρας ἐςὶ τῷ βίῳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁ θάνατος· τῆς δὲ δεισιδαιμονίας οὐδ' ἔτος. ἀλλ' ὑπερβάλλει τὰς ὄρεις ἐπέκεινα τῷ ζῆν, μακρότερον τῷ βίῳ ποιῆσα τὸν φόβον, καὶ συνάπλεσα τῷ θανάτῳ κακῶν ἐπίνοιαν ἀθανάτων, &c. p. 289, 90.

‡ Φιλοσόφων δὲ καὶ Πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν καλαφρονῆσιν, &c. p. 291.

§ Πάλλας ἐπὶ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον ἀπερειδομένη τὰς ὀργυμὰς, καὶ βοῶν ὡς ἐδὲν καλὰ δίκην, οὐδ' ἐκ προνοίας, ἀλλὰ πάντα συγκεχυμένως καὶ ἀκρίτως φέρεσθαι, καὶ σπαθᾶται τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων—πάλλων τὸν θεὸν αἰτιᾶται——καὶ ὡς ὁ δυσκόλης ὢν, ἀλλὰ θεομισής τις ἄνθρωπος. p. 291, 2.

undiſturbed: Indeed, he makes one great part of the Atheiſt's advantage over Superſtition to conſiſt in his freedom from all unruly paſſions. Here, they labour both alike under their tyranny. Well, but ſome paſſions make their owner more miſerable than others. It is confeſſed, they do. But, is that the caſe here? Or if it be, Is it to the advantage of the Atheiſt? By no means. The diſaſters of life are ſuppoſed to have betrayed them both into *paſſion*. But he ſurely is leaſt oppreſſed by the commotion, who ſees a poſſibility of getting out of his diſtreſſes. It is impoſſible the Atheiſt can have any ſuch proſpect. There is no Fence againſt a Flail, nor proviſion againſt *blind Chance*: The ſuperſtitious man may eaſily hope to appeaſe the irritated Deity: for though *he fears and dreads the Gods, yet*, as Plutarch acknowledges, *he flies to them for refuge*. I might mention another advantage which the ſuperſtitious man hath over the Atheiſt in the diſaſters of life, namely, that he is frequently *bettered* by his misfortunes; and this the Atheiſt never is; becauſe the ſuperſtitious man may ſuppoſe them ſent by the Gods in puniſhment for his crimes; which the Atheiſt never can.

"But (ſays our Author) If the diſaſter in queſtion be diſeaſe or ſickneſs, the Atheiſt referring it to the right cauſe, *intemperance*, ſeeks out for the proper cure. While the ſuperſtitious man imagining it to be a *judgement from Heaven*, neglects to have recourſe to medicine *." The deluſion here is evident. It is built on that falſe poſition, which the experience of all ages hath diſcredited, namely, That *men* always *act according to their principles*. In this caſe eſpecially, of avoiding or freeing themſelves from inſtant phyſical evil, men of the moſt different Principles go all one way; and however divided in their religious opinions, they all meet in an *uniformity* to medical practice. It is an idle ſophiſm which would

* Νόσων τε ὁ ἄθεος ἐκλογίζεσθαι καὶ ἀναμιμνήσκεσθαι πλημμονὰς αὐτὸς καὶ οἰνώσεις, καὶ ἀταξίας περὶ δίαιταν, ἢ κόπους ὑπερβάλλοντας, ἢ μεταβολὰς ἀέρων ἀήθεις καὶ ἀτόπους—Τῷ δὲ δεισιδαίμονι καὶ σώματος ἀῤῥωστία πᾶσα—πληγαὶ θεῶν καὶ προσβολαὶ δαιμονίων λέγονται· ὅθεν ἐδὲ τολμᾷ βοηθεῖν, ἐδὲ διαλύειν τὸ συμβεβηκὸς, ἐδὲ θεραπεύειν, ἐδὲ ἀντιτάττεσθαι, μὴ δόξῃ θεομαχεῖν καὶ ἀντιτείνειν κολαζόμενος. p. 292.

persuade

perſuade us, that, becauſe the ſuperſtitious man uſeth ſacred Rites to remove what he eſteems *a ſacred diſeaſe*, that, therefore, he employs no other means *. The early mixture of medical drugs with religious charms and incantations in the firſt ſtate of Phyſic, might have taught our Author, how naturally men are wont to lend a helping hand to the ſuppoſed efficacy of Religion. But this reaſoning is utterly diſcredited by his own inſtance of the *Mariners*; the moſt ſuperſtitious of mortals; who, in the diſtreſſes of a ſtorm, while they pour out their vows to their *Saviour Gods*, at the ſame time fall luſtily to their tackle, and pump without intermiſſion †? Indeed, he ſeems fully ſenſible of its weakneſs, when he catches at an occurrence in the *Jewiſh* ‡ hiſtory, to ſupport it; where, we know (though he did not) that all things were extraordinary, and nothing to be brought to example, any more than to imitation.

To diſgrace ſuperſtition ſtill more, our Author urges "the misfortune of Nicias the Athenian; who, frightened by an eclipſe of the Moon, delayed his retreat till he and his army were inveſted, and cut in pieces, by the enemy." But this kind of ſuperſtitious obſervance is as well adapted to *encourage* as to *diſmay* armies and bodies of men; and hath juſt as often done the one as the other. So that, under this article, Plutarch ſhould have fairly ſtated, and balanced the account.

From the *miſeries* of life, He comes to the *pleaſures* of it. And here too the Atheiſt muſt have an excluſive poſſeſſion. He confeſſeth, "that the pomps and ceremonies of religious Feſtivals abound with complacency and joy." He owns "his Atheiſt can receive no further amuſement from ſuch a ſcene than to laugh at it: But to the ſuperſtitious man (he ſays) they are the ſubject of diſ-

* Plutarch makes the ſuperſtitious man ſay, Ταῦτα πάσχεις, ὦ κακόδαιμον, ἐκ προνοίας καὶ θεῶν κελεύοντος ἔρριψε πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα προήκατο, ἑαυτὸν——p. 293.

† Τοῦτο ἰδὼν κυβερνήτης εὔχεται μὲν ὑπεκφυγεῖν, καὶ θεοὺς ἐπικαλεῖται σωτῆρας, εὐχόμενος δὲ τὸν οἶακα προσάγει, τὴν χειραίαν ὑφίησι ——p. 294.

‡ —Ἀλλὰ Ἰουδαῖοι σαββάτων ὅλων ἐν ἀγκάμοις καθεζόμενοι, τῶν πολεμίων κλίμακας προσιβάλλων, καὶ τὰ τείχη καλαλαμβανόντων, ὑκ ἀνέτησαν, &c. p. 294.

treſs

treſs and miſery *."—Not to allow the relaxations of the ſuperſtitious man's mental terrors to have their *effect*, is hard indeed. It is much the ſame as not to ſuffer us to *feel* the remiſſions of our bodily pains. If the ſuperſtitious man fancies the Gods are often angry, he ſometimes, at leaſt, believes them to be appeaſed. And when can he hope to find them in good humour, if not at their Feſtivals? To draw him, therefore, at this ſeaſon, with pale looks and trembling geſtures, is certainly over-charging the picture. The truth is, the ſuperſtitious man hath as ſtrong paroxyſms of joy as of grief; though perhaps neither ſo frequent nor ſo laſting. Yet to deny them to him at the celebration of his religious Feſtivals is a contradiction to all common ſenſe.

Our author next attempts to ſhew, That "the *crime of impiety* is rather to be charged upon the ſuperſtitious man than the Atheiſt: for Anaxagoras, he ſays, was accuſed of impiety, for holding the *Sun* to be only a red-hot ſtone: But nobody challenged the Cimmerians of that crime for denying its exiſtence †." By this, our Author would inſinuate, that it is more injurious to the Gods, to hold diſhonourable notions of their *Nature*, than to call in queſtion their *Being*. The oppoſition of theſe caſes is witty and ingenious: but very defective, in the integrity of the application. Plutarch's Philoſophic atheiſt in queſtion, correſponds no more with the *Cimmerians*, than his Theiſt does with *Anaxagoras*.—The Atheiſt, after having had a *full view* of the works of God, denies the exiſtence of the Workman. The Cimmerians, becauſe debarred, by their ſituation, the uſe of that ſenſe which alone could inform them of the Sun's nature, had no conception of his Being. In the firſt caſe, the concluſion being derogatory to the Nature of the

* Ἥδιστα δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἑορταὶ, &c. ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν σκοπεῖ τὸν ἄθεον, γελῶντα μὲν μανικὸν καὶ σαρδόνιον, γέλωτα τούτοις ποιουμένοις—ἄλλο δὲ ἐδὲν ἔχοντα κακόν· ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων βέλτιστα μὲν, ἃ δύναται δὲ χαίρειν, οὐδὲ ἥδεσθαι—ἐκφανωμένῳ ὠχρία, δύει καὶ φοβεῖται, &c. p. 294, 295.

† Ὅθεν ἔμοιγε καὶ θαυμάζειν ἔπεισι τὰς τὴν ἀθεότητα φάσκοντας ἀσέβειαν εἶναι, μὴ φάσκοντας δὲ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν· καίτοιγε Ἀναξαγόρας δίκην ἔφυγεν ἀσεβείας ἐπὶ τῷ λίθον εἰπεῖν τὸν Ἥλιον· Κιμμερίους δὲ οὐδεὶς εἶπεν ἀσεβεῖς ὅτι τὸν Ἥλιον οὐδ' εἶναι τοπαράπαν νομίζουσι, p. 295.

Power

Power denied, the Denier is juſtly charged with *impiety*; In the latter, as no ſuch derogation is implied, no ſuch crime can be reaſonably inferred. But this briſk ſally was only to introduce the famous *declaration* which follows, and hath been ſo often quoted * by the modern advocates of this paradox. "For my own part I had ra-"ther men ſhould ſay of me, That there neither is nor ever was "ſuch a one as Plutarch; than they ſhould ſay, there was a Plu-"tarch, an unſteady, changeable, eaſily-provoked, and revengeful "man." *Theſe*, ſays the noble author of the *Characteriſtics* †, *are the words of honeſt Plutarch.*

And, without doubt, did GOD ſtand only in that relation to the reſt of Beings in which one creature ſtands to another; and were his exiſtence no more neceſſary to the Univerſe of things than the exiſtence of *honeſt Plutarch*, every body would ſay the ſame. But the KNOWLEDGE of a Creator and Governor is ſo neceſſary to the rational ſyſtem, that a merciful Lord would chuſe to have it retained and kept alive, though he might happen to be diſhonoured by many falſe and abſurd opinions concerning his Nature and Attributes. A private man of generous morals might rather wiſh to continue unknown than to be remembered with infamy. But a ſupreme Magiſtrate, who loved the Community he governed, would certainly prefer the being known to his Subjects, even at the hazard of their miſtaking him for a Tyrant: becauſe, if the members of a Community, through ignorance of their having a Ruler, ſhould think themſelves free from ſubjection, every one would conſult his paſſions and appetites, till he brought the whole into confuſion. Whereas, while they knew they had a Maſter, their actions would be ſo conformed to the general meaſures of obedience as to ſupport

* "It were better (ſays BACON) to have no opinion of God at all, than ſuch an "opinion as is unworthy of him.—Plutarch ſaith well to that purpoſe. *Surely* (ſaith he) "*I had rather a great deal men ſhould ſay there was no ſuch man as Plutarch, than that they* "*ſhould ſay there was one Plutarch that would eat his children*," &c.—Eſſays Civil and Moral, c. xviii.

† Characteriſtics; Letter concerning Enthuſiaſm, Sect. 5.

the

the order of Society: though their perverſe notions of his Character might indeed obſtruct many of thoſe bleſſings which Government produces under a Ruler of acknowledged juſtice and goodneſs.

Our author proceeds; and obſerves next, "that the Atheiſt, it is true, *believes* there is no God; but the ſuperſtitious man *wiſhes* there were none: That the Atheiſt is averſe to Superſtition; but the ſuperſtitious man, if he could, would ſhelter himſelf in Atheiſm *." It is by no means true that the ſuperſtitious man ever deſires to be free of the ſenſe of a ſuperior Being, to whom he may be accountable for his actions; as appears plainly from his abhorrence and perſecution of Atheiſm: All that he wiſheth is, to render ſuch a Being propitious, and eaſily placable.

As to our author's inference, concerning *the better condition of Atheiſm*, becauſe "the Atheiſt never wiſheth to be ſuperſtitious, though the ſuperſtitious man wiſheth to be an Atheiſt," it is a mere ſophiſm: The propoſition, on which it ſtandeth, amounting to no more than this, That the Atheiſt *doth not wiſh* what is *afflictive* in Superſtition: And the ſuperſtitious man *doth wiſh* what is *eaſy* in Atheiſm. And from thoſe reſtrained premiſes no ſuch general concluſion can be logically inferred.

But he hath found out another reaſon for preferring Atheiſm to Superſtition. "Atheiſm, he ſays, was never the cauſe of Superſtition: but, on the contrary, Superſtition has very often given birth to Atheiſm †." His meaning may be, either, that an Atheiſt did never change to a ſuperſtitious Religioniſt; Or that an Atheiſt, while ſuch, could never become ſuperſtitious.

In either ſenſe, fact hath ſhewn that the aſſertion is utterly falſe.

In the firſt, we have ſeen, that it is of the eſſential weakneſs of humanity to run continually from one extreme to another. *Modum*

* Νυνὶ δὲ τῷ μὲν ἀθέῳ δεισιδαιμονίας ὐδὲν μέτεστιν· ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων τῇ προαιρέσει ἄθεος ὢν, ἀσθενείσεώς ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ δοξάζειν περὶ θεῶν ὁ βέλεται. p. 297.

† Καὶ μὴν ὁ ἄθεος δεισιδαιμονίας ὐδαμῆ συναίτιος· ἡ δὲ δεισιδαιμονία τῇ ἀθεότητι ὡς γενέσθαι παρέσχεν ἀρχήν. p. 297.

tenere

tenere neſcia eſt, ſaith the great Philoſopher * very truly. And the phenomenon is no myſtery. The mind, as ſoon as ever it becomes ſenſible of its exceſſes, ſtriveth, from its innate abhorrence of what is wrong, to break away from them. And the force, with which it is then impelled, being increaſed by the ſtruggle between its old prejudices, which would reſtrain it, and its new averſion, which drives it on, rarely remits, till it arrives at the OPPOSITE EXTREME. The behaviour of all Ages ſupports this obſervation: and of none, more than the Preſent. Where a *contempt of Revelation* having for ſome time ſpread amongſt the People, we ſee them now become an eaſy prey to *fanaticiſm* and *ſuperſtition:* and the METHODIST and the POPISH PRIEST ſucceed, with great eaſe and ſilence, to the Libertine and the Freethinker.

To ſay, that an Atheiſt, while he is ſuch, cannot become ſuperſtitious, betrays great ignorance of human nature. How many Princes and Miniſters of ſtate hath the hiſtory of the two or three laſt Ages delivered down to us as Unbelievers in all Religion, and yet ſtrongly devoted to the dotages of *judicial Aſtrology!* The Italians, in particular, have not been more noted for their irreligion and refined Politics, than for their credulity in this groſs Impoſture. Should I ſtay to enquire at large into the cauſe of ſo ſtrange a phenomenon, it would be ſeen, how much honour it does to Religion. At preſent I ſhall only obſerve, That theſe men finding (and none have ſo good opportunities) how perpetually public events fall out beſide their Expectation, and contrary to their beſt-laid ſchemes of Policy, are forced to confeſs that human affairs are ordered by ſome *power extrinſical.* To acknowledge a *God and his Providence* would be the next way to introduce a *morality* deſtructive of that *public ſyſtem*, which they think neceſſary for the government of the World. They have recourſe therefore to that abſurd ſcheme of Power, which rules by no other Law than *Fate* or *Deſtiny.*

I have now gone through our Author's various arguments in ſupport of his Paradox; or, to call them by their right name, a

* BACON.

group of ill-combined ſophiſms, tricked off by his eloquence, or varniſhed over with his wit.

But there is one MASTER-SOPHISM ſtill behind, that animates the Whole, and gives a falſe vigour to every Part. Let us conſider the queſtion which Plutarch invites his reader to debate with him. It is not, What the *ſimple* qualities of Atheiſm and Superſtition, if found *alone* in man, are ſeverally capable of producing: but what each really doth produce, as each is, in fact, found mingled with the reſt of man's paſſions and appetites. He ſhould not, therefore, have amuſed us with inferences from the *abſtract ideas* of *Atheiſm* and *Superſtition*; but ſhould have examined their effects in the *concrete*, as they are to be found in the *Atheiſt*, and in the *ſuperſtitious man*. For, nature having ſown in the human breaſt the ſeeds of various and differing paſſions and appetites, the *ruling paſſion*, in each Character, is no more in its *ſimple*, unmixed ſtate, than the predominant colour in a well-wrought picture: Both the *paſſion* and the *colour* are ſo darkened or diſſipated by ſurrounding light and ſhade, ſo changed and varied by the reflection of neighbouring tints, as to produce very different effects from what, in their ſeparate and ſimple ſtate, whether real or imaginary, they were capable of affording *. Let the reader apply this obſervation to any part of Plutarch's *Declamation*, who conſiders Atheiſm and Superſtition not in the *concrete*, but in the *abſtract* only, and it will preſently expoſe the inconſequence of his reaſoning. I will but juſt give an example, in one inſtance. He prefers Atheiſm to Superſtition, "becauſe *this* is attended with paſſion; *that* is free from all paſſion." Now the only ſupport of this remark is the ſophiſm in queſtion. Conſider the ideas of Atheiſm and Superſtition in the *abſtract*, and there is a ſhew of truth: for Superſtition, ſimply, implying *the fear of the gods*, is of the eſſence of *paſſion*; and Atheiſm, ſimply, implying the *denial of their exiſtence*, includes nothing of the idea of *paſſion*. But conſider theſe moral modes in the *concrete*, as in this

* See note [LL], at the end of this Book.

queſtion

queſtion we ought to do, and Atheiſm will be always found accompanied with paſſion or affection; and of as uneaſy a kind, perhaps, as Superſtition. Is is of no moment, to this diſcourſe, whether Plutarch hath here impoſed upon himſelf or his reader. It is poſſible, that, in the drawing his two characters, he might imitate, or be miſled by, THEOPHRASTUS: Whoſe various pourtraits have all this fundamental defect. That is, if we underſtand them as given for copies of any thing really exiſting. But, I apprehend, this is not their true character. I rather think This curious fragment of Antiquity was only the remains of a Promptuary for the uſe of the COMIC POET, from whence he might be ſupplied with his materials, the *ſimple paſſions*; in order to blend, and ſhade, and work them into his pictures of *real life and manners*. However, if Plutarch conſidered them under the common idea, and, under that, would make them his model, he ſhewed as little judgement as that painter would be found to do, who ſhould apply his ſimple colours juſt as he received them from the colourman; without forming them into thoſe curious

——" Lights and ſhades, whoſe well-accorded ſtrife
" Gives all the ſtrength and colour of our life."

To proceed with our author's Argument: It is directed, we ſee, to ſhew the advantage of Atheiſm above Superſtition, only as theſe opinions and practices regard PARTICULARS: Though, by the turn and management of his reaſoning, he appears willing, you ſhould infer that the ſame advantage holds equally, with regard to SOCIETY alſo: And therefore he concludes, " That it had been better for the Gauls and Scythians to be without any Religion, than to have had ſuch a one as taught them to believe that the Gods delighted in the blood of human victims: And much better for Carthage to have had the Atheiſts, Critias and Diagoras, for Lawgivers, than ſuch as thoſe who authorized the Sacrifices performed to Saturn *."

* —Οὐκ ἄμεινον ἦν ἦν Γαλάταις ἐκείνοις καὶ Σκύθαις τοπαράπαν μήτε ἔννοιαν ἔχειν θεῶν, μήτε φαύλασίαν, μήτε ἰσοξίαν, ἢ θεὸς εἶναι νομίζειν χαίρονλας ἀνθρώπων φαπλομένων αἵμασι—τί δὲ Καρχηδονίοις ἐκ ἐλυσίτελει Κριτίαν λαβεῖσιν ἢ Διαγόραν νομοθέτην ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, μήτε τινὰ θεῶν μήτε δαιμόνων νομίζειν, ἢ τοιαῦτα δύειν οἷα τῷ Κρόνῳ ἔθυον, p. 297.

The ſophiſms which ſupport theſe aſſertions are fully expoſed in the introductory obſervation to theſe remarks; and ſo, ſtand in need of no further detection.

Lord BACON's chapter *on Superſtition*, in his *Eſſays civil and moral*, is no other than an epitome of this tract of Plutarch. Now whether that great man thought his Original defective, in not attempting to ſhew the advantage of Atheiſm over Superſtition, as well with regard to *Society* as to *Particulars*; Or whether he thought, that though his Author did attempt it, yet he was too conciſe and obſcure; and therefore judged it expedient to comment on his hints; It is remarkable, that he addreſſes himſelf very ſtrenuouſly, to make out this important point. "Atheiſm (ſaith his lordſhip) did "never perturb States; for it makes men wary of themſelves, as "looking no farther: And we ſee, the times inclined to Atheiſm, "as the time of Auguſtus Cæſar, were civil times. But Superſtition hath been the confuſion of many States; and bringeth "in a new *primum mobile*, that raviſheth all the ſpheres of Government. The Maſter of Superſtition is the People."

This is a paragraph totally unworthy ſo great a Genius. *Atheiſm*, he ſays, *did never perturb States*. The obſervation might, perhaps, paſs for true, when he wrote. But, true or falſe, to make it to his purpoſe, he muſt ſuppoſe, that this negative advantage ariſeth from the *eſſential* nature and intrinſic quality of Atheiſm, and not from mere *accident*; and ſo he plainly inſinuates, in the reaſon ſubjoined—*For it makes men wary of themſelves*, &c. but falſely. It is not from the nature of things, but by mere accident, that *Atheiſm never perturbed States*; it having rarely, or never, ſpread amongſt the People, but hath been confined to a few ſpeculative men. If ever it ſhould become thus extenſive, if ever it ſhould infect the Sovereign, it muſt not only *perturb States* (as we have ſad experience that it does, even under it's negative form of IRRELIGION) but, as we have ſhewn at large *, would certainly *overturn Society*.

* Book I. Sect. iv.

Indeed

Indeed his Lordſhip himſelf fairly confeſſeth thus much, where, charging this very miſchief on Superſtition, he ſubjoins the *cauſe* of its malignity—*the Maſter of Superſtition is the People*, i. e. the people are they who are infected with this error. *Atheiſm*, he ſays, *makes men wary of themſelves, as looking no further:* This argument in favour of Atheiſm ſeems to have been borrowed from CARDAN; and (as miſerable as it is) hath been conſidered in its place *.

The times, inclined to Atheiſm, he ſays, *were civil times:* I know of no times inclined to Atheiſm; that is, when the people had a *propenſity* to it, unleſs, perhaps, two or three centuries ago in Italy; and then the times were as miſerable as civil diſtractions could make a bad and wicked Government. His Lordſhip, indeed, refers to the age of Auguſtus Cæſar. But it is certain, that, at that time, no Roman troubled his head with Grecian principles, (and Atheiſm was then to be had no where elſe) except it were a few of the Nobility: Then, indeed, part of their Grandees, to make themſelves eaſy under Servitude, eſpouſed the principles of EPICURUS: But a much larger part followed the doctrine of the PORCH. Either ſerved their turn. If they could perſuade themſelves to believe that their miſeries were *inevitable*, it was juſt as well as if they could force themſelves to think that theſe miſeries were *no evils*. The ſoft, the delicate, the luxurious, eſpouſed the *firſt:* The more rigid, and ſevere of morals, the *latter*. But ſtill we muſt obſerve that their PRINCIPLES were the *effect* of their acquieſcence in a ſtate of Servitude; not the *cauſe*; as his lordſhip would inſinuate: And did then, in reality, no more concern the Public, than their different taſtes for *wild-boar* or *mullets*.

The time of Auguſtus Cæſar, he ſays, *was a civil time*. And this muſt be placed to the ſcore of Atheiſm, although other cauſes be ſo very obvious: The miſeries of the preceding civil wars, in ſupport of Liberty, often renewed, with ſtill greater violence, and ſtill leſs ſucceſs, made men weary both of ſtruggling and ſuffering; and

* See Vol. I. p. 72.

willing,

willing, at laſt, to thruſt their necks under the yoke of a well-eſtabliſhed Maſter. And this, together with the want of Inſtruments (for the general ſlaughter of them had made Confuſion cure itſelf) were the real cauſes which, in the ceaſeleſs round of human actions, produced that ſtill calm of real Slavery, after a long tempeſtuous ſeaſon of nominal Freedom.

However, the general obſervation we made on PLUTARCH may be well applied to BACON: What he wants in fact and argument, he makes up in wit, and the ornaments of fancy: as where he ſays, *Superſtition bringeth in a new primum mobile, that raviſheth all the ſpheres of government.* By which pompous figure, borrowed of the Peripatetic Philoſophy, no more is meant than the *Churchman's deſtructive claim of independency on the State*; which conceals a vile ambition under the cloak of Religion: A claim, which, at that time, thoſe two capital enemies of the eſtabliſhed Church, the PAPIST and the PURITAN, alike purſued; as then to the diſturbance, ſo, wherever they ſucceed, to the certain ruin of civil Government.

But to return to Plutarch, and conclude. The only ſage part of his Declamation is in his laſt words; where he obſerves, "That, for the reaſons he hath given, we ought to ſhun and avoid SUPERSTITION; but ſo cautiouſly, as not to fall into the other extreme of ATHEISM; like thoſe giddy travellers, who flying from wild beaſts and robbers, fall down rocks and precipices, where they periſh *." But to inforce ſo plain a concluſion, there was no need of all that expence of wit and ſophiſtry to prove (what the concluſion did not want) That *Atheiſm was in all things preferable to Superſtition.* To proceed,

III. *As to the Inventors of Religion their not believing what they taught concerning it,* which is the laſt pretence, This comes with

* Φευκλέον ἓν αὐτὴν ἀσφαλῶς τε καὶ συμφερόντως, ὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ληστῶν ἢ θηρίων ἔφοδον, ἢ τοῦ ἀπειστικέπλως καὶ ἀλογίστως περιφεύγοντες, ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς ἀνοδίας βάραθρα καὶ κρημνὸς ἐχούσας· ὕτως γὰρ ἔνιοι φεύγοντες τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν, ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς ἀθεότητα τραχεῖαν καὶ ἀντίτυπον, ὑπερπηδήσαντες ἐν μέσῳ κειμένην τὴν ὐσέβειαν. p. 298.

an

an ill grace from an Atheiſt, who, under cover of an unqueſtionable maxim, *That, in matters of ſpeculation, reaſon and not authority ſhould determine the judgement*, deſpiſeth all Authority, ſo as to oppoſe his own ſingularities againſt the common voice of mankind. Was it true then, that the Inventors did not believe what they taught, this would be ſeen to be a very poor argument againſt the truth of Religion.

But indeed, the ſuppoſition is abſolutely falſe; and betrays groſs ignorance of the true character of the ancient Lawgivers. The idea, our adverſaries have formed of theſe Civilizers of mankind (as men are but too apt, in their repreſentations of others, to copy from themſelves) is of a ſpecies of fly cold-headed Cheats, whoſe capacity aroſe only from the predominancy of their phlegm. But the Hiſtory of all times might have told them, that, amongſt the infirmities of Heroes, a deficiency of Faith is not one. Diodorus was ſo ſenſible of their propenſity to be on the believing ſide, that he makes it a queſtion, Whether thoſe ancient Lawgivers whom he there enumerates, did not *really believe* the divine Miſſion they profeſſed to execute? "They did this (ſays he) either becauſe they really thought that the conceptions which they had formed, ſo productive of public good, muſt needs be ſtrictly ſupernatural and di-" vine *."—And I may venture to affirm, That there never was a great *Conqueror*, a *Founder of Civil Policy*, or the *Preacher up of a new Religion*, (if he ſucceeded by mere human means) but who was naturally much inclined to ENTHUSIASM. Not that I ſuppoſe the heat of *Enthuſiaſm* is not always tempered, in Heroes, with an equal ſhare of CRAFT and *policy*. This extraordinary compoſition makes their true character: A character ſo much better conceived than expreſſed, that it hath embarraſſed the pen even of a LIVY to delineate correctly †.

* Εἴτε θαυμαστὴν καὶ θείαν ὅλως ἔννοιαν εἶναι χρὴ νομίζειν τὴν μέλλουσαν ὠφελήσειν ἀνθρώπων γαλῆθε, εἴτε, l. i. p. 59. S. E.

† See note [MM], at the end of this Book.

But

But the neceſſity of this odd-paired union appears plainly from the nature of things. A *mere cold-headed Contriver*, without any tincture of natural enthuſiaſm, can never ſucceed in his deſigns; becauſe ſuch a One can never ſupply thoſe ſurprizing freaks, which a heated imagination, working on a *diſordered*, though, for this purpoſe, *fitly-framed* temper of body, ſo ſpeciouſly exhibits. For the ſpirits of the People, who are to be taken in, can never be allured but by raiſing their Admiration, and keeping up their confidence, by the aid of an inſpired Leader. Beſides, new doctrines and new ideas are never ſo readily received as when the Teacher of them is in earneſt, and believes *himſelf:* for then there is ſomething ſo natural in his conduct, ſo alluring in his behaviour, as eaſily conciliates wavering opinions; and acts, on his followers, like faſcination, or a charm. This made an ingenious French writer not ſcruple to ſay; "Give me but half a dozen men whom I can "thoroughly perſuade that it is not the Sun makes the day, and I "would not deſpair of ſeeing whole nations brought over to the "ſame opinion *."

On the other hand, a *mere Enthuſiaſt*, who by virtue of his fanaticiſm, hath gone ſo far in his purpoſe, as to raiſe the admiration, and captivate the ſpirits of the Populace, muſt *here* begin to fail for want of the other quality, of *ſectarian craft*; for his imagination not being under the government of his judgment, he will want the proper dexterity to apply the different views, tempers, and ſtations of the People, now enflamed, and ready to become his inſtruments for the attainment of his purpoſe.

But when theſe two talents of *Fraud* and *Fanaticiſm* unite to furniſh out a Hero, or Leader of a ſect, great will be the ſucceſs of his undertakings. The ſallies of enthuſiaſm will be ſo corrected by his cunning, as to ſtrengthen and confirm his ſupernatural pre-

* Donnez moi une demi-dozaine de perſonnes, à qui je puiſſe perſuader que ce n'eſt pas le Soleil qui fait le jour, je ne deſeſperai pas que des nations entieres n'embraſſent cette opinion. Fontenelle, Hiſt. des Oracles, cap. xi.

tences :

tences: And the cold and ſlow advances of a too cautious policy, will be warmed and puſhed forward by the force of his fanaticiſm. His *craft* will enable him to elude the enquiries and objections of the more rational; and his viſions will irrecoverably ſubdue all the warmer noddles. In a word, they will mutually ſtrengthen and inforce each other's power; and cover and repair each other's defects. St. Jerom ſeems to have had ſome idea of this extraordinary combination, when he ſaid, "Nullus poteſt Hæreſin ſtruere, niſi qui ARDENTIS INGENII eſt, et habet DONA NATURÆ." Which may be thus paraphraſed,—*No Heretic will ever be able to raiſe a Sect, but he, in whoſe conſtitution, Nature hath enabled Fraud and Fanaticiſm to act in concert.* And indeed, there are ſo many powerful and oppoſite intereſts to overcome and reconcile, ſo much caprice and humour to cajole, and artfully to apply; that it is not ſtrange, if no one ever yet ſucceeded in any great deſign, where a whole People was the inſtrument, who had not reconciled in himſelf, by a happy union, theſe two qualities ſeemingly incompatible.

Several things concur to facilitate this conjunction. An Enthuſiaſt conſiders himſelf as an inſtrument employed by Providence to attain ſome great End, for the ſake of which he was ſent out. This makes him diligent in his Work; impatient under let or impediment, and diſpoſed to practiſe every means for removing them. Perſuaded of the neceſſity of the END, and of the reality of the divine Commiſſion intruſted to him, for procuring it, he begins to fancy that One ſo employed, is diſpenſed with, in breaking, nay is authorized to break, the Common-Law of Morality; which, in the cant of that fatal time when Fanaticiſm had it's full ſwing amongſt us, was called the BEING ABOVE ORDINANCES. In the firſt application of theſe extraordinary MEANS the People are the Dupes of their Leader: But the ſucceſs being frequently even beyond his own expectation, he becomes, in his turn, the Dupe of his own contrivance; and begins in good earneſt to believe that the trick

which he played them was indeed not of his own invention, but the inſpired inſtigation of Heaven *. This may ſerve to explain an obſcure paſſage of Tacitus, where ſpeaking of this ſort of Character, he ſays, in his Oracular way, FINGUNT SIMUL CREDUNTQUE.

To confirm all this, it might be eaſily made appear, by an hiſtorical deduction from ancient and modern Times, that all thoſe ſucceſsful *Diſturbers* or *Benefactors* of mankind, who have proſpered in their deſigns, were indebted for their good fortune to the mutual aſſiſtance of theſe two Qualities. By this operation, under the management of ſuch as MAHOMET, IGNATIUS LOIOLA, and OLIVER CROMWELL, great and powerful Empires have been created out of nothing.

And again, it might be ſhewn, that thoſe, who are upon the records of Hiſtory for having failed, were either *mere Enthuſiaſts*, who knew not how to puſh their projects, when they had diſpoſed the People to ſupport them; or elſe *mere Politicians*, who could never advance their wiſe ſchemes ſo far, as to engage a fanatic Populace to ſecond them; or laſtly, which moſt deſerves our obſervation, ſuch as had the two qualities in conjunction, but in a reverted order. Of each of which defects, we have domeſtic examples in the three great Companions of the laſt ſucceſsful Impoſtor, mentioned above; I mean in FLEETWOOD, LAMBERT, and VANE.—CROMWELL had prepared the way for their ſucceſſion to his power, as thoroughly as Mahomet had done for that of Abubeker, Omar, and Othman. Yet theſe various wants defeated all their efforts, and rendered all his preparations fruitleſs. *Fleetwood* was a *frank enthuſiaſt*, without parts or capacity; *Lambert* a cool contriver, without fanaticiſm; and Sir *Harry Vane*, who had great parts, and as great enthuſiaſm, yet had them, and uſed them, in ſo prepoſterous an order as to do him no kind of ſervice. For the hiſtory of thoſe times informs us, that he began a ſober and ſedate plotter: But, when now come in view of the goal, he ſtarted out the wildeſt and

* See note [NN], at the end of this Book.

moſt

moſt extravagant of Fanatics: In a word, he ended juſt where his MASTER began: ſo that we need not wonder his fortune proved ſo different. But this was a Courſe as rare as it appears to be retrograde. The affections naturally keep another Order. And the reaſon is evident. *Enthuſiaſm* is a kind of ebullition, or critical ferment of the Mind; which a vigorous nature can work through; and, by ſlow degrees, be able to caſt off. Hence the moſt ſucceſsful Impoſtors, as we ſay, have ſet out in all the blaze of Fanaticiſm, and completed their ſchemes amidſt the cool depth and ſtillneſs of Politics. Though this be common to them all, yet I don't know any who exemplifies it ſo ſtrongly as the famous IGNATIUS LOIOLA. This illuſtrious perſonage, who confirms the obſervation of one who came after him *, and almoſt equalled him in his trade, "that a man never riſes ſo high as when he does not know whither he is going," began his extaſies in the mire: and completed his ſchemes with the direction and execution of Councils, that, even in his own life-time, were ready to give the law to Chriſtendom. Yea, the ſame ſpirit of Enthuſiaſm ſo regulated and conducted is no leſs ſerviceable to Nations and to Bodies of Men than it is to particulars. This built up *old* and *new* ROME. Prophane hiſtory tells us, that when the City had not ſix miles of dominion beyond it's Walls, it indulged the dream of UNIVERSAL MONARCHY; and we learn by the *eccleſiaſtical*, that when the juriſdiction of the Biſhops of Rome extended not beyond a ſmall Dioceſe, they entertained the celeſtial viſion of a POPEDOM. And it was this ſpirit, which, in defiance, and to the deſtruction, of Civil Policy and Religion, made the fortune of Both.

But theſe things belong rather to the Hiſtory of the human Mind than to the work I have in hand: and beſides, would keep me too long from the concluſion of the volume †, to which I am now haſtening. I will only obſerve, that this high Enthuſiaſm was ſo conſpicuous in the character of ancient Heroiſm, and ſo power-

* CROMWELL.

† The ſecond volume of the Edition in 8vo, 1766.

ful in making eaſy the moſt difficult undertakings, that the learned Varro ſcruples not to ſay, "It is of great advantage to Society, "that Heroes ſhould believe themſelves the offspring of the Gods, "whether indeed they be ſo or not. That by this means, the "mind, confiding in its divine original, may riſe above Huma-"nity; ſo as more ſublimely to project, more boldly to execute, "and more happily to eſtabliſh the grand ſchemes it labours with, "for the ſervice of mankind *."

Hence it appears, that if Religion were a cheat, the LEGISLATORS themſelves were among the firſt who fell into the deceit.

On the whole then we ſee, That of all theſe *mediums*, whereby our adverſaries would infer that Religion is falſe, becauſe invented by Statesmen, the *third*, which is moſt to their purpoſe, proves nothing: While, of the other *two*, the *firſt* is a high preſumption of its truth; and the *ſecond*, a demonſtration of it.

I have ſaid, that it was (I don't know how) taken on all hands for granted, *that the invention of Religion by Politicians inferred its falſhood.* But, on ſecond thoughts, I am perſuaded, the too great facility in agreeing to this concluſion aroſe from hence; The popular argument of the *innate idea of God*, had been for many ages eſteemed a demonſtration of his Being and Attributes: And the *political origin of Religion* overthrowing *that argument*, it was too haſtily concluded that it overthrew the *truth of Religion in general*. For prejudice had eſtabliſhed this conſequence, *If no innate idea of God, Then no God at all.*

II.

But now, although (as hath been proved) the granting this infidel pretence doth not at all affect the truth of NATURAL RELIGION; yet it doth by accident, and by accident only, affect the

* Utile eſt civitatibus, ut ſe viri fortes, etiamſi falſum ſit, ex diis genitos eſſe credant, ut eo modo animus humanus, velut divinæ ſtirpis fiduciam gerens, res magnas aggrediendas præſumat audacius, agat vehementius, & ob hoc impleat ipſa ſecuritate felicius. Apud Aug. Civ. Dei, l. iii. c. 4.

truth

truth of REVELATION: Becauſe Holy Scripture hath given us a different account of the origin of divine worſhip.

I ſhall ſhew therefore, in the next place, that the Notion is as *falſe* and *viſionary*, as it is vain and *impertinent*; firſt, by examining the circumſtances from which it's pretended truth is inferred; and ſecondly, by producing plain matter of fact to the contrary.

I. The firſt of theſe circumſtances is, *That the Lawgiver employed his utmoſt pains and labour in teaching, propagating, and eſtabliſhing Religion.* But what can be inferred from this but that he employed his pains from a full conviction of its utility? And how ſhould he come by that conviction but from obſerving the effects of its influence on the actions of men? Which muſt needs ſuppoſe him to have *found*, and not to have *invented* Religion.

If this argument againſt Religion hath any weight, we muſt conclude the Magiſtrate was not only the inventor of *natural* RELIGION, but of *natural* JUSTICE likewiſe; for he took the ſame pains in teaching, propagating, and eſtabliſhing both. But will any one pretend to ſay, that men, in a ſtate of nature, had no ideas of *juſtice?* Indeed, both one and the other had loſt much of their efficacy, when men applied to the civil Magiſtrate for relief: And this explains the reaſon why, on their entering into Society, the Legiſlator was always ſo intent upon RELIGION; namely, that he might recover it from the powerleſs condition, to which it was then reduced.

It will be ſaid, perhaps, that the Atheiſt doth, in fact, contend, that *natural juſtice* was an invention of Politicians, as well as *Religion.* We have ſeen, indeed, a Countryman of our own, who hath made this propoſition the foundation of his Philoſophy, *that Juſt and Unjuſt aroſe from the Civil Magiſtrate.* But then, he never ſuppoſed, that men, before Society, had no idea of theſe things: All he would contend for was, that the idea (when and wherever got before) was merely fantaſtic.

II. The

II. The other, and more peculiar circumſtance from which our adverſaries infer their paradox, is, *that the firſt and original idolatry was the worſhip of* DEAD MEN: And theſe being Lawgivers, Magiſtrates, and public Benefactors, Religion appears to have been a political Inſtitution. So amongſt the Ancients. EUHEMERUS, ſurnamed *the Atheiſt*, wrote a treatiſe to prove that *the firſt gods of Greece were dead men*; which, Cicero, who ſaw his drift, rightly obſerved, tended to overturn all Religion *. And ſo, amongſt the Moderns, TOLAND, the pious author of the PANTHEISTICON, with the ſame deſign, wrote a pamphlet, intitled, *Of the origin of Idolatry, and reaſons of Heatheniſm.* It is not unpleaſant to obſerve the uniform conduct of this noble pair of writers, which one never fails to find in authors of a like character, how diſtant ſoever in time or country. Euhemerus pretended his deſign was only to expoſe the popular religion of Greece; and Toland, that his great learning was only pointed againſt Pagan idolatry: While the real end of both was the deſtruction of Religion in general.

It muſt be owned, that this circumſtance, *of the firſt and original idolatry*, hath a face (but a very falſe one) of plauſibility; being manifeſtly founded on this ſophiſm, That the *firſt idolatry*, and the *firſt religious worſhip*, are one and the ſame thing. Whereas, it is not only *poſſible* that the *worſhip of the firſt Cauſe* of all things ſhould be prior to any *Idol worſhip*; but, in the higheſt degree, *probable* that it was: *Idol worſhip* having none of the marks of an original practice; and all the circumſtances attending a depraved and corrupt Inſtitution.

But it being utterly falſe that the *worſhip of dead men* was the *primitive Idolatry*, We ſhall endeavour to convince theſe men of a FACT they are ſo unwilling to ſee or acknowledge.

I was pleaſed to find a book, like this of Toland's, written profeſſedly on the ſubject; being in hopes to meet with ſomething like

* Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 42.

argument

argument or learning, that would juſtify an examination of it: For an *anſwer* to a licentious writer arreſts the attention of common readers, better than *general reaſoning*, though this goes more directly to the fact, and determines the queſtion with greater preciſion. But I had the mortification to find nothing there but an indigeſted heap of common-place quotations from the *Ancients*; and an unmeaning collection of common-place reflexions from *modern* infidels; without the leaſt ſeaſoning of logic or criticiſm, to juſtify the waſte of time to the Reader, or to make the labour ſupportable to one's ſelf. And the authority of the man, which is nothing, could not engage me to any farther notice of his book. But another, whoſe name ſtands juſtly higheſt in the learned world, and whoſe heart was as unlike this writer's as his head, ſeems to be of the ſame opinion concerning the primitive idolatry. It is the incomparable NEWTON in his *Chronology of the* Greeks. His words are theſe: "Æacus the ſon of Ægina, who was two generations "older than the Trojan war, is by ſome reputed one of the firſt "who built a temple in Greece. Oracles came firſt from Egypt "into Greece about the ſame time, as alſo did the *cuſtom of form-* "*ing the images of the gods with their legs bound up in the ſhape* "*of the Egyptian mummies:* For IDOLATRY began in Chaldæa and "Egypt, and ſpread thence, *&c.*——The countries upon the Tigris "and the Nile being exceeding fertile, were firſt frequented by "mankind, and grew firſt into kingdoms, and *therefore* began firſt "to adore their dead kings and queens *." This great man, we ſee, *takes it for granted*, that the worſhip of *dead men* was the FIRST kind of idolatry: And ſo only *inſinuates* a reaſon for this ſuppoſed fact, namely, *that the worſhip of dead men introduced image worſhip:* For, the Egyptians firſt worſhipped dead men *in perſon*, that is, in their *mummies* †; which when loſt, conſumed, or deſtroyed, were worſhipped by *repreſentation*, under an image made *with its legs*

* Chronology of ancient kingdoms, p. 160.

† See Book IV. plate IX. fig. 1, 2, and 3 compared together.

bound

bound up, in likeneſs of the *mummies*. The reader now will be curious to know how *this* infers the other, that the worſhip of dead men was the primitive idolatry? All I can ſay to it is, that the excellent perſon ſeems to have put the change upon himſelf, in ſuppoſing *image worſhip* inſeparably attendant on idolatry in *general*; when it was but commonly attendant on *Hero*-worſhip; and rarely upon the *Elementary*. As to the elementary, Herodotus tells us that the Perſians, who worſhipped *the celeſtial bodies*, had no *ſtatues of their Gods* at all: And as to *Hero-worſhip*, we are aſſured by Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, that the Romans, whoſe Gods were *dead men deified*, worſhipped them, during ſome ages, without ſtatues.

But to come cloſer to the point: Our Adverſaries overturn their poſition, on the very entrance on the queſtion. The grand ſymbol of the Atheiſtic ſchool is, that FEAR FIRST MADE GODS:

"Primus in orbe Deos fecit timor."

And yet, if we will believe them, theſe firſt gods were *dead men*, deified for their PUBLIC BENEFITS to their country or mankind: "Not only (ſays Toland) kings and queens, great generals and "legiſlators, the patrons of learning, promoters of curious arts, "and authors of uſeful inventions, partook of this honour; but alſo "ſuch private perſons, as by their virtuous actions had diſtinguiſhed "themſelves from others *."

But to paſs this over. Their great principle of FEAR is every way deſtructive of their Syſtem: For thoſe very ages of the world, in which FEAR moſt prevailed, and was the predominant paſſion of mankind, were the times BEFORE civil ſociety; when every man's hand was againſt his brother. If *fear* then *was the origin of Religion*, Religion, without queſtion, was BEFORE civil Society.

But neither to inſiſt upon this: Let us hear what the ancient *Theiſts* thought of the matter. They ſaid it was LOVE, and not

* Letters to Serena, Tract of the origin of Idolatry, p. 73.

FEAR,

FEAR, which was the origin of Religion. Thus Seneca: "Nec "in hunc furorem omnes mortales conſenſiſſent alloquendi ſurda "numina & inefficaces deos; niſi noſſent illorum BENEFICIA nunc "ultro oblata, nunc orantibus data; magna, tempeſtiva, ingentes "minas interventu ſuo ſolventia. Quis eſt autem tam miſer, tam "neglectus, quis tam duro fato, & in pœnam genitus, ut non tan- "tam deorum munificentiam ſenſerit? Ipſos illos complorantes "ſortem ſuam, & querulos circumſpice, invenies non ex toto be- "neficiorum cœleſtium expertes; neminem eſſe, ad quem non ali- "quid ex illo BENIGNISSIMO FONTE manaverit*."

But as HOPE and FEAR, LOVE and HATRED, are the cardinal hinges, on which all human actions and cogitations turn, I ſuppoſe it was neither one nor other of theſe paſſions alone, but both of them together, which opened to thoſe early Mortals (whoſe uncultivated reaſon had not yet gained the *knowledge*, or whoſe degenerate manners had now loſt the *tradition* of the TRUE GOD) the firſt idea of ſuperior Beings.

I. Such men, in a ſtate of nature, whoſe ſubſiſtence was *immediately* to be ſupplied by the product of the earth, would be exact obſervers of what facilitated or retarded thoſe ſupplies: So that of courſe, the grand genial Power of the ſyſtem, that viſible God the SUN, would be ſoon regarded by them as a moſt beneficent Deity: And *thunder* and *lightning*, *ſtorms* and *tempeſts*, which his Qualities produced, would be conſidered as the effects of his anger. The reſt of the celeſtial Orbs would, in proportion to their uſe and appearance, be regarded in the ſame light. That noble fragment from SANCHONIATHO, quoted above †, as part of the *Hiſtory* rehearſed in the ἀπόῤῥητα of the *Myſteries*, gives this very original to Idolatry. It tells us that "*Genos* and *Genea* (begotten of the two firſt mortals, *Protogonus* and *Æon*) in the time of great droughts, ſtretched out their hands towards the SUN, whom they regarded

* De Benef. l. iv. c. 4.

† Div. Leg. vol. I. p. 195.

as a God, and ſole Ruler of the heavens. After two or three generations, came *Uſſouranios* and his brother *Ouſous*. Theſe conſecrated two pillars to FIRE and WIND, and then offered bloody ſacrifices to them, as to Gods." This is a very natural account of the origine and FIRST ſpecies of Idolatry. That it is the true, we ſhall now endeavour to ſhew.

1. Thoſe ancient people of the North and South, the Suevi, the Arabs, and Africans, who lived long uncivilized, and in tribes, were all worſhippers of the celeſtial bodies. The ſame appears to have been the caſe of the Chineſe; of the North Americans; and of the people of Mexico and Peru; as may be collected from what is ſaid above, of their firſt Lawgivers pretending to be the offspring of the *Sun* and *Heaven* *: For we may be aſſured they had the ſenſe to chuſe a well-eſtabliſhed authority, under which to ſet up their own Pretenſions.

2. But all Antiquity concurs in aſſerting, that *the firſt religious adoration, paid to the Creature, was the worſhip of heavenly Bodies.* This was ſo evident, and ſo univerſally acknowledged, that CRITIAS himſelf, as we ſee †, was forced to allow its truth. And this being the entire overthrow of his ſyſtem of the origin of religion, nothing but the fulleſt evidence could have extorted the confeſſion from him.

To ſupport ſo manifeſt a point with a long heap of quotations, would be trifling with the reader's patience.

To cut the matter ſhort, EUSEBIUS expreſly affirms, and attempts to ſtrengthen his poſition by an etymology of the word ΘΕΟΣ, that no Beings were anciently accounted Gods or divine, neither dead men, nor demons good or bad; but the STARS of heaven only ‡.

But

* Le SOLEIL eſt la divinité des peuples de l'Amerique, ſans en excepter aucun de ceux qui nous ſont connus. Lafitau, Mœurs des ſauvages Ameriquains, tom. i. p. 130.

† See his Iambics above.

‡ Ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ παλαιόταλοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτε ναῶν οἰκοδομίαις προσεῖχον——ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα καθιερωμασμένων θεῶν τε καὶ ἡρώων μνήμη τις τοῖς τότε παρῆν, ὅτ' ἦν τις ἦν αὐτοῖς Ζεὺς,

But as GREECE and EGYPT, the two Countries where civil Policy took deepeſt root, and ſpread its largeſt influence, had, by the long cuſtom of deifying their public Benefactors, ſo eraſed the memory of a prior idolatry, as to have this *ſecond* ſpecies of it, by ſome moderns, deemed the *firſt*; I ſhall produce an ancient teſtimony or two, of the higheſt credit, to ſhew that the adoration of the celeſtial Bodies was the firſt idol-worſhip in thoſe two grand Nurſeries of Superſtition, as well as in all other places.

1. IT APPEARS TO ME (ſays PLATO in his *Cratylus*) THAT THE FIRST MEN WHO INHABITED GREECE, HELD THOSE ONLY TO BE GODS, WHICH MANY BARBARIANS AT PRESENT WORSHIP; NAMELY, THE SUN, MOON, EARTH, STARS, AND HEAVEN *. The *barbarians* here hinted at, were both ſuch as remained in, and ſuch as had got out of, the *ſtate of nature*. As firſt, the civilized Perſians, of whom HERODOTUS gives this account: "They worſhip the "Sun, Moon, and Earth, Fire, Water, and the Winds: And "this adoration they have all along paid from the very beginning. "Afterwards, indeed, they learned to worſhip Urania †, *&c.*" And ſo goes on to ſpeak of their later idolatry of dead mortals. Secondly, the ſavage Africans, of whom the ſame Herodotus ſays, "They worſhip only the Sun and Moon: The ſame do all the "Africans ‡."

2. DIODORUS SICULUS, ſpeaking of the EGYPTIANS, tells us, THAT THE FIRST MEN LOOKING UP TO THE WORLD ABOVE THEM, AND TERRIFIED AND STRUCK WITH ADMIRATION AT THE NATURE OF THE UNIVERSE, SUPPOSED THE SUN AND MOON TO BE THE

Ζεὺς, ὁ Κρόνου, &c.—ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ δαίμων τις ἀγαθὸς, ἢ φαῦλος ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐθαυμάζετο· μόνα δὲ τὰ φαινόμενα τῶν ἐρανίων Ἀστρῶν, παρὰ τὸ θέειν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τρέχειν, θεῶνται προσηγορίας, ὡς αὐτοί φασιν ἐτύγχανε. Præp. Evang. l. i. c. 9.

* Φαίνονταί μοι ὁ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τούτους μόνους θεοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων. Ἥλιον, καὶ Σελήνην, καὶ Γῆν, καὶ Ἄστρα, καὶ Οὐρανόν.

† Θύουσι δὲ Ἡλίῳ τε καὶ Σελήνῃ, καὶ Γῇ, καὶ Πυρὶ, καὶ Ὕδατι, καὶ Ἀνέμοισι. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ μούνοισι θύουσι ἀρχῆθεν. ἐπεμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανίῃ θύειν.—l. i. c. 131.

‡ Θύουσι δὲ Ἡλίῳ καὶ Σελήνῃ μούνοισι· τούτοισι μὲν νῦν πάντες Λίβυες θύουσι, l. iv. c. 188.

PRINCIPAL AND ETERNAL GODS *. The reaſon which the hiſtorian aſſigns, makes his aſſertion general; and ſhews he believed this idolatry to be the *firſt* every where elſe, as well as in EGYPT. But that it was ſo *there*, we have likewiſe good internal evidence, from a circumſtance in their hieroglyphics, the moſt ancient method of recording knowledge: Where, as we are told by Horus Apollo, *a* STAR *denoted* or *expreſſed the idea of the* DEITY †.

Such was the genius and ſtate of Idolatry in the UNCIVILIZED world. So that the Author of the book called, *The Wiſdom of Solomon*, ſaid well, "Surely vain are all men by nature who are "ignorant of God; and could not by conſidering the *Work*, ac-"knowledge the *Work-maſter:* but deemed either FIRE or WIND, "or the *ſwift air*, or the *circle of the ſtars*, or the *violent water*, "or the LIGHTS OF HEAVEN, to be the GODS which govern the "World ‡."

II. But when now SOCIETY had produced thoſe mighty bleſſings, which exalt our brutal nature to a life of elegance and reaſon; and, in exchange for penury, diſtreſs, and danger, had eſtabliſhed ſafety, and procured all the accommodations of Civil intercourſe, the RELIGIOUS ſyſtem received as great, though far from ſo advantageous, a change as the POLITICAL.

1. GRATITUDE and ADMIRATION, the warmeſt and moſt active affections of our nature, concurred to enlarge the object of Religious worſhip; and to make men regard thoſe BENEFACTORS OF HUMAN NATURE, the Founders of Society, as having more in them than a common ray of the Divinity. So that, god-like benefits beſpeaking, as it were, a god-like Mind, the deceaſed PARENT OF A PEOPLE eaſily advanced into an IMMORTAL. From hence aroſe, though not till ſome time after, their metaphyſical diſtribution of Souls into the ſeveral claſſes of *human*, *heroic*, and *demonic*. A diſtinction which ſerved greatly to ſupport this ſpecies of Idolatry.

* Τὸς ἀνθρώπους τὸ παλαιὸν γενομένους ἀναθλέψαντας εἰς τὸν κόσμον, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων φύσιν καταπλαγέντας καὶ θαυμάσαντας, ὑπολαβεῖν εἶναι θεὸς ἀϊδίους τε καὶ πρώτους, τόν τε Ἥλιον καὶ Σελήνην.—l. i.

† Ἀρχὴ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις γραφόμενος Θεὸν σημαίνει. l. ii. c. 1.

‡ Chap. xiii. 1, 2.

2. When

2. When the religious bias was in ſo good a train, NATURAL AFFECTION would have its ſhare in advancing this new mode of Adoration. PIETY TO PARENTS would eaſily take the lead; as it was ſupported by gratitude and admiration, the primum mobile of this whole ſyſtem: The *natural Father* of the Tribe often happening to be the *political Father* of the People, and Founder of the State.

3. FONDNESS FOR THE OFFSPRING would next have its turn. And a diſconſolate Father, at the head of a People, would contrive to ſooth his grief for the untimely death of a favourite child, and to gratify his pride under the want of *Succeſſion*, by paying divine honours to its memory. "For a Father afflicted with untimely "mourning, when he had made an image of his child, ſoon taken "away, now honoured him as a God, which was then a dead man, "and delivered, TO THOSE THAT WERE UNDER HIM, ceremonies "and ſacrifices *."

4. Laſtly, the SUBJECT'S REVERENCE for his Maſter, the CITIZEN'S VENERATION for the Law-giver, would not be far behind, to complete this religious Farce of miſtaken gratitude and affection.

This was the courſe of the SECOND SPECIES OF IDOLATRY; as we may collect from ancient hiſtory both ſacred and profane: And, eſpecially, from the famous fragment of SANCHONIATHO, which partakes ſo much of *both*; where theſe various motives for this ſpecies of Idolatry are recounted in expreſs words: "After many "generations came Chryſor; and he INVENTED *many things uſeful* "*to civil life*; for which, after his deceaſe, he *was worſhipped as a* "*God*. Then flouriſhed Ouranos and his ſiſter Ge; *who deified and* "*offered ſacrifices to their* FATHER *Upſiſtos*, when he had been torn "in pieces by wild beaſts. Afterwards *Cronos conſecrated Muth his* "SON, and was *himſelf conſecrated by his* SUBJECTS †."

* Wiſdom of Solomon, c. xiv. 15.

† See Vol. I. p. 196.

III. But

III. But Idolatry did not ſtop here. For when men, as the Apoſtle ſays, would *not retain God in their knowledge, He gave them up to their own vain imaginations*, whereby they *changed the truth of* God *into a lye—into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and to four-footed beaſts, and to creeping things* *. How this laſt monſtrous *change* was effected, I have diſcourſed of at large, elſewhere †. It is ſufficient to obſerve at preſent, that it was begun in EGYPT, and was propagated from thence: Where the method of their Learned, to record the hiſtory of their Hero-gods, in *improved hieroglyphics*, gave birth to BRUTE-WORSHIP. For the characters of this kind of writing being the figures of animals, which ſtood for marks of their ELEMENTARY GODS, and principally of their HEROES, ſoon made their Hieroglyphics, ſacred. And this, in no great ſpace of time, introduced a SYMBOLIC worſhip of their Gods, under hieroglyphic Figures. But the People (how naturally, we may ſee by the practice of ſaint-worſhip in the church of Rome) preſently forgot the *ſymbol* or *relation*; and depraved this ſuperſtition ſtill farther, by a *direct* worſhip: till at length, the animals themſelves, whoſe figures theſe hieroglyphic marks repreſented, became the object of religious adoration. Which ſpecies of Idolatry, by the credit and commerce of the EGYPTIANS, and their Carriers and Factors the PHOENICIANS, in courſe of time, ſpread amongſt many other nations. And this was the THIRD AND LAST SPECIES of Pagan Idolatry.

And here again, as well for the *original* as the *order* of this Idolatry, we have the confirmation of SANCHONIATHO's authority: "Ouranos (ſays he) was the Inventor of the *Bætylia*, a kind of "ANIMATED STONES framed with great art. And *Taautus* [the "Egyptian] formed ALLEGORIC FIGURES, CHARACTERS AND "IMAGES of the *celeſtial* Gods and *Elements* ‡."

By theſe *animated ſtones* (as is obſerved above) muſt needs be meant, *ſtones cut into a human figure*. For, before this invention,

* ROM. ch. i. 23. † Book IV. ſect. iv. ‡ See Vol. I. p. 196.

brute,

brute, unformed, or *pyramidal* Stones, were conſecrated and adored. The *allegoric figures and characters* more plainly deſcribe Hieroglyphic writing: From whence, as we ſay, this ſpecies of Idolatry was firſt derived.

This is a plain, conſiſtent account of THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF PAGAN IDOLATRY; ſupported as well by the ſcattered evidence of Antiquity, as by the more certain reaſon of things. I ſay, "the "*ſcattered* evidence of Antiquity:" For I know of no writer who hath given us a direct, or ſo much as conſiſtent, account of this matter. And it is no wonder. For a ſyſtem of Religion, of which the MORTAL GODS are ſo conſiderable a part, would appear too hard even for the digeſtion of the people. An expedient therefore was ſoon found, and by a very natural incident, to throw a veil over this ſhocking abſurdity; and this was by pretending one while, to thoſe who grew inquiſitive concerning the nature of the *Hero-Gods*, that theſe Gods were only SYMBOLIC of the *Celeſtial:* and at another, to thoſe who pried too cloſely into the ELEMENTARY *worſhip*, that this was only SYMBOLICAL of their Heroes: who were not *dead men*, as might be ſuſpected, but a ſpecies of ſuperior Beings, which, in affection to mankind, had once been converſant on Earth: and whom, now, a deification had reinſtated in their original Rights. Thus the popular belief preſented nothing but one *uniform order* of IMMORTALS: The SECRET of the *human original* of one part of them being reſerved for the private inſtruction of the MYSTERIES.

This cover for their abſurd Idolatries, would naturally produce two orthodox Parties of Symbolizers in the Pagan Church. They, who moſt favoured HERO-*worſhip*, would find the Symbol in ELEMENTARY: And they, who beſt liked the *Elementary*, would find the Symbol in the *Heroic*. Both parties, as uſual, laid claim to primitive Antiquity. For true it is, that the DEGREES and MANNER by which the early Mortals SUPERINDUCED the worſhip of *dead men* on the primary idolatrous worſhip of the *heavenly Bodies*, gave countenance to either ſide. This was the *natural incident* I

ſpoke

ſpoke of above, as favouring the expedient employed to hide the diſhonours of Paganiſm. The matter is worth knowing; and I ſhall endeavour to explain it.

1 The firſt ſtep to the APOTHEOSIS was the complimenting their Heroes and public BENEFACTORS, with the Name of that Being, which was moſt eſteemed and worſhipped. Thus a King, for his beneficence, was called the *Sun*; and a Queen, for her beauty, the *Moon*. Diodorus relates, that SOL FIRST REIGNED IN EGYPT; CALLED SO FROM THE LUMINARY OF THAT NAME IN THE HEAVENS*. This will help us to underſtand an odd paſſage in the fragment of Sanchoniatho, where it is ſaid, "that Cronus "had ſeven ſons by Rhea, the youngeſt of which was made a God, "as ſoon as born†." The meaning, I ſuppoſe, is, that this youngeſt ſon was called after ſome luminary in the Heavens, to which they paid divine honours: and theſe honours came, in time, to be transferred to the terreſtrial name-ſake. The ſame Hiſtorian had before told us, that the ſons of Guenos, mortals like their father, were called by the names of the elements, *light*, *fire*, and *flame*, whoſe uſe they had diſcovered‡.

2. As this adulation advanced into an Eſtabliſhed worſhip, they turned the compliment the other way: And now the Planet or Luminary was called after the Hero; I ſuppoſe, the better to accuſtom the people, even in the act of *Planet-worſhip*, to this *new* adoration. Diodorus, in the paſſage quoted a little before, having told us that the SUN and MOON were the firſt Gods of Egypt, adds, THE FIRST OF WHICH, THEY CALLED OSIRIS, AND THE

* Πρῶτον μὲν Ἥλιον βασιλεῦσαι τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον, ὁμώνυμον ὄντα τῷ κατ' οὐρανὸν ἄστρῳ. l. i. In the language of Egypt called *men*, as we ſee in Herod. l. ii. c. 99. The practice of Aſſyrian ſuperſtition was the ſame; their king Belus being named from *Baal* the Sun.

† —Τῷ αὐτῷ [Κρόνῳ] γίνονται ἀπὸ Ῥέας παῖδες ἑπτά· ὧν ὁ νεώτατος ἅμα τῇ γενέσει ἀφιερώθη.

‡ Ἐξῆς, φησὶν, ἀπὸ Γένους γενηθῆναι αὖθις παῖδας ὀνηλεῖς, οἷς εἶναι, ὀνόματα, Φῶς καὶ Πῦρ καὶ Φλόξ· οὗτοι φησὶν, ἐκ παρατριβῆς ξύλων εὗρον πῦρ, καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν ἐδίδαξαν. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. i. c. 10.

OTHER

OTHER ISIS *. But this was the general practice. So the Ammonites called the SUN, *Moloch*; the Syrians, *Adad*; the Arabs, *Dionyſius*; the Aſſyrians, *Belus*; the Perſians, *Mithra*; the Phœnicians, *Saturn*; the Carthaginians, *Hercules*; and the Palmigrians, *Elegabalus* †. Again, the MOON, by the Phrygians was called *Cybele*, or the mother of the Gods; by the Athenians, *Minerva*; by the Cyprians, *Venus*; by the Cretans, *Diana*; by the Sicilians, *Proſerpine*; by others *Hecate*, *Bellonia*, *Urania*, *Veſta*, *Lucinia* ‡, &c. Philo Byblius, in Euſebius, explains this practice: "It is remarkable (ſays he) that they [the ancient idolaters] "impoſed on the ELEMENTS, and on thoſe parts of nature which "they eſteemed Gods, the NAMES OF THEIR KINGS: For the na-"tural Gods, which they acknowledged, were only the Sun, "Moon, Planets, Elements, and the like; they being, now, in "the humour of having Gods of both claſſes, the MORTAL and the "IMMORTAL §."

3. As a further proof that *Hero*-worſhip was thus *ſuperinduced* upon the *planetary*, let me add a very ſingular circumſtance in the firſt formation of STATUES, conſecrated to the *Hero-Gods*; of which circumſtance, both ancient || and modern ** writers have been at a loſs to aſſign a reaſon. It is, that theſe *firſt Statues* were not of *human* form, but CONICAL and PYRAMIDAL. Thus the Scholiaſt, on the Veſpæ of Ariſtophanes, tells us, that the Statues of Apollo and Bacchus were *conic* pillars, or *Obeliſks* ††: and Pauſanias, that

* ——Ὑπολαβεῖν εἶναι θεὸς ἀϊδίους τε καὶ πρώτους, τόν τε Ἥλιον καὶ Σελήνην, ὧν τὸν μὲν Ὄσιριν, τὴν δὲ Ἶσιν ὀνομάσαι. l. i.

† See Macrob. Saturn. l. i. c. 17. & ſeq.

‡ See Apul. Met.

§ Ἐξαιρέτως δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν σφετέρων βασιλέων, τοῖς κοσμικοῖς στοιχείοις, καί τισι τῶν νομιζομένων θεῶν τὰς ὀνομασίας ἐπέθεσαν, φυσικοὺς δὲ, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πλανήτας ἀστέρας, καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα, καὶ τὰ τούτοις συναφῆ θεοὺς μόνους ἐγίνωσκον· ὥς αὐτοῖς, τοὺς μὲν θνητοὺς, τοὺς δὲ ἀθανάτους θεοὺς εἶναι. Præp. Evang. l. i. c. 9.

|| See Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 348. Par. Ed.

** See Spencer de Leg. Heb. Rit. l. ii. c. 28. ſect 3.

†† Περὶ τῶν Συρῶν ἔθος εἶχον κίονας εἰς ὀξὺ λήγοντας, ὡς ὀβελίσκους ἱδρύειν εἰς τιμὴν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀγυιέως —ἰδίους δὲ φασὶν αὐτοὺς εἶναι Ἀπόλλωνος· οἱ δὲ Διονύσου· οἱ δὲ ἀμφοῖν. Σφ. ver. 870.

the Statue of Jupiter Meilichius repreſented a *Pyramid* * : That of the Argive Juno did the ſame, as appears from a verſe of Phoronis †, quoted by Clemens, intimating, that theſe *pyramidal* columns were the firſt Statues of the Gods : And this practice was univerſal, as well amongſt the early Barbarians as the Greeks. Now it is well known that the Ancients repreſented the rays of Light under pillars of this form : And we find, from the fragment of Sanchoniatho, that Uſous conſecrated two COLUMNS to the *Wind* and *Fire* : Hence, the erecting them as repreſentatives of their *Hero-gods* ſhews how Theſe ſucceeded to the titles, rights, and honours of the *natural and celeſtial* Deities.

To explain this matter at large would require a Volume : It is ſufficient to have given this hint : which, if purſued, might perhaps direct us to the right end of the clew of that hitherto inexplicable labyrinth of PAGAN MYTHOLOGY. The Reader ſees clearly, by what has been already ſaid, that this unheeded, but very natural way of ſuperinducing *Hero-worſhip* on the *Planetary*, eaſily confounded the different ſpecieſes : and afforded a plauſible pretence for the two Parties mentioned above, to make Either, SYMBOLICAL of the Other.

Here matters reſted : and the vulgar Faith ſeems to have remained a long time undiſturbed. But as the Age grew refined, and the Greeks became inquiſitive and learned, the common MYTHOLOGY began to give offence. The Speculative and more Delicate were ſhocked at the abſurd and immoral ſtories of their Gods ; and ſcandalized, to find ſuch things make an authentic part of their ſtory. It may indeed be thought matter of wonder how ſuch tales, taken up in a barbarous age, came not to ſink into oblivion as the age grew more knowing ; from mere abhorrence of their indecencies, and ſhame of their abſurdities. Without doubt, this had

* In Corin. p. 132.

† —Ἥρης Ἀργείης, ἣ στέμμασι καὶ θυσάνοισι,
Πρώτη ἐκόσμιζεν περὶ κίονα μακρὸν ἀνάσσης. Strom. l. i.

been

been their fortune, but for an unlucky circumſtance: The great POETS of Greece, who had moſt contributed to refine the public taſte and manners, and were now grown into a kind of ſacred authority, had ſanctified theſe ſilly Legends by their writings, which Time had now conſigned to immortality.

Vulgar Paganiſm, therefore, in ſuch an Age as this, lying open to the attacks of curious and inquiſitive men, would not, we may well think, be long at reſt. It is true, FREE-THINKING then lay under great *difficulties and diſcouragements.* To inſult the Religion of one's Country, which is now the mark of learned diſtinction, was branded, in the ancient world, with public infamy. Yet *Free-thinkers* there were: Who (as is their wont) together with the public worſhip of their Country, threw off all reverence for Religion in general. Amongſt theſe was EUHEMERUS, the Meſſenian; and, by what we can learn, the moſt diſtinguiſhed of this tribe. This man, in mere wantonneſs of heart, began his attacks on Religion, by divulging the *ſecret of the Myſteries.* But as it was capital to do this directly and profeſſedly, he contrived to cover his perfidy and malice by the intervention of a kind of *Utopian Romance.* He pretended, "that in a certain City, which he came to, in his travels, he found this GRAND SECRET, that *the Gods were dead men deified*, preſerved in their ſacred writings; and confirmed by monumental records, inſcribed to the Gods themſelves; who were there ſaid to be interred." So far was not amiſs. But then, in the genuine ſpirit of his Claſs, who never cultivate a truth but in order to graft a lye upon it, he pretended, "that DEAD MORTALS WERE THE FIRST GODS: And that an imaginary Divinity in theſe early Heroes and Conquerors *created* the idea of a ſuperior Power; and *introduced* the practice of religious worſhip * amongſt men." The

* Εὐήμερος δὲ, ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Ἀθεος, φησὶν ὅτ' ἦν ἄτακτος ἀνθρώπων βίος, οἱ περιγενόμενοι τῶν ἄλλων ἰσχύι τε καὶ συνέσει ὥστε πρὸς τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν κελευόμενα πάντας βιᾶν, σπουδάζοντες μείζονος θαυμασμοῦ καὶ σεμνότητος τυχεῖν, ἀνέπλασαν περὶ αὐτὰς ὑπερβάλλουσάν τινα καὶ θείαν δύναμιν, εἶθεν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐνομίσθησαν θεοί. Sext. Empir. adv. Mathem.

learned reader ſees below, that our *Free-thinker* is true to his cauſe, and endeavours to verify the fundamental principle of his Sect, *that* FEAR *firſt made Gods*, even in that very inſtance where the contrary paſſion ſeems to have been at its height, the time when men made Gods of their deceaſed BENEFACTORS. A little matter of addreſs hides the ſhame of ſo perverſe a piece of malice. He repreſents thoſe Founders of Society, and Fathers of their Country, under the idea of *deſtructive* Conquerors, who by mere force and fear had brought men into ſubjection and ſlavery. On this account it was that indignant Antiquity concurred in giving EUHEMERUS the proper name of ATHEIST: which, however, he would hardly have eſcaped, though he had done no more than divulge the *Secret of the Myſteries*; and had not poiſoned his diſcovery with this impious and foreign addition, ſo contrary to the true ſpirit of that *Secret*.

This detection had been long dreaded by the orthodox Protectors of Pagan Worſhip: And they were provided of a temporary defence in their intricate, and properly perplexed, ſyſtem of SYMBOLIC ADORATION. But this would do only to ſtop a breach for the preſent, till a better could be provided; and was too weak to ſtand alone, againſt ſo violent an attack. The PHILOSOPHERS, therefore, now took up the defence of Paganiſm, where the PRIESTS had left it: And, to the other's SYMBOLS, added their own ALLEGORIES, for a ſecond cover to the abſurdities of the ancient Mythology. So, MINUCIUS FELIX——ZENON, interpretando *Junonem* Aëra, *Jovem* Cœlum, *Neptunum* Mare, Ignem eſſe *Vulcanum*, et ceteros ſimiliter vulgi Deos elementa eſſe monſtrando, publicum arguit graviter et revincit errorem. Eadem fere CHRYSIPPUS, vim divinam, rationalem naturam, et mundum interim, et fatalem neceſſitatem Deum credit: ZENONEMque interpretatione Phyſiologiæ in HESIODI, HOMERI, ORPHEIque *carminibus* imitatur. *Babylonio* etiam DIOGENI diſciplina eſt exponendi et differendi, Jovis partum et ortum *Minervæ* et hoc genus cetera, *rerum vocabula* eſſe non *Deorum* *. For,

* Octavius, c. xix.

all

all the genuine Sects of Philosophy, as we have observed, were steady patriots; LEGISLATION making one essential part of their Philosophy. And, to legislate without the foundation of a national Religion, was, in their opinion, building castles in the air. So that we are not to wonder, they took the alarm; and opposed these Insultors of the public Worship with all their vigour. But, as they never lost sight of their proper character, they so contrived, that the defence of the national Religion should terminate in a recommendation of their philosophic speculations. Hence, their support of the public worship, and their evasion of *Euhemerus's* charge, turned upon this proposition, "That the whole ancient MYTHOLOGY was no other than the vehicle of PHYSICAL, MORAL, and DIVINE knowledge." And, to this it is that the learned *Eusebius* refers, where he says, "That a new race of men refined their old "gross THEOLOGY, and gave it an honester look; and brought it "nearer to the truth of things*."

However, this proved a troublesome work; and, after all, ineffectual for the security of men's PRIVATE MORALS; which, the *example* of the licentious story according to the *letter*, would not fail to influence, how well soever the allegoric interpretation was calculated to cover the PUBLIC HONOUR of Religion: So that the more ethical of the Philosophers grew peevish with what gave them so much trouble, and answered so little to the *interior* of religious practice: this made them break out, from time to time, into hasty resentments against their capital Poets; unsuitable, one would think, to the dignity of the Authors of such noble recondite truths, as they would persuade us to believe were treasured up in their Writings. Hence it was that PLATO banished HOMER from his *Republic:* and that PYTHAGORAS, in one of his extramundane adventures, saw both HOMER and HESIOD doing penance in Hell,

* Τοιαῦτα ἦν τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς Θεολογίας, ἣν μεταβαλόντες νέοι τινὲς, χθὲς καὶ πρώην ἐπιφυέντες λογικώτερόν τε φιλοσοφεῖν αὐχοῦντες, τὸν δὴ φυσικωτέραν τῆς περὶ Θεῶν ἱστορίας δόξαν εἰσηγήσαντο, σεμνοτέρας ἱυρεσιολογίας τοῖς μύθοις προσεπινοήσαντες. Præp. Evang. l. ii. c. 6.

and

and hung up there, for examples, to be bleached and purified from the groſſneſs and pollution of their ideas.

The firſt of theſe Allegorizers, as we learn from Laertius *, was Anaxagoras; who, with his friend Metrodorus, turned Homer's Mythology into a ſyſtem of *Ethics*. Next came Hereclides Ponticus, and, of the ſame fables made as good a ſyſtem of *Phyſics*: which, to ſhew us with what kind of ſpirit it was compoſed, he intitled Ἀντίῤῥησις τῶν κατ' αὐτὸ [Ὁμήρου] βλασφημησάντων. And laſt of all, when the neceſſity became more preſſing, Proclus undertook to ſhew that all Homer's Fables were no other than *phyſical*, *ethical*, and *moral* ALLEGORIES. For we are to obſerve, that the Philoſophers INVENTED and REVIVED this way of interpretation, as at two different times, ſo on two different occaſions.

1. It was invented to encounter ſuch men as EUHEMERUS, who attempted to overthrow all Religion, by this pretended fact, That the FIRST Worſhip was paid to *dead men deified*; which they ſupported on a *real* one, namely, that the *greater Gods* of Greece were only deified Mortals; as appeared from HOMER and the other early Greek Poets: whoſe writings being become a kind of SCRIPTURE in the popular Religion, the Defenders of the *common faith* had it not in their power to REPUDIATE their fables as only the idle viſions of a poetic fancy: Nothing was left but to SPIRITUALIZE the ſenſe, by allegorical interpretations. And this proved ſo lucky an expedient, that, at the ſame time that it covered their fables from the attacks of their adverſaries, it added new reverence and veneration both to them and their Authors. So TERTULLIAN. Ipſa quoque vulgaris ſuperſtitio communis Idololatriæ, *cum in ſimulacris de nominibus et fabulis veterum mortuorum pudet*, ad interpretationem *naturalium* refugit, et *dedecus ſuum ingenio obumbrat*, figurans *Jovem* in ſubſtantiam fervidam, et *Junonem* ejus in aëream †, &c.

2. What *Theſe* began for the ſake of their THEOLOGERS, their ſucceſſors continued for the ſake of their THEOLOGY. For it is to be

* Lib. ii. Anaxag. vit.

† Adv. Marc. l. i.

noted,

noted, that the firſt CHRISTIAN APOLOGISTS took up ſo much of the argument of EUHEMERUS and his Fellows, as concerned the real nature and original of the *greater Gods* of Greece. And as they had diſencumbered this truth, of the falſe conſequence with which thoſe audacious Freethinkers had loaded it, they were enabled to urge it with ſuperior force. But if the CHRISTIANS added new vigour to this attack, the PHILOSOPHERS became ſtill more animated in their defence: for they hated this new Sect as an enemy equally to the PHILOSOPHY and to the RELIGION of Greece. And their *accidental* advantages in the application of this revived method of *allegory*, were not inferior to their *moſt ſtudied* arts of improving it: For their Chriſtian Adverſaries could with no grace object to a way of interpretation which they themſelves had juſt borrowed from Paganiſm, to SPIRITUALIZE, forſooth, their ſacred Sciptures, which the Philoſophers had long uſed with more ſenſe and better judgment, to make theirs, REASONABLE.

But here we are to take notice of this difference between theſe Allegorizers BEFORE, and the Allegorizers AFTER the time of Chriſt. The *firſt* were principally employed in giving a *phyſical* * or *moral* interpretation of the Fables; the *latter*, a THEOLOGICAL. As we may ſee in the caſe of Plutarch; who was both Prieſt and Philoſopher in one. His famous tract, OF ISIS AND OSIRIS, is directly written to ſupport the national Religion, which had juſt taken the alarm; and not without reaſon. His purpoſe, in it, is to ſhew, That all its MULTIFORM worſhip was only an addreſs to the SUPREME BEING, under various names and covers. But then ancient hiſtory, which acquaints us with the origin of their Gods, ſtood in his way. He denies therefore, what theſe hiſtories invariably atteſt. He calls *Euhemerus*, who inforced their evidence, an Im-

* So ARNOBIUS. *Vulnerari, vexari, bella inter ſe gerere* furialium memorantur ardore diſcriminum: Vobis illa eſt deſcriptio voluptati, *atque ut ſcriptorum tantam defendatis audaciam*, ALLEGORIAS res illas, et NATURALIS SCIENTIÆ *mentimini* eſſe doctrinas. Adv. Gent. l. iv. p. 150. Ed. quarto.

poſtor:

poſtor * : And hath many other evaſions to elude ſuch circumſtances as are moſt deciſive. Thus, when he cannot deny, that, what is recorded of their Gods ſhews them to be ſubject to *human paſſions*, he will not yet allow the inference for their *humanity* ; becauſe the Genii and Demons are agitated by the like paſſions †. Thus again, the *bewailing* and *lamenting* geſtures, in many of their eſtabliſhed Rites, which looked ſo like mourning for the dead, ſignified, he aſſures us, no more than an allegorical repreſentation *of corn ſown and buried* ‡. In this manner, the poſtulate having ſupported the allegories ; the allegories come, in good time, to the aſſiſtance of the poſtulate.

Thus ſtood the matter in the ancient World. Let us ſee now what uſe the Moderns have made of what they found recorded there. Our *Freethinkers*, ſuch as *Toland* and his ſchool, have revived the old rank doctrine of Euhemerus. That PANTHEISTIC Philoſopher's underſtanding had ſo ſtrong a bias to impiety, that it ſeemed rather a natural ſympathy than any thing acquired, which drew him to it at all diſtances. Hear how aukwardly he repreſents *Euhemerus's* ſyſtem to us : and yet he labours hard to ſet it off. *The* FIRST *Idolatry* (ſays he) *did not proceed, as is commonly ſuppoſed, from the beauty, or order, or influence of the* STARS. *But men obſerving Books to periſh* [before there were any] *by fire, worms, or rottenneſs ; and Iron, Braſs, and Marble, not leſs ſubject to violent hands or the injuries of the weather, they* IMPOSED ON THE STARS,

* ——Ὃς αὐτὸς [Εὐήμερος] ἀιτίγραφα συνθεὶς ἀπίστῳ καὶ ἀνυπάρκτῳ μυθολογίας, πᾶσαν ἀθεότητα καὶασκεδάνυσι τῆς οἰκεμένης, τὰς νομιζομένας θεὰς πάνλας ὁμαλῶς διαγράφων, εἰς ὄνομα Στρατηγῶν καὶ Ναυάρχων καὶ Βασιλέων, ὡς δὴ πάλαι γεγονότων. p. 641.

† Βέλλιον ἦν, οἱ τὰ περὶ τὸν Τυφῶνα καὶ Ὄσιριν καὶ Ἶσιν ἱστορέμενα, μήτε θεῶν παθήμαλα, μήτε ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ Δαιμόνων μεγάλων εἶναι νομίζοντες, ὡς καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Ξενοκράτης καὶ Χρύσιππος, ἑπόμενοι τοῖς πάλαι Θεολόγοις, ἐρρωμενεστέρως μὲν ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι λέγουσι καὶ πολλῇ τῇ δυνάμει τὴν φύσιν ὑπερφέρονλας ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ θεῖον οὐκ ἀμιγὸς, οὐδὲ ἄκρατον ἔχονλας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχῆς φύσει καὶ σώματος αἰσθέσει ἐν συνειληχὸς ἡδονὴν δεχομένην καὶ πόνον καὶ ὅσα ταύταις ἐγγενόμενα ταῖς μεταβολαῖς πάθη, τὰς μὲν μᾶλλον, τὰς δὲ ἧττον ἐπιλαμβάνει· γίνονται γὰρ ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ Δαίμοσιν, ἀρεῖῆς διαφοραὶ καὶ κακίας. p. 642.

‡ See note [OO], at the end of this Book.

as the only everlaſting monuments, the proper names of their HEROES, *or of ſomething memorable in their Hiſtory* *. All this, his Predeceſſors, the *Freethinkers* of Antiquity, (who knew how to expreſs themſelves) informed us of when they ſaid, *That Star-worſhip was only ſymbolical of Hero-worſhip*; and, conſequently, of later date: the thing they aimed at, to induce their concluſion, that therefore *Religion was a political invention.* Toland treads in their footſteps, though he treads awry. But our *Religioniſts* in general, have not been ſo happy in the choice of their arms, nor in their ſagacity of knowing their friends from their enemies. The excellent G. J. Voſſius (to mention him amongſt a multitude) hath, in his very learned collection of *Gentile Theology*, gone, *bona fide*, into the old pagan method of *allegorizing* their Theology; as if it were doing ſervice to true Religion to ſhew, that the Pagan Idolatry was, at bottom, tolerably reaſonable.

It is true, a late ingenious Perſon ſeems to have underſtood his ſubject better, and to know to what it all tends; I mean the learned Writer of the *Letters concerning Mythology*. We have obſerved, that the ancient defenders of Paganiſm had by their *Symbols* and *Allegories* reſolved the *Hero-gods* into the *Elementary*; and theſe again, into the various attributes of the *firſt Cauſe*. In which they were ſo ſucceſsful, that they not only changed their *Idolatry*, but their *Idols* likewiſe. For the SIGNA PANTHEIA expreſſive of this new Theology have all the marks of the later times of pagan Antiquity. The ancient FATHERS of the Church are very copious in expoſing this ſubterfuge. In which ſervice they employed all that was found in the ſyſtem of *Euhemerus*; that is to ſay, That the *Greater Gods of Greece and Rome, the Dii majorum Gentium, were Dead men deified.* And I have endeavoured throughout this work to ſupport their Cauſe. There are hardly now, I believe, two opinions on this matter, amongſt knowing men. But the Author of the *Inquiry into the life and writings of Homer* attempts, in theſe

* Of the origin of Idolatry and reaſons of Heatheniſm, p. 74.

Letters, to bring us back again to the old MUMSIMUS. He ſaw, I ſuppoſe, the neceſſary connexion between *Allegories* and *ideal Gods*: a principle which could produce nothing more than a SHADOWY IDOLATRY at worſt. And therefore, in honour of Pagan Antiquity hath laid it down as an axiom, *That the powers producing, and parts compoſing the Univerſe, were their* GREATER GODS*; or the *Dii majorum Gentium*. This He calls, *the grand Key of Mythology*. And here it is worth while to obſerve, (but by the way only) that theſe admirers of the wiſdom of *prophane* Antiquity, are not ſo favourable to that of *ſacred:* but are generally amongſt the firſt to laugh at what Divines call *the* DOUBLE SENSE *in Scripture prophecies*. And yet they make the greateſt part of *pagan wiſdom* to conſiſt in the uſe and invention of DOUBLE SENSES: Witneſs (ſays this writer "to his friend) the DOUBLE view you have already had of the "riſe of things, and government of the world from *Orpheus*, in "the deſcription of *Pan:* and from *Heſiod* in his borrowed Theo-"gony: and ſtill plainer in the DOUBLE moral of *Prometheus*, as "ſignifying either the divine Providence in the formation of the "world, and particularly of man, or human foreſight perpetually "on the rack, for the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life†." The difference is, the *pagan double ſenſe* connects together two things that are foreign to one another in the conſtitution of Nature: The *ſcripture double ſenſe* connects together two things that are as nearly related, as the various parts of one moral Diſpenſation. But to return:

As theſe LETTERS ſeem to be written as much in oppoſition to what is here, and elſewhere throughout this work, advanced, concerning the riſe, progreſs, and various fortunes, of ancient Idolatry, as in favour of the now exploded MYTHOLOGY; which was, as we ſay, invented, and, from time to time, improved by the early, middle, and later Philoſophers, to hide the deformities of

* P. 409, of the Letters concerning Mythology.

† P. 120, 121.

vulgar

vulgar Polytheiſm; I think proper to conſider what he hath to ſay in ſupport of ſuch an undertaking.

Now againſt my various reaſoning in *confutation* of this pagan Syſtem, I find not ſo much as one argument oppoſed; and in *ſupport* of the Syſtem itſelf, but one; and this one, borrowed from Cudworth *. It is put thus: "*Euhemerus* and his FOLLOWERS, "ere we join with them in *mortalizing* the firſt Divinities, muſt "ſatisfy us, Why the Poetical Sages, the Inſtructors of mankind, "termed their grand Work, the baſis of their doctrine, not only "a THEOGONY, or an account of the birth and pedigree of the "*Gods*, but a COSMOGONY, or an account of the birth and creation "of the *World?* Or, plainer ſtill, a COSMOPOEIA, a making or "framing of the *Univerſe?* The PLATONIC *Philoſophy* had no "hand in the Coſmogonies, or hiſtories of the Creation written by "*Taaut* or *Thoth*, by *Linus*, by *Orpheus*, &c. It was plain, there- "fore, *the Allegory did not come too late* †, &c."—Theſe laſt are my words.

If *Euhemerus* ſuppoſed, as it appears he did, that the FIRST pagan Divinities were *mortal Men*, he would have found it difficult to anſwer this objection of Cudworth. But the FOLLOWER of *Euhemerus* (for with this title he honours the Author of the *Divine Legation*) who ſuppoſes no ſuch thing, but hath evinced the contrary, will find no difficulty at all. For he holds ‡, that the *firſt* Gods of Greece were the *heavenly Bodies*. And if the Makers of theſe *Coſmogonies*, ſuch as *Thoth*, *Linus*, and *Orpheus*, held the ſame, then *their* THEOGONIES, *or accounts of the birth and pedigrees of theſe Gods*, could be no other than COSMOGONIES, or *accounts of the birth and creation of the world*; theſe *Gods* being *parts* of it.

But things ſeem here to be confounded by our Letter-Writer. Theſe *Coſmogonies* have juſt as much, and no more, to do with

* See Intellectual Syſtem. Contents annexed to Firſt Edition, p. 234.

† P. 211, 212. ‡ See above.

Platonic allegories, than the *elements of Speech* with the *ornaments of Rhetoric.*

There are two errors likewiſe, in this matter, which our Letter-Writer ſeems to have laboured under. The one is, that *Euhemerus* was the *Inventor* of the *mortalizing ſyſtem:* Whereas, I had ſhewn, it was taught in all the *Myſteries* long before *Euhemerus* had any being. He, indeed, maliciouſly carried it much farther than the *Myſteries* intended: He made *planetary worſhip ſymbolical of the Heroic*: and, from thence, inferred the *political origin of Religion*: for which, he paſſed with Antiquity, and perhaps juſtly, for an Atheiſt. Whereas the *Myſteries*, as we ſee from the fragment of *Sanchoniatho* *, kept theſe two ſpecies of Idolatry diſtinct; and aſſigned the proper order of time to each of them.

The other error this lively Writer falls into, is in ſuppoſing, that this *Follower of Euhemerus*, againſt whom he writes, holds all the *firſt*, as well as *laſt*, Gods of Greece to have been *mortal men*: Whereas he diſtinguiſhes between the Gods of civilized and uncivilized Greece: The firſt, he ſuppoſes to have been *heavenly bodies*; and the latter only, *dead men deified.*

From cenſuring the *Learning* of Euhemerus's *Followers*, the Letter-Writer proceeds to cenſure their *Morals.* "It is not eaſy "(he ſays) to aſcertain what ſhould make ſome warm Eccleſiaſtics, "for the wiſer are far above ſuch weakneſs, ſo angry at the Alle-"gories of ancient Poets, *now*, when all danger from their Deities "is over. Of old, indeed, when Temples and *Revenues* belonged "to them; when *wealth, and Dignities of the Church*, were annexed "to the allegorical Devotion, and veſted in its Teachers, no won-"der the *good* FATHERS ſhould fulminate againſt the wild and im-"pious Worſhip. But *now*, when the ſtruggle is long ſince over, "when the Father of Gods and men has not ſo much as a lamb "offered, nor his *Daughter* [i. e. Minerva or WISDOM] a ſingle "grain of incenſe burnt upon her altar for near a thouſand years,

* See above, and likewiſe p. 195 of the firſt volume.

"it

" it is hard to tell what ſhould awake this *prepoſterous* zeal, or " make them ſo eager to *mortalize* the EMBLEMS of Antiquity. Is " there not, as I was hinting, ſome *infection* in the caſe? Has " not the reading the FLAMING INVECTIVES of the primitive " Fathers, who were actually in the ſtruggle, a little *infected* " their Followers with the ſame fiery ſpirit and INDECENT LAN- " GUAGE *?"

As to theſe *flaming Invectives*, the Letter-Writer ſeems to lie under a ſmall miſtake. For though ſuch *invectives* may perhaps be thought characteriſtic of the FATHERS' zeal, the *terms* are not here in their place. They reſerved their *invectives* for a better occaſion, to fulminate the malice of their Enemies, and the follies of their Friends.—On this point, viz. the *mortalizing the emblems of antiquity*, I can aſſure him, they appeared much at their eaſe; and more diſpoſed to quibble than to rail; as he might have ſeen by one of the moſt ſerious of them, and who leaſt underſtood raillery when he was preſſed, I mean St. Auſtin; who, in his confutation of Varro and his *emblems*, could afford to be thus jocular: " Sed, hæc omnia inquit [Varro] referuntur ad *mundum*; videatne " potius ad *immundum* †."

As to the *indecent language*; it is to be found in the third ‡ volume of the *Divine Legation*; where it is ſaid, that *the Ancients adopted into the number of their greater Gods, Raviſhers, Adulterers, Pathics, Vagabonds, Thieves, and Murderers* §. But it is pleaſant to hear this Letter-Writer talk of *decency* to a ſet of PHANTOMS, EMBLEMS, and SYMBOLS; for ſuch he eſteems theſe *Greater Gods* to be; and yet obſerve it ſo little to the MINISTERS of the Chriſtian Religion. For he is at a loſs, the Reader ſees, to account for their *warmth*, where their *private intereſt is not concerned*. And in ſeeking for the *cauſe* of it, when he cannot fix it on their *avarice* and *ambition*, rather than allow them a motive becoming their cha-

* P. 226, 227. † Civ. Dei, l. vii. c. 27.

‡ In the *ſecond* volume of the preſent edition. § Book IV. ſect. iv.

racter

racter and office, he will throw it upon their *paſſions* and *prejudices*. He ſuppoſes, they *catched the infection from the Fathers*, whoſe worldly intereſts, he imagines, were much concerned in the quarrel. But if he deſerves the opinion I have of his candour, he will be pleaſed to find his ſuſpicions ill grounded: And that the Ecclesiastics, who engage ſo *warmly* in this queſtion, do it on important reaſons, becoming their character of Miniſters of the Truth.

The Bible repreſents ancient Idolatry, in the moſt odious colours; and the whole Gentile World as given up to its deluſions. A ſpecies of modern Mythologiſts, hinted at above, had, on the revival of learning in the Weſt, endeavoured to evade this charge, by borrowing the defences of the ancient Philoſophers; who allegorized the fables of the popular Religion, to ſcreen it from the contempt of the more knowing Vulgar; as *Learning*, at one time, and *Chriſtianity*, at another, had ſeverally ſhaken the Seat of Superſtition *. In thoſe *Allegories*, all the national Gods were reduced to mere Symbols, expreſſive of the Attributes of the firſt Cauſe: and, conſequently, the Scripture-charge againſt the Gentiles, of *worſhipping the Creature for the Creator*, rendered groundleſs, or at leaſt, uncandid. Theſe modern Mythologiſts, a late French Writer hath well deſcribed in the following words,—" Au commencement du Seizième Siécle quelquesuns des Savans, qui contribuérent au retabliſſement des lettres, etoient, dit-on, Païens dans le cœur, plus encore par pedenterie, que par libertinage: enſorte qu'il n'eût pas tenu à eux de ramener le culte des Dieux d'Homere et de Virgile——ils emploïoient ce qu'ils avoient de litérature et d'eſprit, pour donner au Paganiſme un tour plauſible, et en former un ſyſtème moins inſenſé. Ils avoüoient que la Mythologie étoit inſoutenable priſe à la lettre: mais, en même tems, elle contenoit, ſelon eux, ſous l'Embleme des fictions les profondeurs de la physique, de la morale, et de la theologie †.—In this ſtate and

* See p. 330.

† Vie de L'Emp. Julien. p. 48, 49.

repreſentation

repreſentation of things, ſome *Eccleſiaſtics* have thought it of their office to MORTALIZE theſe pretended *emblems of Antiquity*; and to ſhew, that the *greater national Gods* were *dead men deified:* and, conſequently, that their worſhippers were REAL IDOLATERS; and of the worſt ſort too, as they frequently had for their objects the worſt kind of men.

But ſo little of this matter entered into the Letter Writer's views, that he ſays, "This, which was formerly a grand religious con-"troverſy, is now turned to a point of pure ſpeculation. What, "in the days of Polytheiſm, raiſed the indignation of the Prieſts, "and inflamed the *rival* zeal of the Fathers of the Church, now "raiſes *a little ſquabble amongſt the Antiquaries*, as a queſtion of "mere curioſity: to wit, *whether all the Gods of Antiquity were* "*not mortal men* *."

Now, if the Letter-Writer will needs ſuppoſe, that where the CLERGY have no *oblique and intereſted deſigns*, they have no *reaſonable ones*, he will be often out in his reckoning: And (what to be ſure is greatly to be lamented) unequal to the office of a Cenſor on their Manners.

After all, perhaps I may underſtand Him as little, as he appears to have underſtood Me, if I think him in earneſt. The whole of his *Letters*, if one may judge by hints dropt here and there, ſeems to be only the wanton exerciſe of a Sophiſt; and juſt ſuch an *encomium* on the WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS, as Eraſmus's was on the FOLLY OF THE MODERNS. It is certain, at leaſt, that in the proſecution of his argument, his chief concern is for FICTION AND ITS INTERESTS. Thus, in one page, he tells us, "That this eager zeal to MORTALIZE theſe emblems of Antiquity is DESTRUCTIVE OF ALL TRUE POETRY †." And in another, "That *this prevailing* PROSAIC TASTE *has neither dignity of manners, nor ſtrength of genius, nor extent of fancy* ‡." But he explains himſelf more fully,

* P. 208. † P. 215. ‡ P. 214.

where

where ſpeaking of Symbols and Allegories, and the *inſeparable* as well as *accidental marks* by which they may be unravelled, he illuſtrates his ſubject by Abbé Pluche's Hypotheſis: Which, however, in ſeveral places, he treats for what it is, an idle and a groundleſs fancy. "Symbols (ſays he) carry natural marks that "ſtrike a ſagacious mind, and lead it, by degrees, to their real "meaning. A hint in one author brightens the obſcurities in many "others; as one ſingle obſervation of Macrobius proved the *clue* to "Abbé Pluche's (*how juſtly* I ſay not) to *unravel* the whole myſtery "of Egyptian, Aſſyrian, and Grecian Gods." He had no occaſion to conſider *how juſtly*, if he were in jeſt. Otherwiſe, a man might have ſeen, that the *juſtneſs of unravelling* depended on the *reality of the Clue*: Which, too, though dignified by the name of Clue, is indeed no other than a number of *odd ends*, that wanted to be made *conſiſtent*, rather than to be *unravelled*. For the reſt, as our learned Critic would *immortalize* the Pagan Deities in reverence to the Classics, ſo this Abbé Pluche (of whom he ſpeaks with ſo much honour) has attempted to draw them out of their *mortal ſtate*, in order to cover the diſgraces of Popery; to which that ſuperſtition is obnoxious, from the proteſtant parallels between *Saint* and *Hero-worſhip*.

But as if all this had not been enough to ſhew us that his concern was not for Truth but Fiction, he gravely profeſſes to credit all Bacon's viſions, as the genuine *Wiſdom of the Ancients*, which every body elſe admires as the ſportive effort of modern wit. As he is in ſo pleaſant an humour, he may not be diſpleaſed to hear the *Determination* of Doctor Rabelais upon this queſtion, who thus addreſſes the Allegorizers of his time, "Croyez-vous, en voſtre foy, "qu'oncques Homere, eſcripvant l'Iliade & l'Odyſſée, penſaſt és "allegories leſquelles de luy ont calefreté Plutarche, Heraclide "de Ponticq, Euſtatie, Phornute, et ce que d'iceulx Politian "ha deſcrobé? Si le croyez, vous n'approchez ne de piedz, "ne de mains à mon opinion: qui decrete icelles auſſi peu "avoir

" avoir eſté ſongées de Homere, que d'Ovide en ſes Metamor-
" phoſes, les Sacremens de l'Evangile, leſquelz ung *Frere Lubin*,
" vray croquelardon, s'eſt efforce demonſtrer ſi d'adventure il ren-
" controit gens auſſi folz que luy." This facetious Satiriſt had here in his eye thoſe very Mythologiſts of the ſixteenth Century, whom the learned Author of *the Life of Julian*, quoted above, ſo very juſtly cenſures.

And thus much for this GRAND KEY OF MYTHOLOGY, as this Letter-Writer is pleaſed to call his Fancies*.

To return to the Patrons of the other extreme, That the *heavenly bodies* were only SYMBOLS of the *Hero-Gods*.——Having thus ſhewn, the worſhip of the *elements* to be prior to that of *dead men*, I have not only overthrown this *argument*, for the proof of the *atheiſtic notion of the origin of Religion*, but likewiſe the *notion itſelf*. For if (as our adverſaries own) the worſhip of dead men were the firſt religious inſtitution after entering into civil ſociety; and if (as I have proved) the worſhip of the heavenly bodies preceded that of dead men; the conſequence is, that Religion was in uſe before the Civil Magiſtrate was in Being. But I need not our Adverſaries' conceſſion for this conſequence; having proved from ancient teſtimony, that *planetary worſhip* was the only Idolatry *long before* Civil Society was known; and continued to be ſo, by all unpolicied nations, *long after*.

II. I come, in the next place, to direct *Fact:* from whence it appears, *that the Lawgiver, or Civil Magiſtrate, did not invent Religion*.

Here the Atheiſt's groſs prevarication ought not to paſs uncenſured.——From the notoriety of the Magiſtrate's care of *Religion*, he would conclude it to be *his* INVENTION: And yet, that very Antiquity, which tells him this, as plainly and fully tells him

* P. 409.

this other; namely, *that Religion was not invented by him*: For, look through all Greek, Roman, and Barbarick Antiquity; or look back on what we have extracted from thence in the ſecond ſection of the foregoing book, and it will appear, that not one ſingle Lawgiver ever found a People, how wild or unimproved ſoever, *without a Religion*, when he undertook to civilize them. On the contrary, we ſee them all, even to the Lawgivers of the Thracians and Americans, addreſſing themſelves to the ſavage Tribes, with the credentials of that God who was there profeſſedly acknowledged and adored. But this truth will be farther ſeen from hence: It appears by the *hiſtory* of the Lawgivers; by the *ſayings* recorded of them; and by the *fragments* of their writings yet remaining, that they perceived the error and miſchief of the groſs idolatries practiſed by thoſe People, whom they reduced into Society; and yet, that they never ſet upon reforming them. From whence we reaſonably conclude, that they found the People in poſſeſſion of a Religion which they could not unſettle; and ſo were forced to comply with inveterate prejudices. For, that they were willing and deſirous to have reformed what they found, appears not only from the Proems to their Laws, mentioned above, but from the teſtimony of one of the moſt knowing Writers of Antiquity, I mean *Plutarch*; who, in his Tract of *Superſtition*, ſpeaking of the unruly temper of the People, ſays they ran headlong into all the follies which the makers of Graven images propagated; and in the mean time, turned a deaf ear to their Lawgivers, who endeavoured to inform them better *. This forced even Solon himſelf to eſtabliſh the Temple-worſhip of *Venus the Proſtitute* †. But the reform was ſeen to be ſo impoſſible, that Plato lays it down as an axiom in his *Republic*, That nothing ought to be changed in the received Religion which the Lawgiver

* Φιλοσόφων δὲ καὶ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ ἀνδρῶν καλαφρονέσιν, ἀποδυκνύσιν τὴν τοῦ δεισιδαιμονίαν μετὰ χαυνότητος καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης, μετὰ βίας καὶ κινδυνοποιίας.

† πανδήμου Ἀφροδίτης. Athenæi Deip. l. xiii.

finds

finds already eſtabliſhed; and that a man muſt have loſt his underſtanding to think of ſuch a project. All they could do, therefore, when they could not purify the SOUL *of Religion*, was more firmly to conſtitute the BODY of it, for the ſervice of the ſtate. And this they did by NATIONAL RITES AND CEREMONIES. Nay; when the viſible folly of a ſuperſtitious Rite, would have enabled them to aboliſh it, they ſometimes for the ſake of turning it to the civil ſervice choſe to give it the public ſanction. This, Cicero confeſſes where he ſays—Equidem adſentior C. Marcello—exiſtimoque jus augurum, etſi Divinationis opinione principio conſtitutum ſit, tamen poſtea REIPUBLICÆ CAUSA conſervatum ac retentum *.

Indeed, in courſe of time, though inſenſibly, the genius of the Religion, as we obſerved before †, followed that of the civil Policy; and ſo grew better and purer, as it did in ROME; or more corrupt and abominable, as it did in SYRIA. But had the Legiſlators given an entire NEW RELIGION, in the manner they gave LAWS, we ſhould have found *ſome* of thoſe, at leaſt, nearly approaching to the purity of natural Religion. But as we ſee no ſuch, we muſt conclude they FOUND Religion, and did not MAKE it.

On the whole then, I have proved, what the moſt judicious HOOKER was not aſhamed to profeſs before me, That "a POLI-"TIQUE USE of Religion there is. Men fearing GOD are thereby a "great deal more effectually than by poſitive Laws reſtrayned, "from doing evil; inaſmuch as thoſe Laws have no further power "than over our outward actions only; whereas unto men's inward "cogitations, unto the privie intents and motions of their hearts, "Religion ſerveth for a bridle. What more ſavage, wilde, and "cruell than man, if he ſee himſelfe able, either by fraude to over-"reach, or by power to over-beare, the Laws whereunto he "ſhould be ſubject? Wherefore in ſo great boldneſs to offend, it "behoveth that the World ſhould be held in awe, not by a VAINE "SURMISE, but a TRUE APPREHENSION of ſomewhat, which no

* De Divin. L. II. c. 35.

† See vol. I. p. 140. & ſeqq.

" man may think himſelfe able to withſtand. THIS IS THE POLI-" TIQUE USE OF RELIGION *."——Thus far this great man; where he takes notice how certain Atheiſts of his time, by obſerving *this uſe* of Religion to Society, were fortified in their folly of believing that Religion was invented by Politicians to keep the World in awe. An abſurdity, I perſuade myſelf, now ſo thoroughly expoſed, as to be henceforth deemed fit only to go in rank with the tales of Nurſes, and the dreams of Free-thinkers.

I HAVE *now at length gone through the* two firſt *Propoſitions:*

1. THAT THE INCULCATING THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, IS NECESSARY TO THE WELL-BEING OF CIVIL SOCIETY.

2. THAT ALL MANKIND, ESPECIALLY THE MOST WISE AND LEARNED NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY, HAVE CONCURRED IN BELIEVING, AND TEACHING, THAT THIS DOCTRINE WAS OF SUCH USE TO CIVIL SOCIETY.

The next Book begins with the proof of the third; *namely,*

3. THAT THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, IS NOT TO BE FOUND IN, NOR DID MAKE PART OF, THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION.

Hitherto we have been forced to move ſlowly, to feel for our way in the dark, through the thick confuſion of many irrational RELIGIONS, and mad ſchemes of PHILOSOPHY, independent of, and inconſiſtent with, one another: Where the labour of the ſearch, perhaps, has been much greater to the Author, than the pleaſure will be to the Reader, in finding this CHAOS reduced to ſome kind of order; the PRINCIPLES developed, from whence the endleſs diverſity and contradiction have ariſen; and the various USE that may be made of theſe Diſcoveries for our *demonſtration* of the truth of *revealed Religion.*

* Eccl. Pol. Book V. ſect. ii.

We

We now emerge into open day :

" Major rerum mihi naſcitur ordo,
" Majus opus moveo.

And having gotten the PROMISED LAND in view, the labour will be much eaſier, as the Diſcoveries will be more important, and the ſubject infinitely more intereſting : For having now only one ſingle Syſtem and Diſpenſation to explain, conſiſtent in all its parts, and abſolute and perfect in the Whole, which though, by reaſon of the profound and ſublime views of its Author, theſe perfections may not be very obvious, yet, if we have but the happineſs to enter rightly, we ſhall go on with eaſe, and the proſpect will gradually open and enlarge itſelf, till we ſee it loſt again in that IMMENSITY from whence it firſt aroſe.

Full of theſe hopes, and under the auſpices of theſe encouragements, let us now ſhift the Scene from GENTILE to JEWISH Antiquity ; and prepare ourſelves for the opening of a more auguſt and ſolemn Theatre.

APPENDIX,

APPENDIX,

Shewing that the OMISSION *of a future State in the Moſaic Diſpenſation doth not make it unworthy of the Original to which Believers aſcribe it.*

AS both Believers and Unbelievers have, by ſome blind chance or other, concurred to make this *Objection* to the OMISSION; I think it not improper, before I enter upon the Subject of the MOSAIC LAW, which comes next into conſideration, to remove this common prejudice concerning it. And as a celebrated Writer has collected together what hath been ſaid in ſupport of the Objection, and given to it all the ſtrength that the force of his own genius could impart, I ſuppoſe his words will be the beſt text to my diſcourſe.

" L'Evêque Warburton, auteur d'un des plus ſavants ouvrages qu'on ait jamais fait, s'exprime ainſi, page 8. tome I. " Une Religion, une So-" ciété qui n'eſt pas fondée ſur la créance d'une autre vie, doit être ſoute-" nue par une Providence extraordinaire. Le Judaïſme n'eſt pas fondé " ſur la créance d'une autre vie; donc, la Judaïſme a été ſoutenu par une " providence extraordinaire." Pluſieurs Theologiens ſe ſont éléves contre lui, et comme on rétorque tous les arguments, on a retorqué le ſien, on lui a dit: " Toute Religion, qui n'eſt pas fondée ſur le dogme de " l'immortalité de l'ame, & ſur les peines et les rècompenſes eternelles, " eſt neceſſairement fauſſe; Or le Judaïſme ne connut point ces dog-" mes, donc le Judaïſme, loin d'etre ſoutenu par la Providence, était " par vos principes une Religion fauſſe & barbare qui attaquait la Pro-" vidence." Cet Evêque eut quelques autres adverſaires qui lui ſoutinrent que l'immortalité de l'ame était connue chez les Juifs, dans le temps

temps même de Moïſe ; mais il leur prouva tres-évidemment que ni le Décalogue, ni le Levitique, ni le Deuteronome, n'avaient dit un ſeul mot de cette creance, & qu'il eſt ridicule de vouloir tordre & corrompre quelques paſſages des autres livres, pour en tirer une vérité qui n'eſt point annoncée dans le livre de la Loi.

Mr. l'Evèque avant fait quatre Volumes pour demontrer que la Loi Judaïque ne propoſait ni peines ni recompenſes après la mort, n'a jamais pû répondre à ſes adverſaires d'une manière bien ſatisfaiſante. Ils lui diſaient : " Ou Moïſe connaiſſait ce Dogme, et alors il a trompé les Juifs " en ne le manifeſtant pas ; ou il l'ignorait ; & en ce cas il n'en ſavait pas " aſſez pour fonder une bonne Religion. En effet ſi la Religion avait " été bonne, pourquoi l'aurait-on abolie ? Une Religion vraie doit être pour " tous les temps & pour tous les lieux, elle doit être comme la lumiere du " Soleil, qui éclaire tous les Peuples & toutes les Générations."

" Ce Prelate tout éclairé qu'il eſt, a eu beaucoup de peine à ſe tirer de " toutes ces difficultés ; mais quel Syſtême en eſt exempt * ?"

——*The trouble I have had in diſengaging myſelf from theſe difficulties* will now be ſeen.

The Objections, as here ſtated by this ingenious man, reſpect, we ſee, both the LEGISLATOR and the LAW.

1. *Either Moſes* (ſays he) *was acquainted with a future State, and in that caſe he deceived the Jews in not teaching it : or he was ignorant of the doctrine, and in this caſe he did not know enough to become the Author of a good Religion. Indeed, if the religion had been good, Why was it aboliſhed? a true Religion ſhould be for all times and places. It's light ſhould be like that of the Sun, which illumines all nations and all generations.*

2. *All Religion which is not founded on the doctrine of the Soul's immortality and future rewards and puniſhments is neceſſarily falſe : but, in Judaiſm, theſe doctrines were not contained : therefore Judaiſm, ſo far from being ſupported by an extraordinary Providence, was, on your own Principles* (ſays he to the Biſhop) *a religion falſe and barbarous, which attacked and inſulted Providence.*

1. The firſt argument, againſt the *integrity of Moſes's conduct* from this *Omiſſion*, had been urged at large by the late Lord BOLINGBROKE ; and

* Dict. Philoſophique Portatif ; article (Religion, premiere queſtion.)

the

the Reader may find it at large confuted, in the *Appendix* to the Fifth Book of the *Divine Legation*.

2. The ſecond argument, againſt the *integrity of the Law* from this *Omiſſion*, has been clamoured by a large Body of *Anſwerers*, led up by Dr. Stebbing. But theſe men pretending to believe Revelation, their reaſon, for want of *integrity* in ſuch a Religion, was founded in a ſuppoſed defect in it's Eſſence; ſo their concluſion from this reaſoning was, "That a future State was certainly in the Moſaic Religion, how much ſoever it might walk there in Maſquerade." The celebrated Frenchman, who pretends to no ſuch belief, founds his argument on the *reality* of the Omiſſion, and from thence concludes, "that the Moſaic Law was an impoſture."

I ſhall examine what they have to ſay, in their order.

I.

The Engliſh Doctor comes firſt. "You conſider (ſays this candid Divine, addreſſing himſelf to the Author of the D. L.) "the Ignorance of "the Jews as to the doctrine of a future State, as one of the moſt *momen-* "*tous truths* that Religion has to boaſt of. I, on the other hand, look "upon it as a DISGRACE to Revelation; as by the very act of God himſelf, "it ſhuts out his own choſen People, for many ages, from that ſingle "point of Knowledge, which could be the foundation of a reaſonable "Worſhip; while, by the directions of his Providence, all the world be- "ſides were permitted to have the benefit of it *."

Here we ſee the Doctor propoſes to confute *my repreſentation of the omiſſion* of a future State in the Moſaic Religion: But, for mine, he gives us *his own*, and very notably confutes *that*. My idea of the *omiſſion* I declared to be this, that, as the Jews, to whom the Moſaic Religion was given, were, at the time of giving, under an *extraordinary* Providence, they had no abſolute need of the doctrine. The Doctor's idea of the *omiſſion* is, that when the Moſaic Religion was given to the Jews, they were under an *ordinary* Providence, and therefore the doctrine was neceſſary. That I do him no wrong in charging him with this ſophiſtical chicanery, appears from his own words, where he gives his reaſon for ſaying that *my* (meaning *his own*) repreſentatiou of the omiſſion is a diſgrace to Revelation;

* An Examination of Mr. Warburton's ſecond propoſition, &c. in an Epiſtolary Diſſertation addreſſed to the Author; p. 131, 2.

namely

namely, becauſe *this ſingle point of Knowledge* [i. e. a future ſtate] *is the only* FOUNDATION *of a reaſonable Worſhip*. Now, it is obvious to common ſenſe, that this can be only predicated of a future ſtate under an *ordinary* Providence: And that under an *extraordinary* it is no *neceſſary* FOUNDATION at all.

If it ſhould be pretended (for it will hardly be owned that the Doctor, with all his zeal, was an Unbeliever) that by *the many ages* in which *the people of God were ſhut up* (as he expreſſes it) *from this knowledge*, he meant, thoſe ages in which the Jews lived under a *common* providence, this ſubterfuge will not ſerve his turn, for I have ſhewn, that when the *extraordinary* diſpenſation ceaſed, the Jews, like all the world beſides, and by the ſame means of information, had all the benefit which the knowledge of this FUTURE STATE, ſuch as it was, could afford them.

But let us take the Doctor as we find him.

He tells us why he looks upon my repreſentation of the Moſaic Religion as a *diſgrace to Revelation*.—*Becauſe* (ſays he) *by the very act of God himſelf it ſhuts out his own choſen people from that ſingle point of Knowledge which could be the foundation of a reaſonable Worſhip*.

Let us examine this curious period on all ſides.

By the act of God himſelf he muſt mean, (for nothing elſe can be meant; and it is only when his meaning is thus circumſtanced, that I can be certain, I do not miſtake it) he muſt mean, I ſay, *God's act, by the miniſtry of Moſes*. Now this very Doctor, in his ſeveral Pieces againſt *The Divine Legation*, has, over and over again, told his Reader, that *Moſes did not teach*, NOR HAD IT IN HIS COMMISSION TO TEACH *a future ſtate to the Iſraelites*. For, at every ſtep, he brings himſelf into theſe diſtreſſes (if ſuch a trifle as a contradiction can be ſuppoſed to diſtreſs him) by a *falſe modeſty*. He was aſhamed of the abſurdity of his Brethren, who all along maintained, that *Moſes taught, or* OUGHT *to have taught, a future ſtate:* and therefore, at this turn, leaves them in the lurch; and ſlyly ſteals in the better principle of his Adverſary, that *Moſes had no Commiſſion to teach it:* for he muſt have been duller than any Doctor can be ſuppoſed to be, not to diſcover that this was his *Adverſary's principle*, after having ſeen him write a large book to prove that, *Moſes did not teach it*. I call this deſertion of his Friends, a *falſe modeſty*; For what is it elſe, to be ſhocked at one of their abſurdities, while he is defending all the reſt? whoſe only

ſupport, too, happens to be in that ONE which he rejects. Indeed, good Doctor,

——PUDOR TE MALUS *urget*
Inſanos qui inter vereare Inſanus haberi.

But "God (ſays he) by this very act, *ſhut out his own choſen people* "from the knowledge of a future ſtate." It is very true, *God's own choſen people were ſhut out.* But not, as our Doctor dreams, *by the very act of God himſelf*: but (if he will have the Truth, who never ſeeks it, for itſelf) *by the very act* of their Forefather, ADAM. It was the *Firſt Man* who *ſhut them out*; and the door of Paradiſe was never opened again, till the *coming of the Second Man, the Lord from Heaven.* But this is the Language of Scripture: and this language his Sums and Syſtems do not teach him. But more of this ſecret hereafter.

A *future ſtate* (ſays our Doctor abſolutely and without exception) *is that ſingle point of knowledge which could be the foundation of a reaſonable worſhip.* Here Doctors differ. St. Paul places the *foundation of a reaſonable worſhip* in another thing. He ſaith, that, HE THAT COMETH TO GOD MUST BELIEVE THAT HE IS; AND THAT HE IS A REWARDER OF THEM THAT DILIGENTLY SEEK HIM *.—What is Man's purpoſe *in coming to God?* Without doubt, to *worſhip* him. And what doth the great Doctor of the Gentiles tell us is the true, the *reaſonable foundation of this worſhip?* Why, TO BELIEVE THAT HE IS A REWARDER OF THEM THAT DILIGENTLY SEEK HIM. He places this *foundation* (we ſee) in a REWARD ſimply, and generically; not in that particular ſpecies of it, a FUTURE STATE. He places it in the *nature*; not (as our modern Doctor) in the *ineſſential circumſtances*, of REWARD. The conſequence is, that a *reward* given HERE was as ſolid a *foundation of a reaſonable Worſhip* to the early Jews, living under an EXTRAORDINARY Providence, as a *reward* given HEREAFTER, is to us Chriſtians, living under the ORDINARY one. Another conſequence (though it be but a trifle) is, that our learned Doctor is miſtaken. But to come a little cloſer to this formidable man, now I have got the Apoſtle on my ſide. I will undertake to DEMONSTRATE (how much ſoever he and his Fellows take offence at the word) that a FUTURE STATE is ſo far from being *the only foundation of a reaſonable Worſhip*, that, as *a* MODE *of exiſ-*

* Heb. xi. 6.

tence,

tence, it is no foundation at all. The *true foundation of a reaſonable Worſhip*, being this and this only, that *God is a rewarder of them who ſeek him.* He may reward *here*, or he may reward *hereafter.* But, which he chuſes is indifferent, as to the ſolidity of the foundation; becauſe PIETY and MORALITY, which conſtitute a REASONABLE WORSHIP, ſpring only from the belief that *God is, and that he is a Rewarder.* The Moſaic Religion, teaching this, enjoins that men ſhould love *God with all their hearts, with all their ſoul*, &c. for the excellence of his nature; and that they ſhould *love their neighbours as themſelves*, for the equality of their common nature, which requires an equal meaſure for ourſelves and others. Now Jeſus ſays, that, *on the Love of God and of our Neighbour hang all the Law and the Prophets*, i. e. in the moſt confined ſenſe, it is the foundation of a *reaſonable Worſhip.* Our Doctor ſays, No; a *future ſtate is the only foundation.* In a word then, ſince PIETY, which conſtitutes a *reaſonable Worſhip*, and ſince VIRTUE, which conſtitutes a *reaſonable ſervice*, are both raiſed and ſupported by the belief, that *God is, and that he is a Rewarder*; What more forceable inducement is there in our ſelfiſh nature to cheriſh them, than that which the Law of Moſes holds forth, when it teaches that *every work ſhall receive it's full recompence of reward* HERE?—Here or hereafter, in this life or in another, being only the *modes* of receiving one and the ſame thing, cannot poſſibly affect either piety or morality. But it hath been taken for granted, that there is in *future rewards* ſomething of a virtue to PURIFY the mind, which *preſent rewards* have not. I ſhall conſider, before I have done with the queſtion, on what ground this opinion ſtands. In the mean time, let us hear the famous Orobio, the Jew; who, though little to his own purpoſe, yet much to ours, and to ſuch Objectors to the purity of the Moſaic Law, as our Doctor—Omnes [Chriſtiani] cultum internum prædicant, quaſi a Deo internus cultus ſumma cum perfectione in Lege non fuiſſet præſcriptus; Tota quidem interni cultus perfectio conſiſtet in vero et conſtantiſſimo Dei amore, et Proximi propter ipſum Deum: Hic eſt totus cultus internus ex quo omnia opera externa, ſeu moralia, ſeu ritualia ſint, debent profluere: quæ ſi ex hoc principio non emanaverint, imperfectiſſima ſunt, et divina Legi prorſus adverſa *.

Our Doctor proceeds ——"God's choſen people were ſhut out, for "many ages, from that point of knowledge, which, *by the directions of his*

* P. 110.

"*Providence, all the world beſides were* PERMITTED *to have the* BENEFIT "*of.*"—In examining the predicate of this propoſition, I ſhall firſt conſider the PERMISSION, and then the BENEFIT.

All the World beſides (ſays he) *were permitted.* By what inſtrument? I aſk; for they had no *Revelation*——By the uſe of their *Reaſon*, ſays he.—And had not the Jews the uſe of theirs? No, replies he, not the *free* uſe: for their Prophet (according to you) delivering to them from God, a new Law and a new Religion in which the doctrine of a future ſtate was *omitted*, this would naturally lead them to conclude againſt it?—What? in defiance of all the clear deductions of Reaſon, which, from God's demonſtrable attributes of juſtice and goodneſs, made the Pagan world conclude, that as moral good and evil had not their retribution *here*, they would have it, *hereafter?*—Yes, for Moſes PROMISED they ſhould have their retribution *here.*——What then? other ancient Lawgivers *promiſed* their People the ſame thing. Yet this did not hinder their having recourſe to a *future ſtate* to ſecure the foundation of Religion, which, St. Paul tells us, is *the belief that God is, and that he is the Rewarder of them that ſeek him.* The matter now begins to pinch: and the Doctor muſt be dumb, or confeſs that the only poſſible reaſon one can aſſign why the Jews had not recourſe to the ſame expedient for ſecuring the *foundation of Religion*, which the Gentiles had recourſe to, was becauſe they *felt the performance* as well as *heard the promiſe:* For when that was no longer felt (the *extraordinary providence* being withdrawn in puniſhment for their crimes) the Jews, like all other people, had their doctrine of a future ſtate, which, by its complexion, is ſeen to be of foreign, and very ſpurious birth.

See then, to what this PERMISSION amounts; ſo invidiouſly urged, not againſt me, for that is nothing, but againſt the Scriptures of God! Juſt to thus much—"That *all the world beſides were permitted* to find out, by REASON as they could, what his *choſen people* were taught, by the practical demonſtration of an EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE; namely, that God would act with juſtice and goodneſs towards man."

Come we next to the BENEFIT. The benefit of the doctrine of a *future ſtate* is twofold; to *Society* as ſuch, by encouraging Virtue and ſuppreſſing Vice, under an *unequal* diſtribution of things; to *Religion* as ſuch, by affording a *ſolid foundation* to it, under the ſame diſtribution. But both theſe aids from the doctrine of a *future ſtate* were more effectually afforded by an *extraordinary Providence.* We find then, the learned Doctor to be miſerably

miſerably miſtaken, in ſuppoſing the Gentiles enjoyed any *ſpiritual benefit* which the Jews were deprived of. The former indeed had a *future ſtate* to ſupport Society and Religion; the latter had an *extraordinary Providence*. Which of them was, in its nature, the moſt efficacious ſupport, common ſenſe will not ſuffer us to remain in doubt. But the benefit of *believing* is one thing; the benefit of *having* is another. I have only yet ſpoken to the *firſt*. Now, the Doctor ſeems to think the *latter* affected by the OMISSION. We commonly hear it ſaid, that *ſeeing is believing*; but I ſuſpect our learned Doctor has been impoſed on by another Aphoriſm (as abſurd in the thought as that is in the expreſſion) that *believing is having*; elſe how came he to place ſo great a *benefit* in the point in queſtion, if he did not ſuppoſe that the Jews' want of the DOCTRINE would deprive them of the THING.

And now, in taking my final leave of this Champion in Ordinary to the Party Orthodoxal, let me not be here again miſunderſtood as I have ſo often been by them. I deny, indeed, that the want of a future State, in the Moſaic Religion, at all affected the true *foundation of a reaſonable* Worſhip. Yet I am very far from denying, that the frame and conſtitution of this Religion rendered it, on many accounts, partial and incomplete. In my addreſs to the Jews, prefixed to the ſecond part of the *Divine Legation*, I have ſhewn in what particulars it was ſo. As firſt, in the whole turn of the *Ritual Law:* and ſecondly, in that OMISSION, at what time the Jews came under the ordinary and common Providence of Mankind. For I am there placing before theſe miſtaken People a view of the Moſaic Religion as it appears and operates at preſent, in order to convince them of the neceſſity of its receiving its completion from the Religion of Jeſus. In which concluſion, I ſuppoſe, all Chriſtians are agreed. At leaſt, they who have eſcaped the thick darkneſs of controverſy will ſee that theſe two aſſertions are very diſtinct and different, and at the ſame time conſiſtent. 1. That a Religion without a future ſtate, wanted not, during the exiſtence of an *extraordinary* providence, a ſolid *foundation of a reaſonable worſhip*. And, 2*dly*, that ſuch a Religion, if ſuppoſed to ſerve *for all times and places*, muſt needs be deemed incomplete.

This *Omiſſion* of a future ſtate in the Moſaic Religion is now generally acknowledged by all who read the Bible with the ſame impartiality that they read other Hiſtories. Should not our Doctor therefore, who pretends to believe the divinity of the Moſaic Religion, bluſh at his raſhneſs

in

in calling it, A DISGRACE TO REVELATION? He does it, indeed, in *confidence* that the early Jews were *not* ignorant of this matter. But will his *confidence* perſuade impartial men againſt their ſenſes? Were there but a chance of being miſtaken in this ſuppoſed *knowledge* of the early Jews, a ſober Miniſter of God's word would have avoided the ſcandal of ſo irreverend an aſſertion; ſo unſuitable to the veneration he owes to his Maker, when ſpeaking of a Diſpenſation which he profeſſes to believe did indeed come from him; and not have dared to meaſure this Diſpenſation of Providence by his ſcanty and obſcure ideas of fit and right. The Author of *The Divine Legation demonſtrated* might, indeed, ſay, and I hope without offence, that the *ignorance of the early Jews concerning a future ſtate* was a truth of ſo HIGH IMPORTANCE, that from thence might be *demonſtrated* the divinity of their Religion; becauſe, though he ſhould be miſtaken, no injury was done to Revelation; He left it whole and entire, juſt as he took it up. But ſhould our Doctor be miſtaken, his calling this *ignorence* (now found to be real) A DISGRACE TO REVELATION, would be ſupplying the Enemies of Religion with arms to inſult it. The only excuſe he can make for himſelf (an excuſe full as bad as the offence) is, that he had now gone back to the common principle of his Party, which before he ſeemed to have rejected, That *if God did not teach his choſen People a future ſtate, he ought to have taught it.* A ſpecies of folly, which the ſage HOOKER, to whom their Orthodoxy may haply be diſpoſed to pay attention, has admirably reproved in another ſet of men, poſſeſſed with the ſame impious and preſumptuous ſpirit——" As for thoſe marvellous diſcourſes (ſays " this great man) whereby they [the *Puritans*] adventure to argue, *that* " *God muſt needs have done the thing which they imagined was to be done*, I " muſt confeſs, I have often wondered at their exceeding boldneſs herein. " When the queſtion is, Whether God have delivered in Scripture (as " they affirm he hath) a complete particular immutable Form of Church-" politie, Why take they that other, both preſumptuous and ſuperfluous, " labour to prove; that HE SHOULD HAVE DONE IT, there being no way, in " this caſe, to prove the deed of God, ſaving only by producing that " evidence wherein he hath done it? For if there be *no ſuch thing appa-* " *rent upon Record*, they do as if one ſhould demand a Legacie by force " and virtue of ſome written Teſtament, wherein there being no ſuch thing " ſpecified, he pleadeth, that THERE IT MUST BE; and bringeth argu-" ments from the love or good-will which always the teſtatour bore him;

" imagining

" imagining that theſe or the like proofs will convict a teſtament to have " that in it, which other men *can no where by reading, find.* In matters " which concern the actions of God, the moſt dutiful way, on our part, is " to ſearch what God *hath done*; and with meekneſs to ADMIRE that, " rather than to DISPUTE what he, *in congruity of reaſon, ought to do.* The " waies which he hath, whereby to do all things for the greateſt good of " his Church, are more in number than we can ſearch, other in nature " than we ſhould preſume to determine, which, of many, ſhould be the " fitteſt for him to chooſe, till ſuch time as we ſee he hath choſen, of many, " ſome one; which one we then may boldly conclude to be the *fitteſt*, " becauſe he hath taken it before the reſt. When we do otherwiſe, ſurely " we exceed our bounds: who, and where we are, we forget; and therefore " needful it is that our PRIDE, in ſuch caſes, be controled, and our diſ- " putes beaten back with thoſe demands of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *How un-* " *ſearchable are his judgements, and his ways paſt finding out! Who hath* " *known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his Counſellor* * *?*"

We have now done with the Orthodox DIVINE; and come, in good time, to the Freethinking PHILOSOPHER.

Dr. STEBBING, who ſees a future ſtate in the Moſaic Religion by a kind of SECOND SENSE, juſt as northern Highlanders ſee *things to come* by a SECOND SIGHT, affirms, only *hypothetically*, that this Religion was a DISGRACE TO RELIGION: Our Philoſopher, who can ſee in it nothing of *futurity*, affirms *poſitively*, that it was ſuch a DISGRACE.

The Philoſopher's Principles incur no diſcredit, though he ſhould fail in his concluſion, ſince he had diſcarded Revelation before-hand: But ſhould the Divine be miſtaken, he expoſes his Principles to the ſcorn and contempt of Freethinkers, ſince he profeſſes to believe Revelation.

For the reſt, the Philoſopher ſtands charged with the ſame SOPHISTRY, of which the Divine hath been found guilty; the *taking for granted the thing in diſpute*, viz. that the Jews were under an *unequal* Providence. Yet here again both his ſenſe and his modeſty triumph over the Divine's. The Philoſopher, in the Opinion that the Jews were under an *unequal* Providence, betrays no Principles of *Natural Religion*, which he pretends to follow: The Divine, in avowing the ſame Opinion, betrays all the Principles of *Revealed Religion*, which he pretends to believe.

* Book III. ſub fin.

Indeed,

Indeed, the *Sophiſtry* in both, is equally contemptible. For no principles, whether of belief or unbelief, can authorize a Diſputant to take for granted the thing in queſtion. The Author of *The Divine Legation* undertook to prove, that the early Jews were under an equal Providence, by this Medium, the *Omiſſion* of a Future State in their Law; and from thence concluded, that the Religion revealed by the miniſtry of Moſes was true; which, reduced to a ſyllogiſm, runs thus:

Whatever Religion and Society have no future ſtate for their ſupport muſt be ſupported by an extraordinary Providence:

The Jewiſh Religion and Society had no future ſtate for their ſupport:

Therefore the Jewiſh Religion and Society were ſupported by an extraordinary Providence.

To deny the *major*, as our Philoſopher ſhould have done; to deny the *minor*, as our Divine did; was fair argument. But to leave both, as the Firſt hath done, without an anſwer, and deny only the *concluſion*, is, amongſt all nations and languages, a BEGGING OF THE QUESTION. If our Philoſopher would argue to the purpoſe, he ſhould either ſhew that the premiſſes are falſe, and then he attacks the *minor*; or that they do not infer the concluſion, and then he attacks the *major*. He does neither; but, inſtead of this, having begged the queſtion, he falls to ſyllogizing, in his turn——*Every Religion* (ſays he) *which is not founded in the Doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul, and eternal rewards and puniſhments, is neceſſarily falſe. But Judaiſm was ignorant of theſe doctrines. Therefore Judaiſm, ſo far from being upheld by a providence, was even, on the Principles of the Author of the Divine Legation, a Religion falſe and barbarous, which attacked Providence itſelf.* The Argument we ſee is in form: And, if you will believe the Philoſopher, inforced *upon my Principles*. But, to bring his ſyllogiſm to bear againſt me, he muſt go upon this Poſtulatum, *that the Law was not adminiſtered by an extraordinary Providence:* And then, I dare appeal to his own venerable Bench of PHILOSOPHERS (if Logic hold any place in their ſchool) whether the upſhot of all his ſyllogizing be not *taking for granted the thing in diſpute*. And if this were all, As theſe men have accuſtomed us to this beggarly way of reaſoning, we might paſs it over in ſilence and contempt: But there is ſomething more than ordinary perverſe in the conduct of this ſyllogiſm. For, not content to beg the queſtion, our Philoſopher *falſifies my Principles.*——*On the* PRINCIPLES (ſays he) *of the Author of the Divine Legation, Judaiſm was a falſe Religion.*

Now

Now the *Principles* which, as a Chriſtian, I *believe*, are theſe, "That Moſes *promiſed* an extraordinary providence, and that he *omitted* a future ſtate."

The *Principles*, which, as a Logician, I have *proved*, are theſe, "That the *promiſe* was fulfilled, and therefore that the *Omiſſion* was attended with no hurtful conſequences either to Religion or Society."

The *Principles believed*, I had collected from my Bible: the *Principles proved*, I had deduced from what I underſtood to be the concluſions of right reaſon.

How then (I would fain learn) can it fairly be inferred, from *theſe Principles*, that the Religion of Moſes is FALSE?

In the mean time, let me acquaint the Philoſophers, in what manner I infer from theſe *Principles*, that the Religion of Moſes is TRUE.

That Moſes *promiſed* an extraordinary Providence, is held by all Believers; and that he *omitted* a future ſtate, is ſeen by all Unbelievers. Neither of them are miſtaken. Theſe are my *Principles* of belief.—My purpoſe was to convince Unbelievers, on their own grounds, that the *promiſe* was PERFORMED, and this I do by the MEDIUM of the *Omiſſion*. How ſtrongly let the Book itſelf declare. Theſe are my *Principles of proof*.

It was amongſt my more general *Principles*, That whatever Religion, under *a common Providence*, omits to teach a future ſtate, is certainly falſe. And it ſeems to be amongſt our Philoſopher's logical concluſions, that, therefore, on this *Principle* of mine, whatever Religion under an *extraordinary Providence* omits to teach a future ſtate is falſe likewiſe.

But the Philoſopher's ſyllogiſm ſeems to have been made up out of an Objection ill underſtood, which certain Divines brought againſt my argument; (for, of objections, againſt an *offenſive* truth, there is neither end nor meaſure.) Theſe Doctors of the Church objected, "That I ſhould firſt of all have proved from Scripture that the *promiſed* Providence was actually *beſtowed*, before I uſed the ſervice of my MEDIUM." Let me aſk them for what end? Should it be to convince Unbelievers? But that it could not do; for they reject the *extraordinary or ſupernatural part* of Scripture-Hiſtory. Did they mean, that it ſhould have been done for their own ſatisfaction? But what need of that? Believers profeſs to hold that all which Moſes *promiſed* was performed. What was it then that brought forth this Objection? A mere blunder in their reaſoning; in the courſe of which, they had confounded two very different things, with one ano-

ther—The *promiſe* of an extraordinary providence, with the *actual adminiſtration* of it. They ſaw, that it was neceſſary previouſly to prove that Scripture *ſpeaks* of the Adminiſtration of an extraordinary Providence, otherwiſe the *medium*, which I employ, would be vague in its aim, and uncertain in its direction. But they did not ſee, that this was done by ſimply producing the *promiſes* of Moſes on this point: And that as Unbelievers profeſſed to allow thus much (and with Unbelievers only, I had to do) my point was to prove to them, on their own principles, the *actual performance* of thoſe promiſes, by the *medium* of the Omission. It is true, indeed, had no extraordinary providence been *promiſed*, it had then been incumbent on me previouſly to have ſhewn, that Scripture repreſented the Iſraelites as living under ſuch a providence, in order to give my *medium* that certain direction, which leads to my Concluſion. But as it was *promiſed*, the Unbeliever's confeſſion of that *promiſe* was all I wanted.

Yet both Believers and Unbelievers have thought it of ſuch conſequence that the Argument of *The Divine Legation* ſhould be diſcredited, that they have not ſcrupled to reverſe all the Laws of Logic in this important ſervice. Hence the Concluſion is turned into the premiſſes for the uſe of our *Doctors*; and the premiſſes, into the Concluſion for the uſe of our *Philoſophers*.

The ingenious Frenchman's ſecond Argument againſt *The Divine Legation* is in theſe words——"Either Moſes was acquainted with this doc-"trine [*a future ſtate*], and, in this caſe, he deceived the Jews in not com-"municating it to them; Or he was ignorant of it, and, in this caſe, he "did not know enough for the Founder of a Good Religion."

As to the firſt charge of *his deceiving the Jews*, I have anſwered it long ago, in my animadverſions on Lord Bolingbroke, from whom the argument is taken.

As to the ſecond, that *Moſes's ignorance made him incapable of founding a good Religion*,——it receives all its ſtrength from an equivocation in the term, *good*; and a miſrepreſentation of the nature of the *Moſaic Hiſtory*.

Good may ſignify either relative or abſolute; good for ſome, or good for all. Our Philoſopher confounds theſe two meanings. A *good Religion* deſigned for all men cannot be without a future ſtate: But a *Religion* given to a ſingle Tribe, ſingularly circumſtanced, may be *good*, without a future ſtate.

Moſes

Moſes (ſays he) *ignorant of a future ſtate, knew not enough to found a good Religion.* Had Moſes, when he ſaid nothing of a *future ſtate,* been equally ſilent concerning an *extraordinary Providence,* He might, I will confeſs, be concluded by our Philoſopher (who ſuppoſes him a mere civil Lawgiver and uninſpired) *not to know enough to found a good religion:* But when the Philoſopher himſelf tells us that Moſes had *promiſed this extraordinary providence* when he *omitted a future ſtate*; then, even on his own Idea of the Character of Moſes, he can never rationally conclude, that the Lawgiver was not knowing enough in his office, *to found a good Religion,* ſince we find that he did indeed know the uſe of a future ſtate, as he provided a ſuccedaneum for the want of it. Now, a Religion which teaches all that *natural Religion* teaches, viz. that *God is, and that he is a rewarder of them who ſeek him,* muſt needs be a *good Religion*; and the Founder of it a perfect Maſter of his buſineſs.

Let us conſider what all other Lawgivers did, whom our Philoſopher will allow to have known enough. They founded their Religions on this common Principle, *That God is, and that he is a Rewarder,* &c. The doctrine of a *future ſtate* was no more than a ſecurity for this *Foundation,* by a proper ſanction, under an *unequal* Providence. Moſes, under an *equal* diſpenſation of things, wanted not this ſanction for the ſecurity of his Foundation, and therefore did not employ it.

But then (adds the Philoſopher) *if the Moſaic Religion was* A GOOD *Religion, Why was it aboliſhed?* His equivocation in the uſe of the word *good,* which may ſignify either relative or abſolute *good,* hath been already taken notice of. Had the Moſaic Religion been *abſolutely good,* that is, *good* for all men as well as for the Jews, it had certainly never been *aboliſhed.* But *good,* in this ſenſe, he well knows, the Religion of Moſes was never ſaid to be, by the Author of *The Divine Legation,* or any other Believer. They only contend for its *relative goodneſs.* It was *relatively good,* they ſay, as it fully anſwered the deſign of God who gave it; which was, to preſerve a choſen People, ſeparate from the reſt of mankind, to be a repoſitory for the doctrine of the UNITY; and to prepare the way for the further Revelation of a Religion *abſolutely good,* or a Religion for the uſe of all Mankind. Now, to aſk, Why a Religion only *relatively good* was aboliſhed, to make way for another *abſolutely good,* for the ſake of which, the firſt was given in the *interim,* is a queſtion that could be kept in countenance by nothing but the impertinence of a formal anſwer.

But, as our Philoſopher, by his queſtion, "If the Moſaic Religion was "a *good* religion, Why was it aboliſhed?" ſeems to deny the juſtice and reaſonableneſs of ſuch a conduct in the Deity, I ſhall attempt, a little more fully,

to juſtify the ways of God to man.

—"True Religion (ſays he) ſhould be for all times and all places."—I have rarely found any other labour in ſolving an objection to Revelation, than in detecting and expoſing the ambiguity and equivocation of the terms, in which ſuch are almoſt always delivered. It is the caſe here. *True* Religion (as we before obſerved of *good)* may either ſignify a *perfect Religion*, or a *Religion truely coming from God*. *True* Religion, in the ſenſe of a *perfect Religion*, hath certainly the attributes here aſſigned to it, of *being for all times and places*; and this, we ſay, is amongſt the attributes of the Christian. But *true Religion* in the ſenſe only of a *Religion truely coming* from God, like the Mosaic, doth imply no ſuch *univerſality*; as ſhall be now ſhewn.

The aſſertion ſtands on this Principle, "That it is not agreeable to what the beſt Philoſophy teacheth concerning the Nature and Attributes of the Deity, to give a rule of life to one particular people, excluſive of the reſt of Mankind:" becauſe ſuch a diſpenſation would imply partiality and an impotent fondneſs for one above the reſt. Now if God's revealing himſelf to one Race or Family doth imply *in the act itſelf* ſuch a partiality, the Principle is well founded. But, it is apparent to common ſenſe, that it doth not imply it; ſince various other reaſons, beſides *partial fondneſs*, may be aſſigned for the act. To know whether a *partial fondneſs* be the motive, we muſt attend to the reaſons which the Divine Author hath given for the Diſpenſation; either explicitely by words in the declarations of his Meſſengers, or implicitely by circumſtances attending the Gift.

Now, we ſay, that the Jewiſh Religion (the Diſpenſation in queſtion) contains all theſe proofs, both expreſs and implied, of its not being given out of *fondneſs* for the Jews, or under a *neglect* of the Gentiles; but, on the contrary, for the ſake of Mankind in general.

It is notorious to all acquainted with ancient Hiſtory, that, at the time Moſes revealed the *Law of God* to the Jews, the whole Poſterity of Adam, by ſome diſaſter or other, had forgot the Lord their Creator, and were ſunk

ſunk into the groſſeſt Idolatries. It is agreeable to all the ideas we have of God's *goodneſs*, that he ſhould reſcue the human Race from the miſerable condition into which they had fallen, through the abuſe of their free-will; and out of which, by their own ſtrength, they were unable to extricate themſelves.

The only remaining queſtion, then, will be, Whether, in this charitable work, GOD ſhould ſeek the way of performing it, in our ideas, or in his own? The Philoſopher ſays, without all doubt *in ours:* God ſhould have relieved his labouring Creatures all at once, and have proceeded directly to the END, an univerſal Religion like the Chriſtian; inſtead of ſtopping ſo long at the MEANS, a partial Religion like the Jewiſh. If God had any thing to do in the matter, we may be aſſured, the *univerſal Religion* would be delayed no longer than to the time in which he foreſaw, that the giving of it would produce the beſt effects. And as Ages and Seaſons are in the hand of God, HE only knows the proper time for the accompliſhment of his *end.* Indeed, were *Man a machine,* and to be governed only by the Laws of matter and motion, we can conceive no reaſon why infinite Wiſdom did not purſue that direct courſe which led immediately to the END, inſtead of exerciſing its Providence ſo long in the ſupport and continuance of the MEANS. But as, in the opinion of Religioniſts of all kinds, *man is not a machine,* but was created an accountable Creature; and as none can be accountable without the power and uſe of FREE-WILL; this Creature was to be *drawn* (according to God's own expreſſion) *with the cords of a man.* But He only, who formed the human heart, and *knows what is in man,* can tell when theſe cords are to be relaxed, and when drawn ſtrait. In other words, the beſt means or method of bringing all mankind to God's truth cannot poſſibly be known by any but Himſelf. When we have ſeen the method employed, and the effects it hath produced, we have a ſure way of knowing that it was the *beſt;* becauſe it was employed by an all-wiſe Conductor.

Now the *Jewiſh Religion* was the great MEAN, employed by Providence, of bringing *all men to* CHRIST. If this can be proved, and that the Moſaic Law was not given to the Jews out of any partial fondneſs for them, it will appear that a Religion may be *true,* though it were not deſigned *for all times and places.*

Abraham (as appears by the hiſtory of his Race) was called by God out of an *idolatrous City*, to be the Father and founder of a People, which, ſequeſtered from all other, was to preſerve amongſt them, as in a ſure Repoſitory, the name and memory of the Creator; at this point of time, in imminent danger of being obliterated and loſt; to preſerve it, I ſay, till *the fullneſs of time ſhould come*; that is, till an *Univerſal Religion*, founded in the myſtery of Redemption, ſhould be revealed. In the very entrance on this means, the end was imparted to *the Father of the Faithful*, viz. that in his name all the families upon Earth should be blessed.

When the race of Abraham were now become numerous enough to ſupport themſelves in a National ſequeſtration, God informs them, by the miniſtry of Moſes, that the *immediate bleſſings* attending this ſequeſtration, were beſtowed upon them for the ſake of their Father, Abraham, as the *ſequeſtration itſelf* was ordained for the ſake of all Mankind, intimated in the promiſe, that *in his name all the Families upon earth ſhould be bleſſed*. By the miniſtry of his Prophets He repeats the ſame Leſſon to them, viz. that this diſtinction was *not for their ſakes, but for his holy name's ſake*; that is, for the better manifeſtation of his gracious Diſpenſation to all mankind. And, without queſtion, the exceeding perverſity and unworthineſs of this People was recorded in ſacred ſtory, as for other uſes to us unknown, ſo for this, to obviate that egregious folly both of Jews and Gentiles, in ſuppoſing that the Iſraelites were thus diſtinguiſhed, or repreſented to be thus diſtinguiſhed, as the peculiar *Favourites of Heaven*. An abſurdity which all who attended to the nature of the God of Iſrael could confute: and which the Jewiſh Hiſtory amply expoſes.

But if their History informs us *for what they were not ſelected*, their Law and their Prophets inform us, *for what they were*. Theſe declare, in their different modes of information, that this *Religion* was given, to prepare men for, and to facilitate the reception of, one universal.

In the firſt place, Let us conſider the ritual or ceremonial Law. If what I have here aſſigned to be, was, in truth, the *end* of the Jewiſh Diſpenſation, we may expect to find this Ritual *declarative* of ſuch a purpoſe. And on examination it will be found to be ſo. The whole body of the *ritual Law* being framed, in part, to oppoſe to the prevailing ſuperſtition of the Age in which it was given; and, in part, to prefigure that future Diſpenſation,

penſation, which was to take it away. By virtue of the *firſt part* of it's nature, the Jews were kept ſeparate: and by virtue of the *ſecond*, they were prepared to receive, and enabled to underſtand, the Religion of their promiſed Meſſiah. This, for the ſake of mankind in general, was a neceſſary proviſion, ſince the firſt Preachers of the Goſpel were preordained to be taken from amongſt the Jewiſh People.

As to the PROPHETS, which from time to time were ſent amongſt them for the ſupport of the LAW: Theſe (as appears by their predictions) had it principally in their Commiſſion to acquaint their Countrymen occaſionally, and by ſlow degrees, with the approaching CHANGE of their Oeconomy, and with the different NATURE of the new Diſpenſation.

Amongſt the ſeveral intimations given them of the *change*, I ſhall ſelect only two of the moſt capital; the one is concerning *the puniſhment of Children for the crimes of their Fathers*; the other, of *the abolition of the Temple-Worſhip*.

I have ſhewn that the firſt was promulged in aid of the ſanction of the Jewiſh Law, in the abſence of a *future ſtate*: but of no further uſe after the revelation of *Life and immortality*. So that Jeremiah, prophecying of this future Diſpenſation, ſays—*In thoſe days, they ſhall ſay no more, The Fathers have eaten a ſowre grape, and the Children's teeth are ſet on edge. But every one ſhall die for his own iniquity; every man that eateth the ſowre grape his teeth ſhall be ſet on edge* *. Yet ſuch hath been the fortune of this illuſtrious evidence of the *connexion* between the old and new Law, that it has been repreſented as a *contradiction* between the Law and the Prophets †. Although Jeremiah, as if on ſet purpoſe to obviate ſo fooliſh a calumny, immediately adds——*Behold the days come, ſaith the Lord, that I will make a* NEW COVENANT *with the houſe of Iſrael and Judah* ‡; i. e. "The Reaſon why I take away this ſupport of the ſanction is, becauſe the ſanction itſelf will be aboliſhed."

Another intimation of the *change* of the Diſpenſation is the Prophecy concerning the abolition of the *Temple Worſhip*. From the account given of the nature of the Jewiſh Law it appears, that the principal Rites of their Religious Worſhip were to be performed and celebrated in ſome appropriated and determined Place. This, the *object* and *ſubject* of their CEREMONIAL

* Jer. c. xxxi. v. 29, 30.

† See B. V. Sect. 5. of this Work.

‡ Jer. v. 31, 32, 33.

MONIAL ſeemed equally to require: For the ideas of a *tutelary God and King* implied a LOCAL RESIDENCE: and a *national Act*, created and ariſing from theſe relations, required a *fixed and certain place* for it's celebrations. This, which the nature and reaſon of things ſo evidently point out, the inſtitutes of the Law expreſly order and enjoin. During the early and unſettled times of the Republic, the ſacrifices preſcribed by the Moſaic Ritual were directed to be offered up before the door of an ambulatory Tabernacle: But when they had gained the eſtabliſhment decreed for them, and a magnificent Temple was now erected for the God of Iſrael, from henceforth all ſacrifices were to be offered at Jeruſalem only. Now ſacrifices conſtituting the very eſſence of their national Worſhip, their Religion could no longer ſubſiſt than while that celebration continued. Yet the Prophets foretold, that a time would come when there ſhould be no longer any TEMPLE-WORSHIP; which, in other words, was to foretell a *change* in the Diſpenſation. Zephaniah ſays, *The Lord ſhall be terrible—— Men ſhall worſhip him every one* FROM HIS PLACE, *even all the Iſles of the* GENTILES **—every one from his place*; that is, "they were not to go up to JERUSALEM to worſhip." This he expreſſes more preciſely in another place——*In that day, there ſhall be an* ALTAR *to the Lord* in *the midſt of the Land of* EGYPT †; i. e. "the *Temple-ſervice* ſhall be aboliſhed." Which Malachi thus confirms, in a diverſified expreſſion—*And* IN EVERY PLACE *incenſe ſhall be offered unto thy name, and a* PURE OFFERING ‡; i. e. "it ſhall not be the leſs acceptable for not being offered up at the *Temple of Jeruſalem*."

But the Prophets not only give information of the CHANGE of the *old*, but explain the NATURE of the *new* Diſpenſation. Iſaiah, ſpeaking of this *change*, intimates its *nature* in theſe words—*As the Heavens are higher than the Earth, ſo are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts* §. And explains it more clearly by the following figure; *Inſtead of the thorn ſhall come up the fir-tree, and inſtead of the brier ſhall come up the myrtle-tree* ‖; i. e. "the *new* Religion ſhall as far excel the *old* as the fir-tree does the thorn; or, the myrtle, the brier."——*Behold* (ſays the ſame Prophet ſpeaking in the name of God) *I create* NEW HEAVENS *and a* NEW EARTH; *and the former ſhall not be remembered or come in*

* Chap. ii. v. 11. † Chap. xix. v. 19. ‡ Chap. i. v. 11.
§ Chap. lv. v. 9. ‖ Chap. lv. v. 13.

mind

mind *.—*Behold the days come, ſaith the Lord,* (by the Prophet Jeremiah) *that I will make a* NEW COVENANT *with the houſe of Iſrael——not according to the covenant that I made with their Fathers——But this ſhall be the covenant—I will put my Law into their* INWARD PARTS, *and write it in their* HEARTS †. What Iſaiah figuratively names, a *new Heaven* and *a new Earth*, Jeremiah, more ſimply and literally, calls a *new Covenant*. And what kind of *Covenant ?—I will put my Law into their inward parts*, &c. i. e. " this Law ſhall be *ſpiritual*, as the other given to their Fathers was *carnal.*" But, concerning the *nature* of this prophetic phraſeology, and the *reaſons* of it's uſe, the Reader may ſee it explained at large in the ſecond part of this Work ‡.

From all this it appears (if we may credit the cleareſt concluſions of human reaſon) that *a Religion may be true though it be not fitted for all times and places.* A propoſition which (although our Philoſopher takes for granted) carries its abſurdity in the very face of it.

But, ſays this ingenious Writer—— *True Religion ſhould be like the ſplendour of the Sun, which extends its beams to all People and to all Generations.*——When the controverſy runs from reaſoning to ſimile, it begins to ſmell of the *Poet* rather than the *Philoſopher*. What relation, what connexion is there between the *Sun* and *Religion* more than in a fanciful analogy ? *Light* is a phyſical emanation operating on this material Globe : *Revelation*, a voluntary gift beſtowed upon the rational Inhabitants of it. All they hold in common is, that they are both *bleſſings*, but of very different kinds.——Or was it the *Poet's* intention, in this ſimile, to inſinuate the *Philoſopher's* ſyſtem of NATURALISM ?

II.

So much for the ſtrait-laced *Divine* and the looſe bodied *Philoſopher*; but to the SOBER RELIGIONIST, of whatever denomination, I have ſomething more to ſay; and I hope ſo much to his ſatisfaction, that this objection to the Moſaic Law, from the OMISSION of a future ſtate, ſhall never hereafter be conſidered in the learned world, as any other than an ignorant prejudice.

Now to underſtand how Revelation in general is affected by the repreſentation which I have given of the Jewiſh, it will be neceſſary to con-

* c. lxv. v. 17. † c. xxxi. v. 31. ‡ Book VI. Sect. 6.

ſider, What the light of Nature teacheth us concerning RELIGIOUS SANCTIONS.

The true idea of *natural Religion* (defining and including the eſſence wherein it conſiſts) is no where ſo conciſely, ſo fully, and ſo elegantly delivered as by St. PAUL in theſe words,——*He who cometh to God muſt believe that he is; and that he is a Rewarder of them who diligently ſeek him*: In other words, the ſum of *natural Religion* (he tells us) is this, "Belief in God, and that he rewards his Faithful Worſhippers; which implies his puniſhing the unfaithful."—While this is ſteadfaſtly believed, natural Religion ſtands on a ſolid Baſis. If any thing be ſeen in God's diſpenſing Providence here, which ſhews that God is not always a *Rewarder*, &c. the Belief is ſhaken, and Religion is in danger. The unequal diſtribution of things here below endangers it; and it becomes re-eſtabliſhed by the intervention of the Doctrine of a FUTURE STATE. Thus, we ſee, the belief of a *future ſtate* is not of the *Eſſence* of NATURAL RELIGION, but one of the *accidents* of it only; for were the diſtribution equal, as from the Being and Attributes of the Deity (abſtractedly conſidered) one might be led to expect, a *future ſtate* had never come into the definition of *natural Religion*.

The *Moſaic Religion* was a REPUBLICATION of *natural Religion* to the Jews. And all it taught, concerning it's ſanction, was, *that God is, and that he is a Rewarder*, &c. The reaſon why a *future ſtate* was omitted is apparent: Moſes aſſured them they were under the diſpenſation of an *equal Providence here*. And now let me aſk, How it comes to paſs that the ſelf-ſame ſyſtem of Religion, which, one way (*by the light of reaſon*) revealed to man, does honour to God, if we believe St. Paul; yet, another way, revealed (*by Moſes*) does diſhonour him, if we give credit to our modern Divines?

When God ſeparated a choſen People, he gave them, for their Belief, the principles of NATURAL RELIGION (*republiſhed* by the Miniſtry of Moſes) in its ORIGINAL and moſt perfect Form, under an *equal Providence*. And yet this circumſtance, which ſets it far above it's *publication* amongſt the Gentiles by natural light, is eſteemed a diſgrace to it; and men rather chuſe to piece-out God's Diſpenſation from what they can find in the lumber and rubbiſh of Paganiſm, than receive it in it's native ſimplicity and genuine grandeur: And, becauſe *natural Religion*, diſturbed and corrupted amongſt

amongſt the Gentiles, was forced to lean on the Crutch of a *future ſtate*, they will needs find the ſame prop for the pure and perfect, as REPUBLISHED by Moſes, though it ſtands upright, under an *extraordinary Providence*.

The truth is, this falſe idea ariſes from an inveterate error (to be expoſed at large in the laſt volume of this Work) that *natural Religion* not only teaches a *future ſtate*, (which it does indeed, though by accident only) but that it teaches *this ſtate* to be ENDLESS, which it neither does, nor can do. All it teaches is, that *God is, and that he is a Rewarder*; whether here or hereafter is to be collected from the mode of God's diſpenſing Providence *here*.

This error, which confounds all our reaſoning on God's moral Government, aroſe, in part, from a later Revelation, the *Chriſtian*, ill underſtood (of which, more hereafter); and, in part, from falſe and viſionary Metaphyſics.

1. But ſay they, "Admitting, that *natural Religion* taught no more than St. Paul learned of it, yet ſurely a *Revelation*, ſuch as the Moſaic, muſt contain more, or why was it given!"——I will anſwer theſe men in their own way——It was given as a *republication of the Religion of Nature*: For though they were egregiouſly miſtaken in receiving the *Chriſtian Religion* for no more; yet it is very certain, the *Moſaic*, with regard to *Doctrine*, was, indeed, juſt ſuch a *Republication*, and no other. Nor, does human conception diſcover any thing incongruous in the moral conduct of the Deity, when he RENEWS thoſe Laws, firſt revealed in an *ordinary* way, and by the folly of men become almoſt eraſed; to *renew* them, I ſay, in an *extraordinary*. For we do not oppoſe the talk of Chriſtianity's being only ſuch a *republication* on account of any incongruity in the thing itſelf; but becauſe, that, when applied to the *Chriſtian Religion*, this definition of it is both falſe and imperfect, and averſe to the whole genius and nature of the Diſpenſation.

2. But, ſecondly, it may be ſaid, That "the *Doctrine of future rewards* is of force to purify and ſpiritualize the mind; which that of *temporal rewards* is not." To this, I reply, That the *known* rewards here, or the *unknown* hereafter, leave the mind juſt in that ſtate in which Religion itſelf, or Piety towards God, hath put it. It is the FREE OBEDIENCE to his commands, not the ſenſe of the neceſſary conſequence of that obedience, which rectifies the Will, and purifies the Affections.

But the miſtake, here confuted, ariſes from men's having confounded a *future ſtate*, as diſcoverable by natural light, with the *future ſtate* as announced in the Goſpel. Now, Natural light diſcovers to us nothing of the *Nature* of that State; and therefore leaves the mind in that ſituation in which an indefinite Reward puts it. The Goſpel, indeed, defines a future ſtate ſo fully, as to enable the doctrine to purify and ſpiritualize the Mind, above all other modes of Religion.

But what does this conceſſion infer? That the Moſaic Religion, which taught an *equal Providence*, but *omitted* to teach a *future ſtate*, was unworthy of God? Surely not. For then it would follow, that natural Religion, that other revelation of God's will, which taught no future ſtate, till Providence here was found to be unequal, was likewiſe unworthy of Him. What then, does it infer? This, and this only, That the *Moſaic Religion* wants much of that perfection which the *Chriſtian* hath. Now, this truth is not only acknowledged, but contended for.

The Queſtion then may return, Could God, according to the idea we have of his attributes, give a *leſs perfect* Religion, in order to facilitate the reception of one *more perfect?* The queſtion may return, I ſay, but in order to be ſent back for its confutation, to the anſwer already beſtowed upon it, in the examination of Mr. Voltaire's Objections.

NOTES

NOTES ON BOOK III.

P. 7. [A] IT may not be improper, on this occaſion, to preſent the Reader with an extract from a Letter of the late Preſident MONTESQUIEU to the Author, who had given him ſome account of Lord Bolingbroke's Poſthumous Works, juſt then on the point of publication—" J'ay lu quelques ouvrages de My Lord Bolingbroke—Or, Monſieur, dans cet ouvrage poſthume, dont vous me donnes une idée, il me ſemble qu'il vous prepare une matiere continuelle de triomphe. Celui qui attaque la Religion revelée n'attaque que la Religion revelée; mais celui qui attaque la Religion naturelle attaque toutes les Religions du monde. Si l'on enſeigne aux hommes qu'ils n'ont pas ce frein ci, ils peuvent penſer qu'ils en ont un autre: Mais il eſt bien plus pernicieux de leur enſeigner qu'ils n'en ont pas du tout. Il n'eſt pas impoſſible d'attaquer une Religion revelée, parce qu'elle exiſte par des faits particuliers, et que les faits, par leur nature, peuvent être une matiere de diſpute: mais il n'en eſt pas de même de la Religion naturelle; elle eſt tirée de la nature de l'homme, dont on ne peut pas diſputer, et du ſentiment interieur de l'homme, dont on ne peut pas diſputer encore. J'ajoute à ceci, Quel peut être le motif d'attaquer la Religion revelée en Angleterre? on l'y a tellement purgé de tout prejugé deſtructeur qu'elle n'y peut faire de mal, et qu'elle y peut faire, au contraire, une infinité de biens. Je ſais, qu'un homme en Eſpagne ou en Portugal que l'on va bruler, ou qui craint d'être brulé, parce qu'il ne croit point de certains articles dependans ou non de la Religion revelée, a une juſte ſujet de l'attaquer, parce qu'il peut avoir quelque eſperance de pourvoir à ſa defence naturelle: Mais il n'en eſt pas de même en Angleterre, où tout homme qui attaque la Religion revelée l'attaque ſans intereſt, et où cet homme quand il reuſſiroit, quand même il auroit raiſon dans le fond, ne feroit que detruire

" une

" une infinité de biens pratiques pour établir une verité purement ſpe-
" culative.

" J'ay eté ravi, &c.

A Paris, ce 26 May, 1754.

" Montesquieu."

P. 7. [B] Strabo's words are—Καὶ φόβοις, ἢ ἀπειλαῖς, ἢ διὰ λόγων, ἢ διὰ τύπων ἀώρων, " Fears and threatnings either by words or dreadful forms." Caſaubon, who corrected the laſt word very juſtly, has given us no explanation of the alluſion in this obſcure ſentence. I am perſuaded, the author had in his mind the dreadful words ſpoken, and the repreſentations exhibited in the *Myſteries*, for the very purpoſe the author here mentions: ſo ἀπειλαῖς refers to λόγων, and φόβοις to τύπων ἀώρων. The reader, who remembers what has been ſaid in the ſection of the *Myſteries*, in the foregoing book, concerning this matter, will be inclined to believe this to be the true explanation.

P. 12. [C] And, without doubt, this was amongſt the reaſons for his declining, throughout the whole courſe of his life, the ſtudy and the teaching of *phyſics*, or *natural philoſophy*, which had a direct tendency to ſhake and overturn one half of the national religion, namely the worſhip of, what were called, the celeſtial Gods, or *Hoſt of Heaven*.

P. 12. [D] We have, indeed, been told, that, to his *Cock* he might have added a *Bull*; for that the Philoſopher was now in a delirium, occaſioned by the cicuta, to which, Scribonius Largus attributes this effect. But I apprehend, the eminent perſons who then attended the laſt moments of the expiring Philoſopher (and muſt have been well appriſed of the nature of a draught, whoſe legal application to criminals of ſtate had made its effects familiar to every one) would have been the *firſt* to obſerve this ſymptom, if, indeed, the drug had any ſuch property. Whereas they ſpeak of Socrates as perfectly in his ſenſes when he made this requeſt; and I think *They* are rather to be relied on who underſtood what related both to the *ſacrifice* and the *drug*, than *They* who know ſo little of either; eſpecially as we find this rite was exactly ſuitable to the foregoing declaration of Conformity, in his defence before his judges.

P. 14. [E] Duplex enim erat doctrinæ genus apud antiquas gentes, ἐκφανὲς καὶ ἀπόῤῥητον, doctrina vulgaris & doctrina arcana: idque non tantum ob diverſitatem materiæ, ſed eandem ſæpe materiam duplici modo tractabant, populari

populari & philoſophica. Archæol. Phil. l. i. c. 8.—See this matter explained at large by the very learned author of the *Critical inquiry into the opinions and practice of the ancient philoſophers, &c.* ſecond edit. chap. xi, xii, and xiii.

P. 14. [F] "The author of the philoſophical piece commonly aſcribed "to Origen, ſays, *That he ſometimes complied with the popular opinion, and* "*declared that the* univerſe would be one day deſtroyed. Καὶ Παρμενίδης ἓν μὲν τὸ πᾶν ὑποτίθεται, ΑΙΔΙΟΝ ΤΕ, καὶ ἀγέννητον, καὶ σφαιροειδὲς· οὐδ' αὐτὸς ΕΚΦΕΥΓΩΝ "ΤΗΝ ΤΩΝ πολλῶν ΔΟΞΑΝ, πῦρ λέγων καὶ γῆν ΤΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΑΡΧΑΣ, τὴν "μὲν γῆν, ὡς ὕλην· τὸ δὲ πῦρ, ὡς αἴτιον, καὶ ποιοῦν ΤΟΝ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ ΕΙΠΕ ΦΘΕΙ-"ΡΕΣΘΑΙ. It appears too from this paſſage that he ſpoke *popularly*, "when he ſaid that the world was made, or had a beginning; and that "this doctrine was *merely popular*, may be ſeen too from the following words "of Themiſtius. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Παρμενίδης ἐν τοῖς πρὸς δόξαν, τὸ θερμὸν ποιεῖ καὶ "τὸ ψυχρὸν ἀρχὰς, ὧν τὸ μὲν πῦρ, τὸ δὲ γῆν προσαγορεύει. It is then evident from "theſe paſſages that, in his *exoterics*, he gave the world both a beginning "and an end. But then in his other writings he denied that it had either. "I need not quote Cicero, Plutarch, or Euſebius, to prove this; the fol-"lowing verſes of his own are ſufficient for my preſent purpoſe:

"Αὐτὰρ ἀκίνητον μεγάλων ἐν πείρασι δεσμῶν
"Ἔστιν ΑΝΑΡΧΟΝ, ΑΠΑΥΣΤΟΝ, ἐπεὶ ΓΕΝΕΣΙΣ καὶ ΟΛΕΘΡΟΣ
"Τῇδε μαλ' ἐπλάγχθησαν, ἄπωσε δὲ πίστις ἀληθής.

See the *Critical enquiry into the opinions and practice of the ancient philoſophers*, p. 225. 2d edit.

P. 19. [G] One of the *Anſwerers* of *The Divine Legation* ſays, "What a "noble field would have been here opened for the FATHERS, could they "have charged the Pagan ſages and philoſophers with the diſſimulation "which Mr. W. has here done! Could they have loaded them with the "crime of *believing one thing and teaching another*, with LYING, with im-"poſing on the credulity of the people; what a diſplay of rhetoric ſhould "we have had! Could there have been a more fit occaſion for *ſatire or de-*"*clamation?*—— BUT THEY NEVER REPROACH THEM ON THAT ACCOUNT." Dr. Sykes's Exam. p. 88. The gravity of all this is ſo rarely contraſted with its profound knowledge, that the Reader cannot find in his heart to be angry with him for what follows, from theſe FATHERS; with whom the good Doctor appears to be ſo well acquainted.

ARNO-

Arnobius, ſpeaking of this cuſtom of *believing one thing and teaching another*, ſays: Nunc vero, cum ALIUD CREDITIS et ALIUD FINGITIS, et in eos eſtis contumelioſi, quibus id attribuitis, quod eos, confitemini non eſſe: et *irreligioſi* eſſe monſtramini, cum id adoratis quod fingitis, non quod in re eſſe, ipſaque in veritate cenſetis. *L.* iii. *p.* 109. Lugd. ed.

Eusebius reproaches *Plato* on this very account: charges him with mean diſſimulation for teaching doctrines which he believed to be falſe, merely out of reverence to the laws of his country. Καὶ τὸ παρὰ γιώμην δὲ ταῦτα λέγειν τῶν νόμων ἕνεκα διαῤῥήδην παρίσησιν ὁμολογήσας, ὅτι δέοι ἀπομένες τῷ νόμῳ πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς. Præp. Evang. xiii. c. 1.—ἀλλὰ γὰρ τέτων δὲ χάριν ἀπολειπλέω ἡμῖν ὅτω, δίει θανάτε τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον καθυποκρινάμενω. c. 15.

Lactantius reproves *Cicero* for the ſame practice: Cum videamus etiam doctos et prudentes viros, cum religionum intelligant vanitatem, nihilominus tamen in iis ipſis, quæ damnant, colendis, NESCIO QUA PRAVITATE, perſtare. Intelligebat Cicero falſa eſſe, quæ homines adorarent: nam cum multa dixiſſet, quæ ad everſionem religionum valerent: ait tamen non eſſe illa vulgo diſputanda, ne ſuſceptas publice religiones diſputatio talis extinguat: Quid ei facies, qui, cum errare ſe ſentiat, ultro ipſe in lapides impingat, ut populus omnis offendat? Ipſe ſibi oculos eruat, ut omnes cæci ſint? Qui nec de aliis bene mereatur, quos patitur errare; nec de ſeipſo, qui alienis accedit erroribus; nec utitur tandem ſapientiæ ſuæ bono, ut factis impleat, quod mente percepit. *Div. Inſtit.* l. ii. c. 3.

St. Austin's account of *Seneca* is not at all more favourable. Sed iſte quam philoſophi quaſi *liberum* * fecerunt, tamen quia illuſtris populi Romani Senator erat, colebat quod reprehendebat; agebat, quod arguebat; quod culpabat, adorabat.—Eo *damnabilius*, quod illa quæ MENDACITER *agebat* ſic ageret, *ut populus veraciter* agere exiſtimaret. De civ. Dei, l. vi. c. 10.

But this *Father* concludes all the Pagan ſages and philoſophers under the ſame condemnation, for IMPOSING (as Dr. Sykes expreſſes it) ON THE CREDULITY OF THE PEOPLE, and with *ſatire and declamation* enough of conſcience, if that will ſatisfy the Doctor—Quod utique non aliam ob cauſam factum videtur, niſi quia homines velut *prudentium et ſapientium* negotium fuit, POPULUM IN RELIGIONIBUS FALLERE, et in eo ipſo non ſolum colere, ſed *imitari etiam Dæmones*. Sicut enim Dæmones niſi eos

* Alluding to the Stoical wiſe man.

quos

quos fallendo deceperint, poſſidere non poſſunt, ſic et *homines principes* non ſane juſti ſed *Dæmonum ſimiles*, ea quæ vana eſſe noverant, religionis nomine populis tanquam vera ſuadebant, hoc modo eos civili ſocietati velut arctius alligantes. De civit. Dei, l. iv. c. 132.

P. 25. [H] One ſcarce meets with any thing in antiquity concerning Pythagoras's knowledge in *phyſics*, but what gives us freſh cauſe to admire the wonderful ſagacity of that extraordinary man. This ſtory of his *predicting earthquakes* has ſo much the air of a fable, that I believe it has been generally ranked (as it is by Stanley) with that heap of traſh, which the enthuſiaſtic Pythagoreans and Platoniſts of the lower ages have raked together concerning him. Yet we learn from the collections of Pliny the Elder, which ſay—"futuro terræ motu, eſt *in puteis turbidior aqua*," l. ii. c. 83. that the ancients profited of this diſcovery, verified by a modern relation of Paul Dudley, Eſq. in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, N° 437. p. 72. who, ſpeaking of an earthquake which lately happened in New England, gives this remarkable account of its preceding ſymptoms: "A "neighbour of mine, that has a Well thirty-ſix feet deep, about three days "before the earthquake, was ſurprized to find his water, that uſed to be "very ſweet and limpid, ſtink to that degree that they could make no uſe "of it, nor ſcarce bear the houſe when it was brought in; and thinking "ſome carrion was got into the Well, he ſearched the bottom, but found "it clear and good, though the colour of the water was turned wheyiſh, "or pale. In about ſeven days after the earthquake, his water began "to mend, and in three days more returned to its former ſweetneſs and "colour."

P. 28. [I] Cæſar *(ſays Cato)* bene et compoſite paulo ante, in hoc ordine, de vita et morte diſſeruit, credo falſa exiſtumans ea quæ de inferis MEMORANTUR. *Apud eund.* Cicero's reply is to the ſame purpoſe: Itaque ut aliqua in vita formido improbis eſſet poſita, apud inferos ejuſmodi quædam illi ANTIQUI ſupplicia impiis *conſtituta eſſe voluerunt:* quod videlicet intelligebant, his remotis, non eſſe mortem ipſam pertimeſcendam. *Orat.* iv. *in Catilin.* § 4. I cannot conceive what the very ingenious Mr. Moyle could mean in his *Eſſay on the Roman Government*, by ſaying—*if the immortality of the ſoul* (by which he means the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments) *had been an* ESTABLISHED *doctrine, Cæſar would not have derided it in the face of the whole ſenate.*—Do not the words of

Cicero—*Antiqui ſupplicia impiis conſtituta eſſe voluerunt*, expreſsly declare it to be an *eſtabliſhed doctrine?*

When Juvenal ſpeaks of the impiety of Rome, with regard to this religious opinion, he exhorts the ſober part of them to adhere to it, in theſe words:

> Sed tu vera puta. Curius quid ſentit, & ambo
> Scipiadæ? quid Fabricius maneſque Camilli?
> —— quoties hinc talis ad illos
> Umbra venit? cuperent luſtrari, ſi qua darentur
> Sulphura cum tædis, et ſi foret humida laurus.
> Illuc, heu! Miſeri traducimur———

Thoſe who underſtand theſe lines can never doubt whether a future State was the *eſtabliſhed doctrine* in Rome.—Yet, ſtranger than all this, the very learned Moſheim, in his *de rebus Chriſt. Comment.* p. 15. ſpeaking of this licentious part of Cæſar's ſpeech, ſeems to copy Mr. Moyle's opinion (whoſe works he had tranſlated) in theſe words—"Ita magni hi Homines "et Romanæ civitatis principes nunquam auſi fuiſſent loqui, in Concilio "Patrum conſcriptorum *ſi Religio credere juſſiſſet*, mentes hominum per-"ennes eſſe." By his, *ſi Religio credere juſſiſſet*, he muſt mean—*if this had been the eſtabliſhed Doctrine*—He could not mean—*had the Pagan Religion in general enjoined it to be believed*—For there was no national Religion of Paganiſm without it. But the reaſon he gives for his opinion exceeds all belief. He ſays, "Cato is ſo far from blaming Cæſar for this declaration, that he rather openly applauds it."—"Quam Orationem M. Portius Cato, "illud Stoicæ Familiæ præſidium et decus, tantum abeſt, ut reprehendat, "ut potius publice pariter in Senatu laudat." What are theſe terms of praiſe?—"Sic enim Bene et Compoſite, inquit, *Cæſar paulo ante in hoc* "*Ordine de vita & morte diſſeruit: falſa, credo, exiſtimans quæ de inferis* "*memorantur.*" Surely this *bene & compoſite diſſeruit*, was ſo far from being intended by the rigid *Stoic* as a compliment on his capital Adverſary, that it was a ſevere cenſure, implying, in every term made uſe of, that Cæſar's opinion was no crude or haſty ſentiment, taken up, as an occaſional topic, out of an ill-judged compaſſion for the Criminals, but that it was the Syſtem of his School in this matter, deliberately dreſſed out with all the charms of his own eloquence, in a ſtudied and correct diſſertation.

P. 34. [K] *Acad. Quæſt.* l. iv.——The learned Moſheim has done me the honour of abridging my reaſoning on this head in the following manner—*Academici*, meliores licet & ſapientiores *Scepticis videri vellent*, æque tamen mali et pernicioſi erant. Id ipſum enim dogma, in quo vis & ratio diſciplinæ Scepticæ poſita erat, probabant " Nihil cognoſci, nihil percipi, " nihil ſciri poſſe, et de omnibus idcirco rebus, nullo interpoſito judicio, " diſputandum eſſe." Hoc unum inter utroſque intererat, quod cum Sceptici ſtatuerent, " nulli rei ad ſentiendum, ſed perpetuo diſputandum eſſe," Academici e contrario ſciſcerent " in illis, quæ veri ſpeciem haberent ſeu " probabilia viderentur, acquieſcendum eſſe." *Atqui hoc ipſum* PROBABILE *cui ſapientem adſentiri volebant Academici*, NUNQUAM ILLI REPERIEBANT. Quare non ſecus ac Sceptici infirmare omnia & incerta reddere ſtudebant. Id vero qui agunt, ut dubium prorſus et anceps videntur Utrum—*Animi moriantur an ſuperſint*, &c. *De rebus Chriſt. comment.* p. 22.

P. 34. [L] The reader may not be diſpleaſed to ſee the judgement of a learned French writer on the account here given of the *Academics*—L'on fait voir que l'on doit exclure de ce nombre [des ſectes dogmatiſtes] les nouveaux Academiciens, purs ſceptiques, quoy qu'il y aît quelques auteurs modernes qui pretendent le contraire, et entre autres M. Middleton, auteur de la nouvelle Vie du Ciceron Anglois. Mais ſi l'on éxamine la ſource où il a puiſé ſes ſentimens, l'on trouvera que c'eſt dans les apologies que les Academiciens eux mêmes ont faites pour cacher le ſcepticiſme qui leur étoit reproché par toutes les autres ſectes; et de cette maniere on pourroit ſoutenir que les Pyrrhoniens mêmes n'étoient point ſceptiques. Qu'on ſe reſſouvienne ſeulement que, ſuivant le raport de Ciceron, Arceſilaus, fondateur de la nouvelle Academie, nioit que l'on fut certain de ſa propre exiſtence. Après un trait ſemblable, et pluſieurs autres qui ſont raportes—on laiſſe au lecteur à décider du caractere de cette ſecte et du jugement qu'en porte M. Middleton.—M. De S. *Diſſ. ſur l'Union de la Religion, de la Morale, et de la Politique, Pref.* p. 12.

P. 36. [M] Tully aſſures us that thoſe of the *Old Academy* were Dogmatiſts, *Quæſt. Acad.* lib. i. Nihil enim inter PERIPATETICOS et ACADEMIAM illam VETEREM differebat; for that the Peripatetics were dogmatiſts nobody ever doubted. Yet the ſame Tully, towards the concluſion of this book, ranks them with the ſceptics: Hanc Academiam NOVAM appellabant, quæ mihi VETUS videtur; for ſuch certainly was the *New Academy*. The way of reconciling Cicero to himſelf I take to be this: Where he

ſpeaks of the conformity between the Peripatetics and the *Old Academy*, he conſiders Plato as the founder of the *Old Academy*: this appears from the following words, *Academ.* l. ii. c. 5. Alter [nempe Plato] quia reliquit perfectiſſimam diſciplinam, Peripateticos et Academicos, nominibus differentes, re congruentes: And where he ſpeaks of the conformity between the *New Academy* and the *Old*, he conſiders Socrates as the founder of the *Old Academy*. For the *New*, as we here ſee, claimed the neareſt relation to their maſter. Thus *De Nat. Deor.* l. i. c. 5. he ſays, Ut hæc in philoſophia ratio contra omnia diſſerendi, nullamque rem apertè judicandi, *profecta à Socrate*, repetita ab *Arceſilao*, confirmata à *Carneade*, &c. But Tully, it may be ſaid, in the very place where he ſpeaks of the agreement between the *New* and *Old* Academy, underſtands Plato as the founder of the old; Hanc Academiam novam adpellant; quæ mihi vetus videtur, ſi quidem *Platonem* ex illa vetere numeramus; cujus in libris nihil adfirmatur, et in utramque partem multa diſſeruntur; de omnibus quæritur, nihil certi dicitur. But it is to be obſerved, that Plato had a twofold character: and is to be conſidered, on the one hand, as the *Diſciple* and *Hiſtorian* of Socrates; and on the other, as the *Head of a Sect himſelf*, and maſter of Xenocrates and Ariſtotle. As the diſciple, he *affirms nothing*; as the maſter, he is a *Dogmatiſt*. Under the *firſt* character Socrates and he are the ſame; under the *ſecond*, they are very different. Tully here ſpeaks of him under the *firſt*, as appears from what he ſays of him, *nihil adfirmatur, &c.* Plato, in this place, therefore, is the ſame as Socrates. The not diſtinguiſhing his double character hath occaſioned much diſpute amongſt the Ancients; as the not obſerving that Cicero hath, throughout his writings, made *that* diſtinction, hath much embarraſſed the moderns. Diogenes Laertius tells us, there were infinite diſputes about Plato's character; ſome holding that he did dogmatize, others that he did not. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὴ ςάσις ἐςὶ, καὶ οἱ μέν φασιν αὐτὸν δογματίζειν, οἱ δ' ὄ. Lib. iii. Seg. 51. *Sextus Empiricus* ſays the ſame thing: τὸν Πλάτωνα ἕν, οἱ μὲν δογματικὸν ἔφασαν εἶναι, οἱ δὲ ἀπορηματικόν. He then tells you, ſome diſtinguiſhed better: Καλὰ δὲ τὶ δογματικόν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς γυμναςικοῖς φασὶ λόγοις, ἔνθα ὁ Σωκράτης εἰσάγεσθαι ἤτοι παίζων πρός τινας ἢ ἀγωνιζόμενον πρὸς σοφιςὰς, γυμναςικόν τε καὶ ἀπορηματικόν φασιν ἔχειν αὐτὸν χαρακτῆρα· δογματικὸν δὲ, ἔνθα σπεδάζων, ἀποφαίνεσθαι ἤτον διὰ Σωκράτες, ἢ Τιμαίε, ἤ τινων τῶν τοιύτων. That Cicero made the diſtinction, delivered above, we ſhall now ſee. In the Academic Queſtions, he ſpeaks of him as the *diſciple and hiſtorian* of Socrates; and, under that character, nihil adfirmatur,

adfirmatur, & in utramque partem multa differuntur, de omnibus quæritur, nihil certi dicitur. In his *Offices* he ſpeaks of him as different from Socrates, and the *founder of a ſect:* and then he is a Dogmatiſt, and, as he ſays elſewhere, reliquit perfectiſſimam diſciplinam Peripateticos et Academicos nominibus differentes, re congruentes. His words to his ſon are: Sed tamen noſtra [nempe Academica] leges non multum a Peripateticis diſſidentia, quoniam utrique et Socratici et Platonici eſſe volumus; i. e. He tells his ſon, that he would both dogmatize like Plato, and ſcepticize like Socrates. But Grævius, not apprehending this double character of Plato, would change Socratici to Stoici. For, ſays he, qui dicere poteſt ſe utrumque eſſe voluiſſe Platonicum et Socraticum; perinde eſt ac ſi ſcripſiſſet utrumque ſe velle eſſe Peripateticum et Ariſtoteleum. But there was a vaſt difference between Plato, founder of the Academy, and Socrates; though none between Plato the diſciple and hiſtorian of Socrates, and Socrates.——The fortune of this note has been very ſingular; and will afford us a pleaſant picture of the temper and genius of Anſwerers and their ways. One man writing ſomething about *Plato* and the *ancients*; and reading what is here ſaid of Plato's dogmatizing, abuſes the author for making him a *dogmatiſt:* And another who had to do, I do not know how, with *Socrates* and the *moderns*, and reading what relates to Plato's ſcepticiſing, is as plentiful, in his ribaldry and ill language, for making him a *ſceptic:* while the author was, all the time, giving an hiſtorical relation of what others made him; and only endeavoured to reconcile their various accounts.

P. 41. [N] Tuſc. Diſp. l. i. c. 16.—*Honore* refers to his *philoſophic* character; and *auctoritate* to his *legiſlative*. The common reading is, cum honore et diſciplinâ, tum etiam auctoritate. Dr. B. in his emendations on the Tuſc. Quæſt. ſaw this was faulty; but not reflecting on the complicated character of Pythagoras, and, perhaps, not attending to Cicero's purpoſe (which was, not to ſpeak of the *nature* of his philoſophy, but of the *reputation* he had in Magna Græcia) he ſeems not to have hit upon the true reading. He objects to *Honore*, becauſe the particles *cum* and *tum* require a greater difference in the things ſpoken of, than is to be found in *honos* and *auctoritas:* which reaſoning would have been juſt, had only a *philoſophic* character, or only a *legiſlative*, been the ſubject. But it was Cicero's plain meaning, to preſent Pythagoras under both theſe views. So that *honos*, which is the proper conſequence of ſucceeding in the firſt; and

auctoritas,

auctoritas, of ſucceeding in the latter; have all the real difference that *cum* and *tum* require; at leaſt Plutarch thought ſo, when he applied words of the very ſame import to the Egyptian *ſoldiery* and the *prieſthood*; to whom, like the legiſlator and philoſopher, the one having *power* and the other *wiſdom*, *auctoritas* and *honos* diſtinctly belong:—τῷ μὲν δι' ἀνδρίαν, τῷ δὲ διὰ σοφίαν, μέγιστ' ΑΞΙΩΜΑ καὶ ΤΙΜΗΝ ἔχοντι. De Iſid. & Oſir. Another objection, the learned critic brings againſt the common reading, has more weight; which is, that in *honore et diſciplina*, two words are joined together as very ſimilar in ſenſe, which have ſcarce any affinity or relation to one another: on which account he would read More *et diſciplina*. But this, as appears from what has been ſaid above, renders the whole ſentence lame and imperfect: I would venture therefore to read, (only changing a ſingle letter) tenuit Magnam illam Græciam cum honore ex diſciplina, tum etiam auctoritate: and then all will be right, *diſciplina* referring equally to *honore* and *auctoritate*, as implying both his philoſophic and civil inſtitutions.

P. 44 [O.] *Demonſtratio Evangelica*; which, becauſe the World would not accept for *demonſtration*, and becauſe he had no better to give, after a long and vain ſearch for *certainty* throughout all the Regions of Erudition, he attempted, by the help of *Sextus Empiricus*, in order to keep himſelf in credit, to ſhew that no ſuch thing was to be had. And ſo compoſed his Book *of the Weakneſs of human underſtanding*. Malebranch has laid open his ridiculous caſe with great force and ſkill.—"Il eſt vrai qu'il y en a quelques-uns qui reconnoiſſent après vingt ou trente années de temps perdu, qu'ils n'ont rien appris dans leurs lectures; mais il ne leur plâit pas de nous le dire avec ſincerité. Il faut auparavant qu'ils avent prouvé, à leur mode, *qu'on ne peut rien ſçavoir*; et puis après ils le confeſſent; parce qu alors ils croyent le pouvoir faire, ſans qu'on ſe mocque de leur ignorance."

P. 59. [P.] Geddes, or his *Glaſgow editors*, (to mention them for once) in the *eſſay on the compoſition of the ancients*, are here very angry at the author for charging Plato with making a *monſtrous miſ-alliance*, merely (as they ſay) becauſe he added the ſtudy of *phyſics* to that of *morals*; and employ ſix pages in defending Plato's conduct. As theſe inſolent ſcribblers could not ſee then, ſo poſſibly they will not be ready to learn now, that the term of *monſtrous miſ-alliance*, which I gave to Plato's project, of incorporating the *Pythagoric* and *Socratic* Schools, referred to the oppoſite

and

and contrary geniuſes of thoſe Schools in their MANNER of treating their Subjects, not to any difference which there is in their Subjects themſelves. The miſ-alliance was not in joining *Phyſics* to *Morals*; but in joining a Fanatic Myſticiſm to the cool logic of common ſenſe.

P. 67. [Q] The unfairneſs of readers when their paſſions have made them become writers, is hardly to be conceived: ſome of theſe have repreſented the three laſt teſtimonies as given to prove that Plato believed no future ſtate at all: though the author had plainly and expreſsly declared but a page or two before, p. 64, as well as at p. 11. that there was a ſort of *future ſtate* which Plato did believe; he refers to it again at p. 64, and, what is more, obſerves here, on this laſt paſſage, that Celſus alludes to this very future ſtate of Plato. And what was it but this,—that future happineſs and miſery were the natural and neceſſary conſequences of Virtue and Vice; Vice being ſuppoſed to produce that imbecillity and ſluggiſhneſs which clogged and retarded the Soul, and hindered it from penetrating into the higher regions.

P. 70. [R] This will explain the cauſe of a fact which Cicero obſerves concerning them, where he ſpeaks of the liberty which the Greek Philoſophers had taken, in inventing new Words—"ex omnibus Philoſophis STOICI plurima novaverunt." de Fin. l. ii. c. 2. For the more a Teacher deviates from common notions, and the diſcipline of Nature, the leſs able he will be to expreſs himſelf by Words already in uſe.

P. 72. [S] This ſtrange Stoical fancy, that the ſame Scenes of men and things ſhould revive and re-appear, can be only well accounted for by the credit they gave to the dotages of Judicial Aſtrology, to which their doctrine of Fate much diſpoſed them. This renovation was to happen in the GREAT PLATONIC YEAR, when all the heavenly Bodies were ſuppoſed to begin their courſes anew, from the ſame points from which they firſt ſet out at their Creation. So Auſonius,

——"Conſumpto *Magnus* qui dicitur anno
"Rurſus in antiquum venient vaga ſidera curſum,
"Qualia diſpoſiti ſteterant ab Origine Mundi."

P. 73. [T] Cicero makes the famous orator, M. Antonius, give this as the reaſon why he hid his knowledge of the Greek Philoſophy from the People.——Sic decrevi [inquit Antonius] philoſophari potius, ut Neoptolemus apud Ennium, *paucis: nam omnino haud placet.* Sed tamen

hæc

hæc eſt mea ſententia, quam videbar expoſuiſſe. Ego iſta ſtudia non improbo, moderata modo ſint: opinionem iſtorum ſtudiorum, & ſuſpicionem artificii apud eos, qui res judicent, oratori adverſariam eſſe arbitror. Imminuit enim & oratoris auctoritatem & orationis fidem. De Orat. l. ii. c. 17.

P. 74. [U] Orat. pro Muræna. It muſt be owned, that theſe words, at firſt ſight, ſeem to have a different meaning. And the *diſputandi cauſa* looks as if the obſervation was confined to *Stoiciſm*. For this Sect had ſo entirely engroſſed the *Dialectics*, that the followers of Zeno were more frequently called *Dialectici* than *Stoici*. Notwithſtanding this, it plainly appears, I think, from the context, that the other ſenſe is the true. Tully introduces his obſervation on Cato's ſingularity in theſe words: *et quoniam non eſt nobis hæc oratio habenda aut cum imperita multitudine, aut in aliquo conventu agreſtium, audacius paulo* de ſtudiis humanitatis, *quæ & mihi & vobis nota & jucunda ſunt, diſputabo.* Here he declares, his deſign is not to give his thoughts of the Stoics in particular, (though they furniſhed the occaſion) but of the Greek philoſophy in general, *de ſtudiis humanitatis.* He then runs through the Stoical *parodoxes*, and concludes——Hæc *homo ingenioſiſſimus M. C. arripuit, &c.* But had it been his intention to confine the obſervation to the Stoics, on account of their great name in Logic, he muſt have ſaid *hanc*, not *hæc*: it being their *logic*, not their *paradoxes*, which was of uſe in *diſputation.*

P. 77. [X] Lucullus had been declaiming very tragically againſt the Academy, when Tully entered on it's defence; in which he thought it proper to premiſe ſomething concerning himſelf. Aggrediar igitur, (ſays he) ſi pauca ante, quaſi de FAMA MEA dixero. He then declares, that, had he embraced the Academy out of vanity, or love of contradiction, it had not only reflected on his ſenſe, but on his honour: Itaque niſi ineptum putarem in tali diſputatione id facere, quod cum de republica diſceptatur fieri interdum ſolet: jurarem per Jovem, *&c.* From hence, I gather that though the queſtion here be of the Academic philoſophy, and of Cicero as an Academic; yet, as he tells us, he is now to vindicate himſelf in a poi in which his honour was concerned, the proteſtation is general, and concerns his conſtant turn of mind; which always inclined him, he ſays, to ſpeak his ſentiments.

P. 82. [Y] The learned Author of the exact and elegant *Hiſtory of Cicero*, hath ſince turned this *circumſtance* to the ſupport of the contrary opinion,

nion, with regard to his Hero's ſentiments :—" But ſome (ſays he) have " been apt to conſider them [*i. e.* the paſſages in Tully's philoſophic " writings in favour of a future ſtate] as the flouriſhes rather of his elo- " quence than the concluſions of his reaſon. Since in other parts of his " works he ſeems to intimate, not only a diffidence, but a diſbelief of the " immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, " and eſpecially in his letters, where he is ſuppoſed to declare his mind " with the greateſt frankneſs. But—in a melancholy hour, when the ſpi- " rits are depreſſed, the ſame argument would not appear to him with the " ſame force, but doubts and difficulties get the aſcendant, and what hu- " moured his preſent chagrin find the readieſt admiſſion. The paſſages " alledged [*i. e.* in this place of *The Divine Legation*] were all of this kind, " written in the ſeaſon of his dejection, when all things were going wrong " with him, and in the height of Cæſar's power," *&c.* Vol. II. p 561. ed. 4. Thus, every thing hath two Academical handles. But ſtill, my candid friend will allow me to ſay they cannot both be right. It is confeſſed, that a deſponding temper, like that of Cicero, will, in a melancholy hour, be always inclined to fear the worſt. But to what are its fears confined? Without doubt to the iſſue of that very affair, for which we are diſtreſſed. A melancholy hour would have juſt the contrary influence on our other cogitations. And this by the wiſe and gracious diſpoſition of Nature; that the mind may endeavour to make up by an abundance of hope in one quarter, what through the perſuaſion of its fears, it hath ſuffered itſelf to part from, in another. So that unleſs Cicero were made differently from all other men, one might venture to ſay, his *hopes of future good* (had Philoſophy permitted him to entertain any hopes at all) would have riſen in proportion to his *fears of the preſent*. And this is ſeen every day in fact. For it is nothing but this natural diſpoſition that makes men of the world ſo generally fly even to Superſtition for the ſolace of their misfortunes. But the excellent author of the *critical inquiry into the opinions of the ancient philoſophers* goes further. " Cicero (ſays he) very frankly " declares in his *Tuſculans* themſelves that this [the *mortality* or the *no ſepa- " rate exiſtence* of the ſoul] was the moſt real and effectual, the moſt ſolid " and ſubſtantial comfort that could be adminiſtered againſt the fear of " death. In his firſt Tuſculan, he undertakes to prove, that death was " not an evil; and this *1ſt*, Becauſe it was not attended with any actual " puniſhment, or poſitive and real miſery. *2dly*, He riſes higher, and

" labours to prove, that men ought to look upon death as a bleſſing rather " than an evil, as the ſoul, after its departure from the body, might be " happy in another life. In the firſt part he ſuppoſes the mortality and " extinction of the ſoul at death; in the ſecond he plainly ſuppoſes, that " it will ſurvive the body. Now the queſtion is, on which doctrine does " he lay moſt ſtreſs; or, which of theſe two notions, in the opinion of " Cicero, would ſerve beſt to fortify and prepare men againſt the fear of " death? And luckily Cicero himſelf has long ſince determined this point " for us; having in the firſt Tuſculan brought ſeveral reaſons to prove " the immortality of the ſoul, he after all very frankly declares, that they " had no great *validity* and *force*; that the moſt ſolid and ſubſtantial argu- " ment, which could be urged againſt the fear of death, was the very " conſideration advanced in his letters, or *the doctrine which makes it the* " *utter period of our being:* And in the remaining part of the book he " proceeds to argue chiefly on this ſuppoſition, as *being the beſt calculated* " *to ſupport men againſt the fear and terror of death.* The arguments which " he urged to prove the immortality of the ſoul, ſeem ſometimes to have " had great weight with the perſon, to whom they were immediately " addreſſed; he declares himſelf fond of the opinion, and reſolves not to " part with it. Nemo me de *immortalitate* depellet. To this Cicero re- " plies, laudo id quidem; etſi nihil nimis, oportet conſidere: movemur " enim ſæpe aliquo acute concluſo: labamus mutamuſque ſententiam cla- " rioribus etiam in rebus; in his eſt enim aliqua obſcuritas. Id igitur ſi " acciderit, ſimus armati, c. 32. He does not ſeem to lay any great ſtreſs " on the notion of a future ſtate; nihil oportet nimis conſidere. He owns " that the arguments, alledged in ſupport of it, were rather ſpecious than " ſolid: movemur enim ſæpe aliquo acutè concluſo. That they were " not plain and clear enough to make any ſtrong and laſting impreſſion: " Labamus mutamuſque ſententiam clarioribus etiam in his rebus; in his " eſt enim aliqua obſcuritas.—That therefore the beſt remedy at all events, " would be the notion that the ſoul dies with the body; id igitur ſi ac- " ciderit, ſimus *armati.* Having then explained what he had to ſay on the " immortality of the ſoul, he proceeds to ſhew, that death could not be " conſidered as an evil, on the ſuppoſition that the ſoul was to periſh with " the body.

" When therefore he would teach men to contemn the terrors of death, " he grounds his main argument on the mortality of the ſoul. As to the

" notion

" notion of a future ſtate, it was maintained by arguments too ſubtile to " work a real and laſting conviction; it was not thought clear enough to " make any deep and ſtrong impreſſion. He has therefore recourſe to " the extinction of the ſoul, as the moſt comfortable conſideration that " could be employed againſt the fear of death. This was not then a topic " that was peculiar to the ſeaſon of dejection and diſtreſs; it was not " thrown out only accidentally, when he was not conſidering the ſubject, " but was uſed in the works that were deliberately and profeſſedly written " on this very point. It could not therefore be *occaſional* only, and ſuited " to the preſent circumſtances, as Dr. Middleton in his reaſoning all along " ſuppoſes."

P. 97. [Z]. Dion Caſſius tells us, that in the year of Rome 689 the Government conſulted, what the Hiſtorian calls, the *Augury of ſafety*; a ſort of Divination to learn, if the Gods received in good part the Prayers for the Safety of the People. This ceremony was only to be performed in that year, during the courſe of which, no Allies of Rome had defected from her, no Armies had appeared in the field, and no Battle had been fought. A ceremony which plainly aroſe from the ancient notion of an *envious Demon*, then moſt to be dreaded when the felicity of States or of private men was at its height.

P. 103. [AA] Tuſc. Diſp. l. v. c. 13. The words, *ſi hoc fas eſt dictu*, had been omitted by accident, in my quotation.—But *Anſwerers* ſaw a myſtery in this omiſſion, which could be nothing but my conſciouſneſs that the omitted words made againſt me. They are now inſerted to ſhew that they make intirely for me; and that Cicero uſed the word *decerptus* in the *literal* ſenſe; for, if only in a *figurative*, he had no occaſion to ſoften it with a *ſalva reverentia*.

P. 104. [BB] It properly ſignifies *what hath neither beginning nor end*; though frequently uſed in the improper ſenſe of *having no end*. And indeed, we may obſerve in moſt of the Latin writers, an unphiloſophic licence in the uſe of *mixed modes* by ſubſtituting one for another: The providing againſt the ill effects of this abuſe, to which theſe ſort of words are chiefly liable, gave the ancient Roman lawyers great trouble; as appears from what one of them obſerves, " Juriſconſultorum ſummus circa verbo- " rum PROPRIETATEM labor eſt." Hence the Compoſers of the Juſtinian *Digeſt* found a neceſſity of having one whole book of their *Pandects* employed *de verborum ſignificatione*. The abuſe aroſe, in a good meaſure,

from their not being early broken and inured to abſtract reaſoning: It is certain at leaſt, that the Greeks, who were eminent for ſpeculation, are infinitely more exact in their uſe of *mixed modes*: not but ſomething muſt be allowed for the ſuperior abundance of the Greek language.

P. 106. [CC] It hath been objected to me, that this doctrine of the *refuſion of the ſoul* was very conſiſtent with the belief of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, in the *intermediate ſpace* between death and the reſolution of the ſoul into the τὸ ἓν. But theſe Objectors forgot that it had been ſhewn, that thoſe Philoſophers who held the refuſion not to be immediate, *believed* the ſoul to be confined to a ſucceſſive courſe of tranſmigrations entirely phyſical. So that there was no more room for a moral ſtate of reward and puniſhment hereafter, than if the reſolution had been immediate.

P. 116. [DD] Λύεσι ἑκάστη δύναμις ΑΛΟΓΟΣ εἰς τὴν ὅλην ζωὴν τῶ παντός. But the elder Platoniſts talked another language: if Virgil may be allowed to know what they ſaid:

Eſſe apibus partem divinæ mentis, & hauſtus
Ætherios dixere. Deum namque ire per omnes.

Ibid. [EE] But they were not content to ſpeak a language different from their Maſter. They would, ſometimes, make him ſpeak theirs. So Hierocles tells us, *Plato* ſaid, that "When God made the viſible world, "he had no occaſion for pre-exiſtent matter to work upon. His will was "ſufficient to bring all creatures into being." Ἀρχεῖν γὰρ αὐτῷ εἰς ὑπόςασιν τῶν ὄντων τὸ οἰκεῖον βέλημα. *De fato & prov. ap. Phot.* But *where* Plato ſaid this we are yet to learn.

Terraſque, tractuſque maris, cœlumque profundum,
Hinc pecudes, armenta, VIROS, genus omne ferarum,
Quemque ſibi tenues naſcentem arceſſere vitas.
Scilicet huc reddi deinde, ac RESOLUTA referri
Omnia. Georg. iv. 222.

But now what temptation could the *later* Platoniſts have to make this alteration in favour of Paganiſm, if their maſter and his firſt followers called the human ſoul *a part of God* only in a looſe metaphorical ſenſe? for ſuch a ſenſe could have reflected no diſgrace upon their ſyſtems.

A paſſage of Plutarch will ſhew us the whole change and alteration of this ſyſtem in one view; where ſpeaking of the *opinions of the philoſophers*, he

he ſays, " PYTHAGORAS and PLATO held the Soul to be immortal; for that " launching out into the Soul of the univerſe, it returns to its Parent and " original. The Stoics ſay, that on its leaving the body the more infirm " (that is, the Soul of the ignorant) ſuffers the lot of the body: But the " more vigorous (that is, the Soul of the wiſe) endures to the confla- " gration. Democritus and Epicurus ſay, the Soul is mortal, and periſhes " with the body: PYTHAGORAS and PLATO, that the reaſonable Soul is " immortal (for that the Soul is not God, but the workmanſhip of the " eternal God) and that the irrational is mortal." Πυθαγόρας, Πλάτων, ἄφθαρτον εἶναι τὴν ψυχήν· ἐξιοῦσαν γὰρ εἰς τὸ τοῦ παντὸς ψυχὴν ἀναχωρεῖν πρὸς τὸ ὁμογενές. Οἱ Στωϊκοὶ ἐξιοῦσαν τῶν σωμάτων ὑποφέρσεθαι τὴν μὲν ἀσθενεστέραν ἅμα τοῖς συγκρίμασι γενέσθαι (ταύτην δὲ εἶναι τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων) τὴν δὲ ἰσχυροτέραν, ὅια ἐςὶ περὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς, καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως. Δημόκριτος, Ἐπίκουρος φθαρτὴν, τῷ σώματι συνδιαφθειρομένην. Πυθαγόρας καὶ Πλάτων τὸ μὲν λογικὸν, ἄφθαρτον (καὶ γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐ θεὸν, ἀλλ' ἔργον τοῦ ἀϊδίου θεοῦ ὑπάρχειν) τὸ δὲ ἄλογον, φθαρτόν. Περὶ τῶν Αρεσ. τοις φιλ. Βιβλ. δ'. κ. ζ.

There is ſomething very obſervable in this paſſage. He gives the opinions of the ſeveral Philoſophers concerning the Soul. He begins with Pythagoras and Plato; goes on to the Stoics, Democritus and Epicurus; and then returns back to Pythagoras and Plato again. This ſeems to be irregular enough; but this is not the worſt. His account of the Pythagorean and Platonic doctrine concerning the Soul, with which he ſets out, contradicts that with which he concludes. For, *the launching out into the ſoul of the univerſe*, which is his *firſt* account, implies, and is, the language of thoſe who ſay, that the Soul was *part of the ſubſtance* of God; whereas his *ſecond* account expreſsly declares that the Soul was *not* God, that is, *part* of God, but only his *workmanſhip*. Let me obſerve too, that what he ſays further, in this *ſecond* account, of the rational Soul's being immortal, and the irrational, mortal, contradicts what he in another place of the ſame tract, quoted above, tells us, was the doctrine of Pythagoras and Plato concerning the ſoul; namely, that the human and brutal, the rational and irrational, were of the ſame nature, Πυθαγόρας, Πλάτων λογικὰς μὲν εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων καλουμένων τὰς ψυχὰς ὁ μὲν λογικῶς ἐνεργούσας παρὰ τὴν δυσκρασίαν τῶν σωμάτων. How is all this to be accounted for? Very eaſily. This tract of the *placits of the Philoſophers* was an extract from the author's common-place: in which, doubtleſs, were large collections from the Pythagoreans and Platoniſts, both *before* and *after* Chriſt. It is plain then,

that

that in the paſſage in queſtion he begins with thoſe who went *before*; and ends with thoſe who came *after*. And it was the language of thoſe *after*, to call the human ſoul, not (like their predeceſſors) a *part* of God, but his *workmanſhip*: ſo Plotinus, who came ſtill later, tells us, that *the ſoul is from God, and yet has a different exiſtence*: It was in their language, to call the *brutal ſoul mortal*: and ſo afterwards Porphyry, we find, ſays, *every irrational power is reſolved into the life of the whole*: for, this *reſolution* or λύσις was qualified with the title of ἀφθαρσία, or φθάρμα indifferently, as they were diſpoſed to *hide* or to *reveal* its real nature. While they held all ſouls ſubject to this reſolution, they would, of courſe, keep it amongſt their SECRETS, and call it *immortality*. When they began to make a diſtinction, and only ſubjected the *irrational* ſoul to this *reſolution*, as in the paſſage of Porphyry, then they would call it *mortality*, as in the paſſage of Plutarch: a paſſage though hitherto eſteemed an indigeſted heap of abſurdity and contradiction, is now, we preſume, reaſonably well explained and reconciled to itſelf.

P. 121. [FF] It is remarkable that Democritus the Maſter of Epicurus gave but two qualities to MATTER, *figure* and *bulk*, i. e. *extenſion*. His diſciple gave three, by adding GRAVITY. This quality was as ſenſible as the other two. What ſhall we ſay? That Democritus penetrated ſo far into MATTER, as to ſee that GRAVITY did not eſſentially belong unto it, but was a quality ſuperinduced upon it. Certain it is, what Dr. Clarke conjectures, in his diſpute with Leibnitz, that *Epicurus's Philoſophy was a corrupt and atheiſtical perverſion of ſome more ancient, and perhaps better Philoſophy*.

P. 130. [GG] But this has been the humour of the zealous Partizans of a favourite Cauſe, in all Ages. Honeſt ANTHONY WOOD, recommending a MS. of a brother Antiquary, one *Henry Lyte*, intitled, *Conjectural notes touching the original of the Univerſity of Oxon and alſo of Britain*, obſerves with great complaiſancy ——" In this are many *pretty fancies*, which " may be of SOME USE, *as occaſion ſhall ſerve, by way of reply for Oxon*, " againſt the *far-fetched antiquities* of Cambridge."——A diſpute had ariſen between theſe two famous Univerſities, not concerning the ſuperior Excellence of the one or other Inſtitution; but of the ſuperior Antiquity only. In a contention of the firſt kind, the Diſputants would have had ſome need of Truth; all that was wanted in the latter, was well-invented Fable.

Fable. Wiſely therefore did our reverend Antiquary recommend to the Managers of this important queſtion, the PRETTY FANCIES of this Oxford Champion; to oppoſe to the *pretty fancies* of the *far-fetched Antiquities* of the Cambridge Athlet.

P. 144. [HH] As what is here ſaid relates entirely to the revolutions in the ſtate of Religion here at home, ſtrangers will not be able to ſee the force of it, without ſome further account of this matter.—JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH ALONE, built upon the doctrine of *the Redemption of Mankind by the death and ſacrifice of Chriſt*, was the great Goſpel-Principle on which PROTESTANTISM was founded, when the Churches of the North-Weſt of Europe firſt ſhook off the Yoke of ROME: By ſome perhaps puſhed too far, in their abhorrence of the Popiſh doctrine of MERIT; the *Puritan* ſchiſm amongſt us being made on the panic fancy that the Church of England had not receded far enough from *Rome*. However, *Juſtification by Faith alone* being a Goſpel-Doctrine, it was received as the badge of true *Proteſtantiſm*, by all; when the PURITANS (firſt driven by perſecution from religious into civil Faction, and thoroughly heated into Enthuſiaſm by each Faction, in its turn) carried the Doctrine to a dangerous and impure *Antinomianiſm*. This fanatic notion ſoon after produced the practical virtues of theſe modern Saints. The miſchiefs which enſued are well known. And no ſmall ſhare of them has been aſcribed, to this impious abuſe of the doctrine of *Juſtification by faith alone*; firſt by *depreciating* MORALITY, and then by *diſpenſing* with it.

When the Conſtitution was reſtored, and had brought into credit thoſe few learned Divines whom the madneſs of the preceding times had driven into obſcurity, the Church of England, ſtill ſmarting with the wounds it had received from the *abuſe* of the great Goſpel-principle of FAITH, very wiſely laboured to reſtore MORALITY, the other eſſential part of the Chriſtian Syſtem, to it's Rights, in the joint direction of the Faithful. Hence, the encouragement, the Church gave to thoſe noble diſcourſes which did ſuch credit to Religion, in the licentious times of Charles the Second, compoſed by theſe learned and pious men, abuſed by the Zealots with the nick-name LATITUDINARIAN Divines. The reputation they acquired by ſo thoroughly weeding out theſe rank remains of Fanaticiſm, made their Succeſſors fond of ſharing with them in the ſame labours. A laudable ambition! but, too often mixed with a vain paſſion for *improving* upon

upon thoſe who have gone, ſucceſsfully, before. The Church was now triumphant. The Sectaries were humbled; ſometimes oppreſſed; always regarded with an eye of jealouſy and averſion; till at length this Goſpel-principle of Faith came to be eſteemed by thoſe who ſhould have known better, as wild and fanatical. While they who owned it's divine Original found ſo much difficulty in adjuſting the diſtinct Rights and Prerogatives of Faith and Morality, that by the time this Century was ready to commence, things were come to ſuch a paſs (*Morality* was advanced ſo high, and *Faith* ſo depreſſed and incumbered with trifling or unintelligible explanations) that a *new definition* of our holy Religion, in oppoſition to what it's Founder taught, and unknown to its early Followers, was all in faſhion; under the title of a *Republication of the Religion of Nature:* natural Religion, it ſeems, (as well as Chriſtianity) *teaching the doctrine of life and immortality.* So ſays a very eminent Prelate *. And the Gospel, which till now had been underſtood as but coeval with Redemption, was henceforth to be acknowledged, *as old as the Creation.*

P. 148. [II] How expedient it was to give this detailed proof of the *coincidence of truth and general utility*, may be ſeen by the ſtrange embarras which perplexes that ingenious Sceptic, Rouſſeau of Geneva, when he treats of this ſubject. " Je vois, (ſays he, in his letter to the Archbiſhop of Paris) deux manieres d'examiner & comparer les Religions diverſes, l'une ſelon *le vrai & le faux*, qui s'y trouvent——l'autre ſelon leurs *effets temporels & moraux ſur la terre*, ſelon le bien ou le mal qu'elles peuvent faire à la Societé et au gendre humain. Il ne faut pas, pour empêcher ce double examen, commencer *par decider que ces deux choſes vont toujours enſemble*, et que la Religion la plus vraye eſt auſi la plus ſociable——But then again he ſays,—Il paroit pourtant certain, je l'avoue, que ſi l'homme eſt fait pour la Societé, la Religion la plus vraye eſt auſi la plus ſociale & la plus humaine—Yet for all this he concludes——Mais ce ſentiment, tout probable qu'il eſt, eſt ſujet à de grandes difficultées par l'hiſtorique et les faits qui le contrarient.——p. 71, 2. But Antiquity, which had intangled itſelf in this queſtion, apparently drew *him*, in. The Sages of old ſaw clearly that *Utility* and *Virtue* perfectly coincided. They thought *Utility* and *Truth* did not: as conceiving the conſtitution of things to be ſo framed, that falſehood (as it was circumſtanced) might at one time be of general benefit, juſt as Truth is at another.

* Sherlock's Sermons, vol. I. Serm. 6.

P. 149.

P. 149. [KK]

Ἦν χρόνος ὅτ' ἦν ἄτακτος ἀνθρώπων βίος,
Καὶ θηριώδης, ἰσχύος θ' ὑπηρέτης·
Ὅτ' ἆθλον ἔτε τοῖς ἐσθλοῖσιν ἦν,
Οὔτ' αὖ κόλαστα τοῖς κακοῖς ἐγίνετο.
Κἄπειτά μοι δοκοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι νόμους
Θέσθαι κολαστάς, ἵνα Δίκη τύραννος ᾖ
Γένους βροτείου, τὴν δ' Ὕβριν δούλην ἔχῃ·
Ἐζημιοῦτο, δ' εἴ τις ἐξαμαρτάνοι.
Ἔπειτ', ἐπειδὴ τἀμφανῆ μὲν οἱ νόμοι
Ἀπῆγον αὐτοῖς ἔρξα μὴ πράσσειν βίᾳ,
Λάθρα δ' ἔπρασσον, τηνικαῦτά μοι δοκεῖ
Πυκνός τις ἄλλος καὶ σοφὸς γνώμην ἀνὴρ
Γεγωνέναι, θνητοῖσιν ἐξευρὼν, ὅπως
Εἴη τι δεῖμα τοῖς κακοῖσι, κἂν λάθρα
Πράσσωσιν, ἢ λέγωσιν, ἢ φρονῶσί τι.
Ἐνταῦθεν ἔν τὸ θεῖον εἰσηγήσατο·
Ὡς ἐν δαίμων ἀφθίτῳ θάλλων βίῳ,
Νόῳ τ' ἀκούων, καὶ βλέπων φρονῶν τε, καὶ
Προσέχων τε ταῦτα, καὶ φύσιν θείαν φορῶν.
(Ἀφ' ᾧ) πᾶν μὲν τὸ λεχθὲν ἐν βροτοῖς ἀκούσεται.
Ὃς δρώμενον δὲ πᾶν ἰδεῖν δυνήσεται.
Ἐάν τε σὺν σιγῇ τι βουλεύῃ κακὸν,
Τοῦτ' οὐχὶ λήσει τοὺς θεούς· τὸ γὰρ φρονεῖν
Ἔνεστι. Τόνδε τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῖς λέγων
Διδασκάλων ἥδιστον εἰσηγήσατο
Ψευδεῖ καλύψας τὴν ἀλήθειαν λόγῳ·
Εἶναι δ' ἔφασκε τοὺς θεοὺς ἐνταῦθ', ἵνα
Μάλιστά γ' ἐκπλήξειεν ἀνθρώπους ἄγαν,
Ὅθεν περ ἔγνω τοὺς φόβους εἶναι βροτοῖς,
Καὶ τὰς πονήσεις τῷ ταλαιπώρῳ βίῳ,
Ἐκ τῆς ὑπερθε περιφορᾶς, ἵν' ἀστραπὰς
Καθεῖδεν ἧκας, δεινά κε κλυπήματα
Βρονταῖς, τό, τ' ἀστερωπὸν ἑρανοῦ δέμας,
Κρόνου καλὸν ποίκιλμα, τέκτονος σαφοῦς·
Ὅθεν τε λαμπρὸς ἀστέρων στείχει χορὸς,
Ὁ, δ' ὑγρὸς εἰς γῆν ὄμβρος εἰσπορεύεται.
Τοιόσδε περιέσχεν ἀνθρώπους φόβος,
Δι' οὗ καλῶς τε τῷ λόγῳ κατῴκισε
Τοὺς δαίμονας καὶ ἐν πρέποντι χωρίῳ
Τὴν ἀνομίαν τε τοῖς νόμοις καθέσβεσεν.
Οὕτω δὲ πρῶτον οἶμαι πεῖσαί τινα
Θνητοὺς νομίζειν δαίμονάν εἶναι γένος.

There are many variations in the reading of this fragment; and I have every where chosen that which appeared to me the right. That Critias was the author, how much soever the critics seem inclined to favour the claim of Euripides, I make no scruple to assert. The difficulty lies here: Sextus Empiricus expressly gives it to Critias; and yet Plutarch is still more express for Euripides; names the *Play* it belonged to; and adds this farther circumstance, that the poet chose to broach his impiety under the character of Sisyphus, in order to keep clear of the Laws. Thus two of the most knowing writers of Antiquity are supposed irreconcileable in a plain matter of fact. Mr. Petit, who has examined the matter at large [Observ. Miscell. l. i. c. 1.], declares for the authority of Plutarch. And Mr. Bayle has fully shewn the weakness of his reasoning in support of Plutarch's claim. [Crit. Dict. Art. CRITIAS, Rem. H.]. Petit's System is to this effect, that there is an *hiatus* in the text of Sextus: That a Copyist,

from whom all the exiſtent MSS. are derived, when he came to Critias, unwarily jumped over the paſſage quoted from him, together with Sextus's obſervation of Euripides's being in the ſame ſentiments, and ſo joined the *name* of Critias and the *Iambics* of Euripides together. But this is ſuch a liberty of conjecturing, as would unſettle all the monuments of Antiquity. I take the true ſolution of the difficulty to be this: Critias, a man, as the Ancients deliver him to us, of atheiſtic principles, and a fine poetic genius, compoſed theſe *Iambics* for the private ſolace of his Fraternity; which were not kept ſo cloſe but that they got air, and came to the knowledge of Euripides; to whom the general ſtream of antiquity concurs in giving a very virtuous and religious character, notwithſtanding the iniquitous inſinuations of Plutarch to the contrary. And the Tragic Poet, being to draw the Atheiſt, Siſyphus, artfully projected to put theſe *Iambics* into his mouth: for by this means the ſentiments would be ſure to be natural, as taken from real life; and the poet ſafe from the danger of being called to account for them. And ſuppoſing this to be the caſe, Plutarch's account becomes very reaſonable; who tells us, the Poet delivered this atheiſtic doctrine by a dramatic character, to evade the juſtice of the Areopagus; but, without this, it can by no means be admitted: For, thinly to ſkreen impiety by the mere interpoſition of the Drama, which was an important part in their feſtivals, and under the conſtant eye of the Magiſtrate, was a poor way of evading the penetration and ſeverity of that formidable judicature, how good a ſhift ſoever it might prove againſt modern penal Laws. But the giving the known verſes of Critias to his Atheiſt, was a ſafe way of keeping under cover. For all reſentment muſt needs fall on the real author; eſpecially when, it was ſeen, they were only produced for condemnation, as will now be ſhewn. Without doubt, the chief motive Euripides had in this contrivance, was the ſatisfaction of expoſing a very wicked man; in which he had nothing from his adverſary's power to deter him, for Critias was then a private man; the *Siſyphus* being *acted* in the 91ſt Olymp. and the tyranny of the Thirty not beginning till the latter end of the 93d. But what is above all, the genius and caſt of that particular Drama wonderfully favoured his deſign: for the *Siſyphus* was the laſt of a *tetralogy* (τετραλογία τραγικῶν δραμάτων) or a *ſatiric tragedy*, in which ſpecies of poetry, a licence ſomething reſembling that of the *old comedy*, of branding evil citizens, was indulged; and where the ſame cuſtom of parodying the verſes of rival poets was in uſe. And

we

we may be ſure that Euripides, who was wont to ſatirize his fellow-writers in his ſerious tragedies (as where in his *Electra* he ridicules the *diſcovery* in the *Choëphoroi* of *Æſchylus*) would be little diſpoſed to ſpare them in this ludicrous kind of compoſition. Admitting this to be caſe; it could not but be, that, for a good while after, theſe *Iambics* would be quoted by ſome as Critias's, whoſe *property* they were; and by others, as Euripides's, who had got the *uſe*, and in whoſe Tragedy they were found; and by both with reaſon. But in after-times, this matter was forgotten or not attended to; and then ſome took them for Euripides's, excluſive of the right of Critias; and others, on the contrary: And as a Copyiſt fancied this or that man the author, ſo they read the text. Of this, we have a remarkable inſtance in the 35th verſe, where a tranſcriber, imagining the fragment to be the Tragic Poet's, choſe to read,

Ὅθεν τε λαμπρὸς ἀϛὴρ σείχει μύδρος.

Becauſe this expreſſes the peculiar Phyſiology of Anaxagoras, the preceptor of Euripides; which Mr. Barnes thought a convincing proof of the fragment's being really his: whereas that reading makes a ſenſe defective and impertinent; the *true* being evidently this of Grotius:

Λαμπρὸς ἀϛέρων σείχει χορός.

And thus, I ſuppoſe, Plutarch and Sextus may be well reconciled.

P. 170. [LL] The exquiſitely learned Author of the *Engliſh commentary and notes on Horace's Art of poetry*, has, with admirable acumen, detected and expoſed the ſame kind of miſtake in the dramatic Poets. Who when, as he obſerves, they were become ſenſible of the preference of *Plays of character* to *Plays of intrigue*, never reſted till they ran into this other extreme. But hear this fine writer in his own words:—"The view "of the comic ſcene being to delineate characters, this end, I ſuppoſe, "will be attained moſt perfectly by making thoſe characters as *univerſal* "as poſſible. For thus the perſon ſhewn in the drama being the repre-"ſentative of all characters of the ſame kind, furniſhes, in the higheſt "degree, the entertainment of *humour*. But then this univerſality muſt "be ſuch as agrees not to *our idea of the poſſible* effects of the character, "as conceived in the *abſtract*; but to the *actual* exertion of its powers "which experience juſtifies, and common life allows. MOLIERE, and "before him, PLAUTUS, had offended in this; that, for a picture of the "*avaritious man*, they preſented us with the phantaſtic unpleaſing draught

" of the *paſſion of avarice*.——This is not to copy Nature, which affords " no ſpecimen of a man turned all into a ſingle paſſion. No metamor- " phoſis could be more ſtrange or incredible. Yet portraits of this " vicious taſte are the admiration of common ſtarers.——But if the reader " would ſee the extravagance of building dramatic manners on *abſtract* " *ideas* in its full light, he need only turn to Ben Jonſon's *Every man out* " *of his humour*; which, under the name of a play of character, is, in fact, " unnatural, wholly chimerical, and unlike any thing we obſerve in real " life. Yet this comedy has always had its admirers. And *Randolph*, in " particular, was ſo taken with the deſign, that he ſeems to have formed " his *Muſe's looking-glaſs* in expreſs imitation of it." *Diſſertation on the ſeveral provinces of the Drama*, p. 239. When Pliny therefore compliments Silarion for giving one of his ſtatues the expreſſion not of an *angry man*, but of *anger itſelf*, either it is a mere flight of rhetoric, to ſhew the juſt force of the artiſt's expreſſion: or, if, indeed, the ferocious air did exceed the traces of humanity, the Philoſopher's praiſe was miſapplied, and the Statuary's figure was a *Caricature*.

P. 175. [MM] His picture of Scipio Africanus is, however, ſo very curious, that the learned reader will not be diſpleaſed to find it in this place:—— Quam ubi ab re tanto impetu acta ſolicitudinem curamque hominum animadvertit, advocata concione, ita de ætate ſua imperioque mandato, et bello quod gerendum eſſet, magno elatoque animo diſſeruit, ut impleret homines certioris ſpei, quam quantam fides promiſſi humani, aut ratio ex fiducia rerum ſubjicere ſolet. Fuit enim Scipio, non veris tantum virtutibus mirabilis, ſed arte quoque quadam ab juventa in oſtentationem earum compoſitus: pleraque apud multitudinem, aut per nocturnas viſa ſpecies, aut velut divinitus, mente monita, agens: *ſive ut ipſe capti quadam ſuperſtitione animi, ſive ut imperia conſiliaque, velut ſorte oraculi miſſa, ſine cunctatione aſſequeretur.* Ad hæc jam inde ab initio præparans animos, ex quo togam virilem ſumpſit, nullo die prius ullam publicam privatamque rem egit, quam in Capitolium iret, ingreſſuſque ædem conſideret, & plerumque tempus ſolus in ſecreto ibi tereret. Hic mos, qui per omnem vitam ſervabatur, *ſeu conſulto, ſeu temere*, vulgatæ opinioni fidem apud quoſdam fecit, ſtirpis eum divinæ virum eſſe, retulitque famam, in Alexandro Magno prius vulgatam, & vanitate & fabula parem, anguis immanis concubitu conceptum, & in cubiculo matris ejus perſæpe viſam prodigii ejus ſpeciem, interventuque hominum evolutam repente, atque ex oculis

oculis elapſam. His miraculis numquam ab ipſo eluſa fides eſt; quin potius aucta arte quadam, nec abnuendi tale quicquam, nec palam affirmandi. Hiſt. lib. xxvi.—Hence we ſee with what judgement Cicero in his *Republics* makes the *dream ſent from Jove*, concerning a future ſtate to be communicated to his SCIPIO.

P. 178. [NN] That great obſerver of Nature, CERVANTES, having made Sancho (to ſave himſelf from the vexation of a ſleeveleſs errand) palm upon his Maſter a ſuppoſititious Dulcinea, when the Squire comes to relate this adventure to the Dutcheſs, ſhe extols his ingenuity ſo highly, that he begins to ſuſpect himſelf tricked by the Inchanter into his own contrivance; who had preſented him with a *true* Dulcinea in Maſquerade, while he thought he was barefacedly impoſing on his Maſter a falſe one.

P. 200. [OO] This ingenious conceit of SEED-CORN did not eſcape the Abbé Pluche, who in his *Hiſtoire du Ciel*, hath *judiciouſly* employed it for the foundation of a reformed ſyſtem on this matter; which, however, brings us to the ſame place, by a back way; and ends in this, *that the Gods were not dead men deified.*

DEDICATION

DEDICATION

TO THE EDITION OF

BOOKS IV. V. VI. in 1765.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM LORD MANSFIELD,

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND.

MY LORD,

THE purpoſe of this Addreſs is not to make a return for the favours I have received from you, for they are many and great; but to add one more ſecurity to myſelf, from the malice of the preſent and the forgetfulneſs of future times. A purpoſe, which though it may be thought leſs ſober than the other, is certainly not more ſelfiſh. In plain terms, I would willingly contrive to live, and go down to poſterity under the protection of your Name and Character; from which, that Poſterity, in the adminiſtration of public juſtice, muſt receive their inſtruction; and in the duties of private life, if they have any virtuous ambition, will take their example.—But let not this alarm you. I intend not to be your Panegyriſt. To praiſe you for Eloquence, would be to praiſe you for a thing below your Character, unleſs it were for that ſpecies of Eloquence which MILTON deſcribes, and You have long practiſed.

practiſed. "TRUE ELOQUENCE, ſays he, I find to be none, "but the ſerious and hearty love of Truth: And that, whoſe "mind ſoever is fully poſſeſſed with a fervent deſire to know good "things, and with the deareſt Charity to infuſe the knowledge of "them into Others, WHEN SUCH A MAN WOULD SPEAK, his "words, like ſo many nimble and airy Servitors, trip about him "at command, and in well-ordered Files, as he would wiſh, fall "aptly into their own places."

To live in the voice and memory of Men is the flattering dream of every adventurer in Letters: and for me who boaſt the rare felicity of being honoured with the friendſhip of two or three ſuperior Characters, Men endowed with virtue to atone for a bad age, and of abilities to make a bad age a good one, for me not to aſpire to the beſt mode of this ideal exiſtence, the being carried down to remote ages along with thoſe who will never die, would be a ſtrange inſenſibility to human glory.

But as the protection I ſeek from your Lordſhip is not like thoſe blind Aſylums founded by Superſtition to ſkreen iniquity from civil vengeance, but of the nature of a TEMPLE OF JUSTICE, to vindicate and ſupport the Innocent, You will expect to know the claim I have to it; and how, on being ſeized with that epidemic malady of idle, viſionary men, the *projecting to inſtruct and reform the Public*, I came to ſtand in need of it.

I had lived to ſee—it is a plain and artleſs tale I have to tell—I had lived to ſee what Law-givers have always ſeemed to dread, as the certain prognoſtic of public ruin, that fatal Criſis when RELIGION HATH LOST ITS HOLD ON THE MINDS OF A PEOPLE.

I had obſerved, almoſt the riſe and origin, but ſurely very much of the progreſs of this evil: for it was neither ſo rapid to elude a diſtinct view, nor yet ſo ſlow as to endanger one's forgetting or not obſerving the relation which its ſeveral parts bore to one another: And to trace the ſteps of this evil may not be altogether uſeleſs to thoſe, whoever they may be, who, as the Inſtruments of Providence, are deſtined to counter-work its bad effects.

The

The moſt painful circumſtance in this relation is (as your Lordſhip will feel), that the miſchief began amongſt our friends; by men who loved their Country; but were too eagerly intent on one part only of their Object, the ſecurity of its CIVIL LIBERTY.

To trace up this matter to its ſource, we need go no further back than to the happy Acceſſion of that illuſtrious Houſe to whom we owe all which is in the power of grateful Monarchs, at the head of a free People, to beſtow; I mean, the full enjoyment of the common rights of Subjects.

It fortuned that at this time, ſome warm friends of the Acceſſion, newly gotten into power, had too haſtily perhaps ſuſpected that the CHURCH (or at leaſt that party of CHURCH-MEN which had uſurped the name) was become inauſpicious to the ſacred Æra from whence we were to date the eſtabliſhment of our civil happineſs; and therefore deemed it good policy to leſſen the credit of a body of men, who had been long in high reverence with the People, and who had ſo lately and ſo ſcandalouſly abuſed their influence in the opprobrious affair of Sacheverell. To this end they invited ſome learned men, who in the preceding reign had ſerved the common cauſe, to take up the pen once more againſt theſe its moſt peſtilent enemies, the JACOBITE CLERGY. They readily aſſumed the taſk, and did it ſo effectually, that under the profeſſed deſign of confuting and decrying the uſurpations of a Popiſh Hierarchy, they virtually deprived the CHURCH of every power and privilege, which, as a ſimple Society, ſhe had a claim to; and, on the matter, delivered her up gagged and bound, as the rebel-Creature of the State. Their ſucceſs (with the prejudice of Power, and what is ſtill ſtronger, the power of Prejudice, on their ſide) became yet the eaſier, as the Tory Clergy, who oppoſed theſe Eraſtian notions, ſo deſtructive to the very being of a Church, reaſoned and diſputed againſt the Innovators on the principles commonly received, but indeed ſupported on no ſounder a bottom than the authority of Papal or (if they like it better) of Puritanical

uſurpations: principles, to ſpeak without reſerve, ill founded in themſelves, and totally inconſiſtent with the free adminiſtration of Civil-government.

In this then, that is, in humbling diſaffected Churchmen, the friends of Liberty and the Acceſſion carried their point. But in conducting a purpoſe ſo laudable at any time, and ſo neceſſary at that time, They had, as we obſerve, gone much too far; for inſtead of reducing the Church within its native bounds, and thereby preſerving it from its two greateſt diſhonours, the becoming factious, or the being made the tool of Faction, which was all that true Politics required, and all perhaps that theſe Politicians then thought of; their Inſtruments, by diſcrediting every right it had, and even ſtripping it of ſome of them, in a little time brought it into general contempt.

But this was not the worſt. Theſe Enemies of obnoxious Churchmen found much aſſiſtance in the forward carriage of the Enemies of Religion itſelf; who, at this time, under pretence of ſeconding the views of good Patriots, and ſerving the State againſt the encroachments of Church-power, took all occaſions to vent their malice againſt Revelation itſelf: And Paſſion, inflamed by oppoſition, mixing with Politics throughout the courſe of this affair, theſe Lay-writers were connived at; and, to mortify rebellious Church-men ſtill more, even cried up for their free reaſonings againſt Religion, juſt as the Clergy-writers had been, for their exploits againſt Church-government. And one man in particular, the Author of a well-known book called *The Independent Whig*, early a favourite, and to the laſt a Penſioner, carried on, in the moſt audacious and inſulting manner, theſe two ſeveral attacks, together: A meaſure ſupported perhaps in the execution, by its coinciding with ſome Stateſmens *private opinions*: though the moſt trite maxims of Government might have taught ſuch to ſeparate their private from their *public* Character. However, certain it is, that the attack never ceaſed operating till all theſe various kinds of Free-writing were gotten into the hands of the PEOPLE.

And

And now the buſineſs was done: and the ſober Friends of the Government were become, before they were aware, the Dupes of their own policy. In their endeavours to take off the influence of a Church, or rather of a party of Church-men inauſpicious to a free State, they had occaſioned at leaſt, the looſning all the ties which till then Religion had on the minds of the Populace: and which till then, Stateſmen had ever thought were the beſt ſecurity the Magiſtrate had for their obedience. For though a *rule of right* may direct the Philoſopher to a principle of action; and the *point of honour* may keep up the thing called Manners amongſt Gentlemen; yet nothing but *Religion* can ever fix a ſober ſtandard of behaviour amongſt the common People.

But thoſe bad effects not immediately appearing, our Politicians were ſo little apprehenſive that the matter had already gone too far, that they thought of nothing but how to improve ſome COLLATERAL advantages they had procured by the bargain; which, amongſt other uſes, they ſaw likewiſe, would be ſure to keep things in the condition to which they were reduced. For now Religion having loſt its hold on the People; the Miniſters of Religion were of no further conſequence to the State; nor were Stateſmen any longer under the hard neceſſity of ſeeking out the moſt eminent, for the honours of their Profeſſion: And without neceſſity, how few would ſubmit to ſuch a drudgery! For Stateſmen of a certain pitch are naturally apprehenſive of a little ſenſe, and not eaſily brought, whether from experience or conviction, to form ideas of a great deal of gratitude, in thoſe they have to deal with. All went now according to their wiſhes. They could now employ Church-honours more directly to the uſe of Government, that is, of their own, by conferring them on ſuch ſubjects as moſt gratified their taſte or humour, or ſerved beſt to ſtrengthen their connexions with the Great. This would of courſe give the finiſhing ſtroke to their Syſtem. For though ſtripping the Church of all power and authority, and expoſing it naked and defenceleſs to its enemies, had

abated men's reverence for it; and the detecting Revelation of impoſture, ſerving only for a State-engine, had deſtroyed all love for Religion; yet they were the INTRIGUES OF CHURCH-PROMOTION which would make the People deſpiſe the whole Ordinance.

Nor did the hopes of a better generation give much relief to good men's preſent fears or feelings. The People had been reaſoned out of their Religion, by ſuch Logic as it was: and if ever they were to be brought back to a ſober ſenſe of their condition, it was evident they muſt be reaſoned into it again. Little thought and leſs learning were ſufficient to perſuade men of what their vices inclined them to believe; but it muſt be no common ſhare of both, which, in oppoſition to thoſe vices, ſhall be able to bring them to themſelves. And where is that to be expected, or likely to be found? In the courſe of forty or fifty years (for I am not ſpeaking of preſent tranſactions) a new Generation or two are ſprung up: And thoſe, whom their Profeſſion has dedicated to this ſervice, Experience has taught, that the talents requiſite for puſhing their fortune lie very remote from ſuch as enable men to figure in a rational defence of Religion. And it is very natural to think that, in general, they will be chiefly diſpoſed to cultivate thoſe qualities on which they ſee their Patrons lay the greateſt weight.

I have, my Lord, been the longer and the plainer in deducing the cauſes of a recent evil, for the ſake of doing juſtice to the ENGLISH CLERGY; who in this inſtance, as in many others, have been forced to bear the blame of their Betters. How common is it to hear the irreligion of the times aſcribed to the vices or the indiſcretions of Church-men! Yet how provoking is ſuch an inſult! when every child knows that this accuſation is only an Echo from the lewd clamours of thoſe very Scribblers whoſe flagicious writings have been the principal cauſe of theſe diſorders.

In this diſaſtrous ſtate of things, it was my evil ſtars which inclined me to write. I began, as theſe Politicians had done, with the

the CHURCH. My purpoſe, I am not aſhamed to own, was to repel the cruel inroads made upon its Rights and Privileges; but, I thank God, on honeſter principles than thoſe which have been employed to prop up, with Gothic buttreſſes, a Jacobite or High-Church Hierarchy. The ſucceſs was what I might expect. I was read; and by a few indifferent and intelligent Judges, perhaps, approved. But as I made the CHURCH neither a Slave nor a Tyrant (and under one or other of theſe ideas of it, almoſt all men had now taken party) *The Alliance between Church and State*, though formed upon a Model actually exiſting before our eyes, was conſidered as an Utopian refinement. It is true, that ſo far as my own private ſatisfaction went, I had no great reaſon to complain. I had the honour to be told by the heads of one Party, that they allowed my *principles* *; and by the heads of the other, that they eſpouſed my *concluſion* †; which however amounted only to this, that the One was for LIBERTY however they would chuſe to employ it; and the Other for POWER, however they could come at it.

I had another important view in writing this book.—Though nobody had been ſo ſhameleſs to deny *the uſe of Religion to civil Government*, yet certain friends of Liberty, under the terror of the miſchiefs done to Society by Fanaticiſm, or Religion run mad, had, by a ſtrange prepoſterous policy, encouraged a clamour againſt ESTABLISHMENTS: the only *mode* of Religion which can prevent what they pretended to fear; that is, its degenerating into Fanaticiſm. It is true, had theſe Clamourers not found more enemies to the *Eſtabliſhment* than they had made, (enemies on ſolider grounds, to wit, the ſenſe of their excluſion from the emoluments of a national Church) an *Eſtabliſhment* had hardly given umbrage to the appointed Protectors of it. But theſe had the Sectaries to careſs: and a private and preſſing intereſt will often get the better of the moſt indiſpenſible maxims of good policy.

* Biſhop Ho. † Biſhop Sh.

It

It was for this reaſon, my Lord, that ſo much of the book is employed in the defence of a *national* or an *eſtabliſhed* Religion; ſince, under ſuch a Form, FANATICISM can never greatly ſpread: and that little there will always be of this critical eruption of our diſeaſed Nature, may have the ſame good effect on the *Eſtabliſhed Religion* which weak Factions are obſerved to have on the adminiſtration of Government; it may keep men more decent, alert, and attentive to the duties of their Charge.

Where then was the wonder, that a ſubject ſo managed, and at ſuch a juncture, ſhould be violently oppoſed, or, to ſpeak more truely, be groſly miſrepreſented? Thoſe in the new ſyſtem accuſed me of making the State a ſlave to the Church; thoſe in the old, of making the Church a ſlave to the State: and one paſſionate Declaimer, as I remember, who cared equally for Church and State, was pleaſed to ſay, that, the better to *banter* mankind, I had done both *.

Having thus, in the fooliſh confidence of Youth, caſt in my Gooſequill, to ſtem a torrent that in a little time was to bear down all before it; I proceeded, with the ſame good faith, in another romantic effort, The ſupport of RELIGION itſelf.

You, my Lord, who feel ſo humanely for the Injured, on whomſoever POPULAR INJUSTICE may chance to fall, have hardly forgotten the ſtrange reception with which this my fair endeavour was entertained; and principally by Thoſe whoſe intereſts I was defending. It awaked a thouſand black paſſions and idiot prejudices. The Zealots inflamed the Bigots.

—'Twas the Time's plague,
When madmen led the blind.

For, the noble proſecution of real Impiety was now over; or, at leaſt, no longer ſerious. What remained, to belye a zeal for Religion, was a ridiculous Tartuffiſm; ridiculous becauſe without the

* Lord B.

power

power to perſecute: otherwiſe, ſufficiently ſerious, as it was encouraged by men, at that time, in eminence of place *. For falſe Zeal and unbelieving Politics always concur, and often find their account in ſuppreſſing NOVELTIES.

But things, unnaturally kept up in a ſtate of violence, in a little time ſubſide: And though the firſt Writers, let looſe againſt me, came on as if they would devour; yet the deſign of thoſe who, at ſpring and fall, have ever ſince annually ſucceeded them, has been, I think, only to eat. The imputation that yet ſticks to my notions, amongſt many well-meaning men, is, that they are PARADOXICAL. And though this be now made the characteriſtic of my Writings, yet, whether from the amuſement which *Paradoxes* afford, or from whatever other cauſe of malice or curioſity, the Public ſeem ſtill ſufficiently eager to ſee what, in ſpite of the Argument, and perhaps in ſpite to it, they are pleaſed to call my CONCLUSION. And as in your Lordſhip's progreſs through your high Stations (for I will not take my compariſon lower while my ſubject is public favour) men no ſooner found you in one than they ſaw you neceſſary for a higher; ſo every preceding Volume ſeemed to excite a ſtronger appetite for the following; till, as I am told, it came to a kind of impatience for the *laſt:* which muſt have been ſtrangely obſtinate if in all this time it has not ſubſided. And yet it is very poſſible it may not: For the good-natured pleaſure of ſeeing an Author fill up the meaſure of his Paradoxes is worth waiting for. Of all men, I would not appear *vain* before your Lordſhip; ſince, of all men, You beſt know how ill it would become my *pride*. Nor am I indeed in much danger to have my head turned by this flattering circumſtance, while I remember that RABELAIS tells us, and I dare ſay he tells us truth, that the Public of his times were full as impatient for the *concluſion* of the unfiniſhed ſtory of the giant Gargantua and his ſon Pantagruel.

* Archbiſhop P.

I have

I have now, both leiſure and inclination to gratify this Public fancy, after having put my laſt hand to theſe two Volumes: A work of reaſoning; and though fairly purſued, and, as I thought, brought home to its CONCLUSION, yet interſperſed with variety of Philologic diſſertations: For I had to do with a ſort of Readers not leſs delicate than the faſtidious Frenchman, who tells us in ſo many words, that—*La* RAISON *a tort des qu' elle* ENNUYE. As my purpoſe therefore was to bring *Reaſon* into good Company, I ſaw it proper now and then, to make her wait without, leſt by her conſtant preſence ſhe ſhould happen to be thought tireſome. Yet ſtill I was careful not to betray her rights: and the Diſſertations brought in to relieve the oppreſſed attention of the Reader, was not more for his ſake than for hers. If I was large in my diſcourſe concerning the nature and end of the Grecian MYSTERIES, it was to ſhew the ſenſe the antient Lawgivers had of the *uſe of Religion to Society*: and if I expatiated on the origin and uſe of the Egyptian HIEROGLYPHICS, it was to vindicate *the logical propriety of the Prophetic language and ſentiment*. For I ſhould have been aſhamed to waſte ſo much time in claſſical amuſements, and at laſt to join them to your Lordſhip's Name, had they not had an intimate relation to the things moſt connected with Man and his intereſts.

I have detained your Lordſhip with a tedious Story; and ſtill I muſt beg your patience a little longer. We are not yet got to the end of a bad proſpect——While I, and others of my Order, have been thus vainly contending *pro Aris* with the unequal arms of Reaſon; we had the further diſpleaſure to find, that our Rulers (who, as I obſerved above, had needleſsly ſuffered thoſe ties of Religion to be unlooſed, by which, till of late, the paſſions of the People had been reſtrained) were ſtruggling, almoſt as unſucceſsfully, *pro Focis* with a corrupt and debauched Community.

General Hiſtory, in its Records of the riſe and decay of States, hath delivered down to us, amongſt the more important of its leſſons, a faithful detail of every ſymptom, which is wont to forerun and to prognoſticate their approaching ruin. It might be juſtly deemed

deemed the extravagance of folly to believe, that thoſe very *Signs*, which have conſtantly preceded the fall of other States, ſhould *ſignify* nothing fatal or alarming to our own. On the other hand, I would not totally condemn, in ſuch a dearth of Religious proviſion, even that ſpecies of piety, which ariſes from a national pride, and flatters us with being the peculiar attention of Heaven; who will avert thoſe evils from his favoured People, which the natural courſe of things would otherwiſe make inevitable: For, indeed, we have ſeen (and, what is as ſtrange as the bleſſing itſelf, the little attention which is paid to it) ſomething very like ſuch an extraordinary protection already exerted; which reſiſts, and, till now, hath arreſted, the torrent juſt ready to overwhelm us. The circumſtance, I mean, is this:—That while every other part of the Community ſeems to lie *in fæce Romuli*, the adminiſtration of Public Juſtice in England, runs as pure as where neareſt to its cœleſtial Source; purer than Plato dared venture to conceive it, even in his feigned Republic.

Now, whether we are not to call this, the interpoſing hand of Providence; for ſure I am, all Hiſtory doth not afford another inſtance of ſo much purity and integrity in one part, coexiſting with ſo much decay and ſo many infirmities in the reſt: Or whether, profounder Politicians may not be able to diſcover ſome hidden force, ſome peculiar virtue in the eſſential parts, or in the well-adapted frame, of our excellent Conſtitution:—In either caſe, this ſingular and ſhining Phænomenon, hath afforded a chearful conſolation to thinking men, amidſt all this dark aſpect from our diſorders and diſtreſſes.

But the evil Genius of England would not ſuffer us to enjoy it long; for, as if envious of this laſt ſupport of Government, he hath now inſtigated his blackeſt Agents to the very extent of their malignity; who, after the moſt villainous inſults on all other Orders and Ranks in Society, have at length proceeded to calumniate even the King's Supreme Court of Juſtice, under its ableſt and moſt unblemiſhed Adminiſtration.

After this, who will not be tempted to deſpair of his Country, and ſay, with the good old man in the Scene,

——" Ipſa ſi cupiat SALUS
" Servare, prorſus non poteſt, hanc FAMILIAM."

ATHENS, indeed, fell by degenerate manners like our own: but ſhe fell the later, and with the leſs diſhonour, for having always kept inviolable that reverence which ſhe, and indeed all Greece, had been long accuſtomed to pay to her Auguſt Court of AREOPAGUS. Of this modeſt reſerve, amidſt a general diſorder, we have a ſtriking inſtance in the conduct of one of the principal Inſtruments of her ruin. The witty ARISTOPHANES began, as all ſuch Inſtruments do (whether with wit or without) by deriding *Virtue* and *Religion*; and this, in the brighteſt exemplar of both, the godlike SOCRATES. The Libeller went on to attack all conditions of Men. He calumniated the Magiſtrates; he turned the Public Aſſemblies into ridicule; and, with the moſt *beaſtly* and *blaſphemous* abuſe, outraged their Prieſts, their Altars, nay, the very eſtabliſhed Gods themſelves.—But here he ſtopped; and, unawed by all beſides, whether of divine or human, he did not dare to caſt ſo much as one licentious trait againſt that venerable Judicature. A circumſtance, which the Readers of his witty ribauldry, cannot but obſerve with ſurprize and admiration;—not at the Poet's modeſty, for he had none, but at the remaining virtue of a debauched and ruined People; who yet would not bear to ſee that clear Fountain of Juſtice defiled by the odious Spawn of Buffoons and Libelers.

Nor was this the only conſolation which ATHENS had in its calamities. Its pride was flattered in falling by apoſtate Wits of the firſt Order: while the Agents of public miſchief amongſt us, with the hoarſe notes and blunt pens of Ballad-makers, not only accelerate our ruin, but accumulate our diſgraces: Wretches the moſt contemptible for their parts, the moſt infernal for their manners.

To conclude. Great Men, my Lord, are ſent for the Times; the Times are fitted for the reſt, of common make. ERASMUS and the

the preſent CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND (whatever he may think) were ſent by Providence, for the ſake of humanity, to adorn two periods, when RELIGION at one time, and SOCIETY at another, moſt needed their ſupport; I do not ſay, of their great talents, but of that HEROIC MODERATION ſo neceſſary to allay the violence of public diſorders; for to be MODERATE amidſt party-extremes, requires no common degree of patriotic courage.

Such characters rarely fail to perform much of the taſk for which they were ſent; but never without finding their labour ill repaid, even by thoſe in whoſe ſervice it was employed. That *glory of the Prieſthood* left the World, he had ſo nobly benefited, with this tender complaint,—"Hoc tempore nihil ſcribi aut AGI poteſt quod "non pateat CALUMNIÆ; nec raro fit, ut dum agis CIRCUMSPEC-"TISSIME utramque partem offendas, quum in utraque ſint qui "PARITER INSANIANT." A complaint, fated, alas! to be the motto of every Man who greatly ſerves his Country.

I have the honour to be,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obliged,

moſt obedient and

faithful Servant,

February 2, 1765.

W. GLOUCESTER.

DEDICATION

TO THE FIRST EDITION OF

BOOKS IV. V. VI. in 1740.

TO THE JEWS.

SIRS,

THE purpoſe of this work being to prove the DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES, it will, I hope, have ſo much merit with you, as to engage your ſerious attention to the following addreſs; which, from the divinity of Moſes's Law, as in this work demonſtrated, attempts to ſhew you, how, by neceſſary conſequence, it follows, that the religion of JESUS is alſo divine.

But, while I am laying my concluſions before you, let me beſeech you not to ſuffer yourſelves to be prejudiced againſt the evidence, by ſuch kind of fallacies as theſe; *Both Jews and Chriſtians confeſs that the religion of Moſes came from* GOD: *but one only, of theſe two Sects, believe the divinity of that of* JESUS: *the ſafeſt way, therefore, is to adhere to what both ſides own to be true.* An argument, which however like, hath not in all its parts, even ſo much force as what the idolatrous Romaniſts are wont to urge againſt the Reformed—*That as both parties hold ſalvation may be had in the church of Rome, and only one party holds it may be had in the churches of the Reformed, it is ſafeſt to adhere to Popery:* which I dare ſay you laugh at for its impertinence, how much ſoever you may

may have deluded others by the ſame kind of ſophiſtry *. For if the Roman catholicks, or you, will not take our word for Chriſtianity or Reformation, why do you build any thing upon it, in favour of Popery or Judaiſm? Both of you will ſay, perhaps, "becauſe we are prejudiced in the former concluſion; but that the mere force of evidence extorts the latter from us even againſt ourſelves." This is eaſily ſaid; and may, perhaps, be eaſily believed, by thoſe who, taking their Religion from their anceſtors, are apt to meaſure Truth only by its antiquity. But genuine Chriſtianity offering itſelf only to the private judgements of men, every ſincere enquirer believes as he finds cauſe. So that if either you or they would give yourſelves the trouble to examine our motives, it would appear, that the very ſame reaſons which force us to conclude that Chriſtianity in general, and the Reformed religion in particular, are true, force us at the ſame time to conclude that the Jewiſh was from God; and that ſalvation may be obtained, though with much difficulty, in the church of Rome. Either, therefore, the whole of our concluſion is prejudice, or no part of it is ſo.

As I would not have you harden your habitual obſtinacy in favour of your own Religion, by bad arguments; ſo neither will I uſe any ſuch to draw you over to ours.

I ſhall not therefore attempt that way to bring you to the truth, which ſome amongſt us, little acquainted, as ſhould ſeem, either with your Diſpenſation, or the Chriſtian, imagine they have diſcovered: Who, taking it for granted that the Moſaic Law can be defended only by the Goſpel of Jeſus, pretend you muſt firſt acknowledge our Religion, before you can ſupport your own: and ſo, which is very hard, will not allow you to have any reaſonable aſſurance of the truth of your Religion till you have forſaken

* This, the miſerable *Uriel Acoſta* tells us was one of the principal arguments that induced him to embrace *Judaiſm*.—Præterea veteri fœderi fidem dabant tam Judæi quam Chriſtiani; novo autem fœderi ſoli Chriſtiani. Exemplar humanæ vitæ, p. 346. in fin. Amica Collat. Phil. a Limborch.

it.

it *. But I would not urge you with ſuch kind of reaſoning, if it were only for this, that I ſuſpect you may not be ſuch utter ſtrangers to the New Teſtament as not to know, that it lays the foundation of Chriſtianity in Judaiſm. Beſides, right reaſon, as well as St. Paul (which with us, at preſent, are ſtill the ſame thing) would teach you to reply to ſuch Convertiſts: *Boaſt not againſt the branches of the native olive-tree: but if thou boaſt, thou beareſt not the root, but the root thee* †.

Much leſs would I employ, in this addreſs, the quainter project of our common Adverſary, the FREE-THINKER. For you are to know, that as thoſe I ſpoke of before, make Chriſtianity too recent, ſo theſe make it as much too old; *even as old as the Creation.* Thoſe fall ſhort of the ſupport of Judaiſm; Theſe overleap it; and aſſure us, that the only way to bring you to believe in JESUS is to prove Moſes an impoſtor. So ſays a late writer: who, by the ſingular happineſs of a good choice, having learnt his *morality* of our Tyndal, and his *philoſophy* of your Spinoza, calls himſelf, by the courteſy of England, a MORAL PHILOSOPHER ‡.

The road I have taken is indeed very different: and the principles I go upon for *your* converſion, will equally ſerve, to *their* confutation. For I have ſhewn that the Law of Moſes was from GOD; and, at the ſame time, that it is only PREPARATORY to the more perfect Religion of JESUS.

The limits of this addreſs will not allow me to point out to you any other arguments than what ariſe immediately from thoſe important circumſtances of the Law, diſcourſed of in this Work.

* "Dr. Rogers has declared, as I remember in one of his ſermons, that he could not "believe the truth of MOSES's pretentions were it not for the confirmation given to "them by the Goſpel. This I take to be a dangerous aſſertion, that ſaps the very "foundation of Chriſtianity; and ſupercedes at once the whole purpoſe of your in-"tended work, by denying any original intrinſic character of divinity to the inſtitution "of MOSES." Dr. Middleton's Letter to Mr. W. Nov. 30, 1736. vol. V. of his Works.

† ROM. xi. 18. ‡ MORGAN.

Much

Much leſs ſhall I have room to urge you with a repetition of thoſe reaſonings, which Chriſtian writers have already uſed with ſo ſuperior a force againſt you.

Let us ſee then what it is that keeps you ſtill enſlaved to a galling Diſcipline, ſo long after the free offers of Redemption. The two principal reaſons, I ſuppoſe, are theſe:

I. Firſt, a preſumption that the Religion of Moſes is perfect; ſo full and complete in all its members as to be abundantly capable of ſupplying the ſpiritual wants of men, by preparing and fitting human nature for the enjoyment of the ſupreme Good, and by propoſing and procuring the poſſeſſion of that Good. Hence you conclude, and, were your preſumption well-grounded, not unreaſonably, that the Law was given as a perpetual ordinance, to be obſerved throughout all your generations for ever.

II. The ſecond is a perſuaſion that the Prophecies (a neceſſary credential of the Meſſiah) which, we ſay, relate to JESUS, relate not to him in a *primary* ſenſe; and that a *ſecondary* ſenſe is a fanatic viſion raiſed by deluded Chriſtians to uphold a groundleſs claim.

For thus one of our common enemies, who hath inforced your arguments againſt us, tells the world, you are accuſtomed to ſpeak. *All the books written by Jews againſt the Chriſtian Religion* (ſays he) *ſome of which are printed, and others go about Europe in manuſcript, chiefly attack the New Teſtament for the allegorical interpretations of the Old Teſtament therein, and with the greateſt inſolence and contempt imaginable on that account; and oppoſe to them a ſingle and literal interpretation as the true ſenſe of the Old Teſtament. And accordingly the allegorical interpretations given by Chriſtian expoſitors of the Prophecies are now the grand obſtacle and ſtumbling-block in the way of the converſion of the Jews to Chriſtianity* *.

* Grounds and Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion, p. 82, 83.

Theſe,

Theſe, it ſeems, are the two great impediments to your converſion. Give me leave then to ſhew you how the reaſoning of this book removes them.

I. As to the *perfection* of your Religion, it is here proved, that, though it indeed had that ſpecific perfection, which no Religion coming from GOD can want*, that is, a full capacity of attaining its end, which was the ſeparation of the race of Abraham from an idolatrous world; yet that it was *perfect* only in this reſtrained and relative ſenſe. As to abſolute independent perfection, the Law had it not.

1. That it had no *perfection* with regard to the *improvement of human nature* for the enjoyment of the ſupreme good, I have ſhewn from the genius of your whole religious Worſhip; and its general direction againſt the various idolatries of thoſe early ages. And in this I have a Doctor of your own, the famous MAIMONIDES, for my warrant: who indeed little thought, while he was proving this truth in ſo invincible a manner, that he was preparing the more reaſonable part of his Brethren for the reception of the Goſpel. It is true, ſome of your later writers have ſeen better into this conſequence: and *Orobio*, in his diſpute with Limborch, hath part of a chapter † to diſprove, or, rather, to deny the fact. But if your religious Worſhip conſiſt only of a multifarious burdenſome Ritual, relative to the Superſtitions of thoſe early times, it muſt needs be altogether unable to perfect human nature in ſuch a manner, as you do and muſt allow to be God's deſign, in a revealed Religion, univerſal and perpetual.

2. Again, as to the ſecond branch of this perfection, the *propoſing and procuring the poſſeſſion of the ſupreme Good:* I have ſhewn that the Law of Moſes revealed NO FUTURE STATE of rewards and

* See this proved againſt Lord Bolingbroke, Book V. Sect. 2.

† The title of the chapter is: Quod ritualia non erant præcisè ut Iſraël ab aliis populis ſepararetur; neque lex neque populus propter Meſſiam, ſed hic propter populum, ut ei inſerviret, p. 86. Ed. Goud.

puniſhments,

puniſhments, but ſtudiouſly declined the mention of any doctrine preparatory to it: that no Moſaical Tradition ſupplied this omiſſion: and that it did not become a national doctrine amongſt you till the later times of your republic; when it aroſe from various and diſcordant ſources; and was brought in on foreign occaſions. But it is certain, that that Religion muſt fall very ſhort of abſolute perfection, which wants a doctrine ſo eſſential to Religion in general *. And this,

* Here Dr. Stebbing charges me with *contradiction*; [Exam. p. 9.] firſt in aſſerting, that *a future ſtate made no part of the Religion of Moſes*; and then that a *future ſtate was eſſential to Religion in general*. Now this which he is pleaſed to call a *contradiction*, I brought as an argument for the divinity of the Law, and ſuppoſed it to be concluſive by its conſiſtency.—Where I ſpeak of *Religion in general*, I explain my meaning to be, a *Religion univerſal and perpetual*, ſuch as Natural Religion and the Chriſtian; and from thence I argue, that if a future ſtate be eſſential to a *Religion univerſal and perpetual*; and a future ſtate be not found in the Religion of Moſes, that then the Religion of Moſes was not *univerſal and perpetual*, but local and temporary; the point I was inforcing, in order to bring over the Jews to the Goſpel of Jeſus. If the Doctor ſuppoſes, that what is eſſential in one ſpecies of Religion muſt be eſſential in the other, this is ſuppoſing them not to be of different ſpecies, but one and the ſame; that is, it ſuppoſes, that they are and that they are not of the ſame ſpecies.—But, continues our Doctor, "If you ſhould ſay, that your argument is levelled againſt the Jews, conſi-" dered only in their preſent ſtate, in which they are not under an equal Providence, " *this anſwer will not ſerve you*. For as in their preſent ſtate they are not under any " extraordinary Providence, ſo neither do they want the doctrine of a future ſtate, of " which you tell us they have been in poſſeſſion long ago." p. 11. What pains does this learned Doctor take to make my application to the Jews, in favour of Chriſtianity, ineffectual! Your Religion (ſay I to them) teaches no future ſtate. You are at preſent under the common unequal Providence of Heaven. How diſconſolate is your condition! Not ſo bad neither, replies their Advocate, Doctor Stebbing. They NOW have a *future ſtate*. How came they by it? By the *Law?* No matter, ſays he, they have it, and that is enough to deſtroy all the force of your perſuaſion to embrace the Goſpel. Not altogether enough, good Doctor: for if they have not the future ſtate by the *Law*, (and that truth I take for granted in this addreſs to them, as I think I reaſonably might, after I had proved it at large) their future ſtate, even by their own confeſſion, is a Phantom: and to gain the Subſtance, there is no way left but to embrace the Goſpel. They themſelves own this truth: for in the words quoted below, they confeſs that *to believe a future ſtate, and yet that it was not revealed by the* LAW, *is the ſame*

this, you yourſelves at length ſeem to have been aware of: for though, during the exiſtence of your Republic, the deniers of a future ſtate, ſuch as the Sadducees, were not cut off from the rights of the Synagogue; yet ſince that time, it hath been generally held by your Doctors for a *prime* cauſe of excommunication:—One of them ſays, that it is *the very fundamental of fundamentals* *;——Another, that *to deny this is the ſame thing as to deny* GOD *himſelf, and the Divinity of his Law* †: and a third, that *even to believe it, and yet not believe that it was revealed by the Law, is the ſame thing as not to believe it at all* ‡.

But you will do well, when you have conſidered the force of thoſe reaſonings by which I prove a future ſtate not to be revealed by the LAW of Moſes, to go on with me, (for the free thoughts of many amongſt you, concerning Revelation in general, give ſcandal to the profeſſors of more than one Religion) while I prove, from thence, by neceſſary conſequence, that this LAW came from GOD: And, in concluſion, join with me in adoring the infinite

thing as not to believe it at all.——It is a ſad thiug when Polemics or blacker paſſions have gotten ſo entire poſſeſſion of a man's heart that he cares not what harm he does to a common cauſe, or even to common ſenſe, ſo he can but ANSWER the man or the opinion he happens to diſlike.

* Scripſit Rab. (Maimon.) p. m. Articulus fundamentalis decimus tertius agit de reſurrectione, cujus rationem (quomodo ſe habeat) & fundamenta jam expoſuimus. Quod ſi homo crediderit fundamenta illa omnia, ſeque illa credere declaraverit, ingreditur Eccleſiam Iſraëlis, & jubemur diligere illum, & miſericordiam illi exhibere, & converſari cum illo juxta omnia, quæ præcepit Deus benedictus cuilibet erga proximum facienda.—Si quis autem vilipenderit hoc fundamentum excellentium fundamentorum, ecce exit ille ex Eccleſia, quippe qui abnegat articulum fidei, & vocatur impius ac Epicureus, amputatque plantas, quem odio habere & perdere jubemur. Ex beth Elohim. Vid. Daſſovium de Reſurrectione, Ed. 1693.

† Hæc fides [de Reſurrectione mortuorum]——numeretur inter articulos Legis & fundamenta ejus, quam qui negat, perinde facit acſi negaret eſſe Deum, legem eſſe a cœlo, & quod in aliis iſtis articulis tractatur. R. Salomo ap. Daſſovium de Reſurrect.

‡ Oportet te ſcire articulum fidei de reſurrectione mortuorum ex lege eſſe. Quod ſi quis fide firma crediderit reſurrectionem mortuorum, non autem crediderit eſſe illam ex lege, ecce ille reputatur acſi hæc omnia negaret. R. Jchud. Zabara apud Daſſov.

Wiſdom

Wiſdom of the GOD of your Fathers, here ſo wonderfully diſplayed, in making one and the ſame circumſtance a ſtanding evidence of the divinity of the Moſaic Religion, and, at the ſame time, an irrefragable proof that it was preparatory only to the Chriſtian; The logical reſult of all our reaſoning being the confirmation of this ſacred truth, long ſince enounced by a great Adept in your Law, That THE LAW MADE NOTHING PERFECT, BUT THE BRINGING IN OF A BETTER HOPE DID *.

Permit me to obſerve farther, that this rabbinical notion of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments in the Moſaic Diſpenſation, which ſtill encourages the remnant of your Nation to perſiſt in rejecting the Goſpel of Jeſus, was the very prejudice which, in the firſt ages of Chriſtianity, ſo ſuperſtitiouſly attached the Converts from Judaiſm, to the whole obſervance of the Law.

As a Corollary to all this, I have ſhewn, that the *puniſhment of Children for the crimes of their Parents*, which hath given a handle to the enemies of your Law to blaſpheme, can be only well explained and vindicated on the Principle of *no future ſtate* in the *Religion of Moſes*: And farther, that, on this Principle, all the inextricable embarraſs of your Rabbins, in their endeavours to reconcile the different accounts of Moſes and the Prophets concerning that method of puniſhment, is intirely removed, and a perfect harmony and concord is ſeen to reign amongſt them. But at the ſame time that the Principle does this, take notice, it diſables you from accounting for the length of your preſent diſperſion. For the only reaſon your beſt defender, Orobio, had to aſſign for it was, that *you now ſuffer not for your own ſins, but for the ſins of your Forefathers*. But the Principle which reconciles Moſes and the Prophets, ſhews that this mode of puniſhment hath long ſince ceaſed.

II. In anſwer to the *ſecond* part, your prejudices againſt the credentials of JESUS's Meſſiahſhip, for the want of rational evidence in a *ſecondary ſenſe* of Prophecy; I have proved thoſe prejudices to be

* HEB. vii. 19.

altogether vain and groundleſs: 1. By tracing up the nature of human converſe in ſpeech and writing, from its early original; and from thence evincing, that a *ſecondary ſenſe of Prophecies* is proper, rational, and conformable to the juſteſt rules of grammar and logic. 2. By ſhewing that this method of information was ſo exactly ſuited to the occaſion, that if ever you were to have a *Meſſiah* to compleat your Law, the body of the Prophecies, relating to him, muſt needs be given in the very manner which thoſe in diſpute are actually given: For that, had theſe Prophecies recorded the nature of the Meſſiah's Kingdom in plain and direct terms, it would have defeated the very end and purpoſe of the Law. And this, on reflexion, you will find a ſufficient anſwer to thoſe FOUR QUERIES into which your ableſt Defender * has collected the whole ſtrength of your cauſe.

As a Corollary, likewiſe, to this part, I ſhew, in order to reconcile you ſtill farther to the Meſſiahſhip of JESUS, that the hiſtory of GOD's Diſpenſations to your Fathers, even before his giving the Law, can never be rightly underſtood, or fully cleared from the objections of Unbelievers, but on the ſuppoſition of the redemption of mankind by the death and ſufferings of JESUS. And of this I have given a convincing proof in the famous hiſtory of the *Command to Abraham* to offer up his Son. Which I prove to be no other than a REVELATION of that Redemption, delivered in action in-

* OROBIO. 1. Ut aſſignetur locus aliquis in quo Deus mandaverit, aut dixerit expreſſè, quod fides in Meſſiam eſt abſolutè neceſſaria ad ſalutem generis humani; adeo ut qui non crediderit damnandus eſſet.

2. Ut aſſignetur locus, in quo Deus dixerit, quod unicum medium ad ſalutem Iſraelis, et reſtitutionis in divinam gratiam, eſt fides in Meſſiam jam adventum.

3. Ut aſſignetur locus, in quo Deus dixerit, quod Iſrael propter infidelitatem in Meſſiam erat deperdendus, et abjiciendus in nationibus, ut non ſit amplius Populus Dei, ſed in æternum damnandus donec Meſſiam adventum non crediderit.

4. Tandem aſſignetur locus, in quo dixit Deus, omnia Legalia præter moralia, fuiſſe umbram, ſeu figuram futurorum in adventu Meſſiæ, et quod fere omnia quæ & in divina Lege et in Prophetis fuere revelata, MYSTICE et TROPOLOGICE explicare liceat, quantumvis ſenſus literalis omnino deſpiciatur. Amica collatio Limb. p. 1, 2.

ſtead

ſtead of words. This ſtrongly corroborates the Miſſion of JESUS, and ſhould incline you ſeriouſly to conſider its force.—Here God reveals to your father Abraham the Redemption of Mankind by the death and paſſion of his Son. Why then, I aſk you, ſhould you not conclude with our learned Apoſtle, that *to Abraham and his ſeed the Promiſes being made, the Covenant that was confirmed before of* GOD *in* CHRIST, *the* LAW *which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot diſanul; that it ſhould make the Promiſe of none effect* * ?

Having thus ſhewn your Religion to be *partial*, *imperfect*, and *preparatory*; and conſequently ſhewn the neceſſity of its *completion* by the teaching of a *Meſſiah*; to whoſe character in the perſon of JESUS, I have endeavoured to reconcile you, by removing your only plauſible objection, the miſtaken nature of the Prophecies concerning him; As a Corollary to the whole, I have proved, in order to remove your prejudices for a worldly Prince, and a reſtoration to a carnal Dominion in Judea, that your race was not at firſt choſen by GOD, and ſettled in the land of Canaan as his FAVOURITES, for whom he had a greater fondneſs than for other of the ſons of Adam; but only to ſerve the general ends of Providence, in its Diſpenſations to the whole Species; which required the temporary ſeparation of one People from the reſt of Mankind, to preſerve, amidſt an idolatrous world, the great doctrine of the UNITY, as the foundation of that univerſal Religion to be diſpenſed by JESUS, when the fulneſs of time ſhould come. Which time being now come, and the end obtained, you cannot but confeſs there is no further uſe or purpoſe of a *national ſeparation*.

Let me add the following obſervation, which ought to have ſome weight with you. Whoever reads your hiſtory, and believes you, on your own word, to be ſtill tied to the Religion of MOSES, and to have nothing to expect from that of JESUS, muſt needs regard you as a People long ſince abandoned of GOD. And thoſe

* GAL. iii. 16, 17.

who

who neither *read* nor *believe*, will pretend at leaſt to think you forſaken of all REASON. Our Scriptures alone give us better hopes of your condition: and excited by the Charity they inſpire, I am moved to hazard this addreſs unto you. For a time, as they aſſure us, will come, when this veil ſhall be taken from your hearts. And who knows how near at hand the day of viſitation may be? At leaſt, who would not be zealous of contributing, though in the loweſt degree, to ſo glorious a work? For *if the fall of you be the riches of the World, and the diminiſhing of you, the riches of the Gentiles, how much more your fulneſs* * ! ſays the Apoſtle Paul. Who at the ſame time aſſures us, that *blindneſs in part is happened to Iſrael, until the fulneſs of the Gentiles be come in. And ſo all Iſrael ſhall be ſaved* †.

I know you will be ready to ſay, "that much of this ſort of Charity hath been preached to your People even amidſt the horrors of the Inquiſition; and that it has always made a ſuitable impreſſion: that indeed, in a land of liberty like Britain, you ſhould have thought much more favourably of our good-will, had not a late tranſaction, in which your natural rights came in queſtion, amply convinced you that Chriſtian Charity is every where the ſame."

Sufferers, even imaginary ones, may be excuſed a little hard language; eſpecially when they only repeat the clamours of thoſe amongſt ourſelves; who, on the defeat of your Naturalization project, affected to feel moſt ſenſibly for the intereſts of Liberty and Commerce. And yet I think it no difficulty to convince unprejudiced men that the Sanctity of Government was, in the firſt inſtance, ſurpriſed; and that the Legiſlature did juſtly as well as politicly in acting conformably to their *ſecond thoughts*.

A People like this of Great Britain, the genius of whoſe Religion and Government equally concur to make them tender and jealous of the rights of mankind, were naturally led by their firſt motions to think they might extend thoſe privileges to your Nation, which

* ROM. xi. 12. † Ver. 25, 26.

they

they ſaw plainly were the due even of the followers of Mahomet: And yet for all this they were miſtaken.

As much a paradox as this may ſeem, it is eaſy to ſhew that in this point, You ſtand diſtinguiſhed to your diſadvantage from all the Nations upon earth: there being in your caſe, a peculiar circumſtance which muſt eternally exclude your claim to the general right of Naturalization, in every free Government in Chriſtendom, while men act, not to ſay with common integrity, but even with common decency, according to their profeſſion.

Let us then conſider your caſe as it is underſtood by Chriſtian Communities; for men muſt always act, would they act honeſtly, according to their own conceptions of the caſe, not according to the conceptions of other men.

Now it is a common principle of Chriſtianity, that God, in puniſhing your Nation for the rejection of their promiſed Meſſiah, hath ſentenced it to the irremiſſible infamy of an unſettled vagabond condition, without Country or Civil policy, till *the fulneſs of the Gentiles be come in:* and then, as we obſerved before, our St. Paul declares, that your Nation, converted to the faith in Jeſus, ſhall be received again into favour, and intitled to the privilege of Sons. The ſentence denounced upon you was not only the loſs of your own Community, but the being *debarred an entrance into any other*. For you are condemned to be aliens and ſtrangers in every land where you abide and ſojourn. A puniſhment which can only reſpect Particulars, and not the Community; for one People can be no other than aliens and ſtrangers to another People, by the conſtitution of Nature. So that the ſentence againſt you imports, that the Particulars of your race ſhall not be received by *Naturalization*, to the rights and privileges of the free-born Subjects of thoſe civil States amongſt which you ſhall happen to be diſperſed. And we have ſeen this ſentence wonderfully confirmed by the actual infliction of it for the ſpace of ſeventeen hundred years; which muſt be confeſſed to give great credit to the truth of our interpretation of your Prophecies.

But

But to underſtand more clearly what ſhare a chriſtian Community ought to take in PREVENTING ANY INSULT on thoſe Prophecies which it holds to be divine, it will be neceſſary to conſider what will be the worldly condition of your Nation when reinſtated in God's favour; which both you and we are equally inſtructed to expect.

If it ſhall be, as you imagine, a recovery of your Civil-policy, a revival of the Temple-ſervice, and a re-poſſeſſion of the land of Judea; if this be the mercy promiſed to your Nation, then indeed the intermediate puniſhment, between the abolition and the reſtoration of your divine Policy, can be only the temporary want of it; and conſequently the facilitating your entry at preſent into the ſeveral civil Communities of chriſtian men, might well be thought to have no more tendency to inſult the general Oeconomy of revealed Religion than the naturalizing of Turks and Tartars.

But the genius of Chriſtianity and the tenor of thoſe Prophecies, as interpreted by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, declare ſuch a reſtoration to the land of Judea and a revival of the Temple-ſervice, to be manifeſtly abſurd, and altogether inconſiſtent with the nature of the whole of GOD's religious Diſpenſation: for by this it appears, that the Moſaic Law or Religion (as diſtinguiſhed from its foundation, natural Religion, on which it was erected) was only PREPARATORY to, and TYPICAL of the Goſpel. Conſequently, on the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, the Political part of your inſtitution became aboliſhed; and the Ritual part entirely ceaſed; juſt as a ſcaffold is taken down when the building is erected; or as a ſhadow is caſt behind when the ſubſtance is brought forward into day. Nor were you, after this promiſed converſion, to expect ANY OTHER Civil policy or religious Ritual peculiar to yourſelves, or ſeparate from thoſe in uſe amongſt men who profeſs the name of Chriſt: becauſe the Goſpel, of which you are now ſuppoſed to be profeſſors, diſclaims all concern with political or civil matters; and becauſe ALL its profeſſors compoſe but ONE religious Body, under one head, which is Chriſt.

All

All therefore that remains for us to conceive of your *civil* condition, when the *fulneſs of the Gentiles ſhall be come in*, and Iſrael be received into grace, is this, That, on your converſion, you ſhall be NATURALIZED and incorporated, as your convenience or inclination may lead you, into the various civil Communities of the Faithful.

This is the only idea we Chriſtians can entertain of your *future* condition: and this may and muſt regulate our conduct whenever an alteration of your *preſent* condition comes in queſtion.

And now to juſtify the Councils of our Law-givers in their laſt and perhaps final determination concerning you.

If the DECLARED puniſhment of heaven on your Nation, while you continue in unbelief, be DISPERSION through the world, WITHOUT A CIVIL POLICY of your own as a People, and WITHOUT A COUNTRY, as Particulars; and that your reſtoration to favour, on your embracing the Goſpel, is the being received into the Church of Chriſt, and (as you can be received therein only as Particulars, and not as a Nation) the being INCORPORATED into the ſeveral civil Communities of Chriſtians; then, any ATTEMPT to incorporate you by *Naturalization* into ſuch civil Communities, before the time predicted and while you adhere to your old Religion, as directly oppoſes the Prophecies, or the declared will of Heaven, as the attempt of Julian to rebuild your Temple, after the ſentence of its final deſtruction had been put in execution: becauſe it aims to procure for you a CIVIL CONDITION while Jews, which it is foretold you ſhall not enjoy till you are become Chriſtians. Nor is it of any avail to thoſe Politicians who were concerned of late in your favour, to pretend that Julian's attempt was with *malice*, and their's with much integrity of heart; ſince this difference makes no change in the nature of the action, as it reſpects God's Diſpenſations, whatever it may be ſuppoſed to do, in the quality of it, as it reſpects the Actors. In either caſe the declared will of Heaven is oppoſed. When it is done with knowledge of the Prophecy, and

with intention to diſcredit it, the attempt is wicked and impious: when with a forgetfulneſs of it, with a diſregard to Religion, and a neglect of its intereſts, the attempt (even in this beſt way of conſidering it) is indecent and diſhonourable. Not that He who thus conceives of things, hath the leaſt apprehenſion that PROPHECY can be diſhonoured, or have its predictions defeated by Civil Power: But this He thinks, that a Chriſtian State while it enacts Laws, though unwarily, whoſe operation combats the truth of theſe Predictions, may very eaſily diſhonour itſelf.

A Nation profeſſing Chriſtianity, though principally buſied in the office of protecting liberty and commerce, ceaſes not to be a nation of Chriſtians, amidſt all their cares to diſcharge the duties of good Citizens. They have the intereſts and honour of their Religion to ſupport as well as the common-rights of Mankind. For though Civil ſociety be totally and eſſentially different from the Eccleſiaſtical, yet as the ſame Individuals compoſe the members of both; and as there is the cloſeſt Coalition between both, for their mutual ſupport and benefit; ſuch Civil ſociety can never decently or honourably act with a total diſregard to that coallied Religion, which they profeſs to believe, and of which, under another conſideration, they compoſe the body.

Perhaps You may tell me, it appears from the manner in which this late affair was conducted, that none of theſe conſiderations ever entered into the heads, either of your Friends, or, thoſe you will call, your Enemies, when, at length, they both agreed to leave you as they found you. It may be ſo. Yet this does not hinder but that the reſult of a Council, may be juſtified on principles which never influenced it. And as for the credit of Revelation, *that* generally becomes more conſpicuous when, through the ignorance and perverſeneſs of fooliſh men, the predictions of Heaven are ſupported by Inſtruments which knew not what they were about. Had they acted with more knowledge of the caſe, the enemies of Religion would be apt to ſay, No wonder that the honour of Prophecy

Prophecy is ſupported, when the Power which could diſcredit it, held it an impiety to make the attempt.

Thus you ſee the Britiſh Legiſlature is juſtified in its laſt determination concerning you, on all the general principles of piety, honeſty, and decency. I ſpeak of men, and I ſpeak to men, who *believe* the Religion they profeſs. As for thoſe profligates, whether amongſt yourſelves or us, who are ready to profeſs *any* Religion, but much better diſpoſed to believe *none*, to them, this reaſoning is not addreſſed. Have a fairer opinion therefore of our Charity, and believe us to be ſincere when we profeſs ourſelves,

Your, &c.

PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST EDITION OF

BOOKS IV. V. VI.

In MDCCXL.

THE Author of *The Divine Legation of Moſes*, a private clergyman, had no ſooner given his firſt Volume to the Public, than he was fallen upon in ſo outrageous and brutal a manner as had been ſcarce pardonable had it been *The Divine Legation of Mahomet*. And what was moſt extraordinary, by thoſe very men whoſe Cauſe he was ſupporting, and whoſe Honours and Dignities he had been defending. But what groteſque inſtruments of vengeance had Bigotry ſet on foot! If he was to be run down, it had been ſome kind of conſolation to him to fall by ſavages, of whom it was no diſcredit to be devoured.

Optat aprum, aut fulvum deſcendere monte Leonem.

However, to do them juſtice, it muſt be owned, that, what they wanted in teeth, they had in venom; and they knew, as all Brutes do, where their ſtrength lay. For reaſons beſt known to Bigotry, he was, in ſpite of all his profeſſions, to be puſhed over to the Enemy, by every kind of provocation. To ſupport this pious purpoſe,

poſe, paſſages were diſtorted, propoſitions invented *, converſation betrayed, and forged letters written †.

The attack was opened by one who bore the reſpectable name of a *Country Clergyman*, but was in reality a Town-Writer of a Weekly News-Paper ‡; and with ſuch exceſs of inſolence and malice, as the Public had never yet ſeen on any occaſion whatſoever.

Amidſt all this unprovoked clamour, the Author had his reaſons for ſparing theſe wretched tools of impotence and envy. His friends thought it beneath him to commit himſelf with ſuch writers; and he himſelf ſuppoſed it no good policy to irritate a crew of Zealots who had, at their firſt opening, called loudly upon the ſecular arm. Our Author indeed could talk big to the FREE-THINKERS; for alas, poor men! he knew their weapons: All their arms were arguments, and thoſe none of the ſharpeſt; and Wit, and that none of the brighteſt. But he had here to do with men in Authority; appointed, if you will believe them, Inſpectors-General over clerical Faith. And they went forth in all the pomp and terror of *Inquiſitors*; with *Suſpicion* before, *Condemnation* behind, and their two aſſeſſors, *Ignorance* and *Inſolence*, on each ſide. *We muſt ſuſpect his faith* (ſay they)—*We muſt condemn his book*—*We do not underſtand his argument* §.

—But it may perhaps be of uſe to Poſterity at leaſt, if ever theſe ſlight ſheets ſhould happen to come down to it, to explain the provocation which our Author had given for ſo much unlimited abuſe and calumny. The Reader then may be pleaſed to know, that the Author's firſt Volume of *The Divine Legation of Moſes* was as well a ſequel and ſupport of *The Alliance between Church and State* (a book

* See the Author's letter to Smallbrooke Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry, in which he accuſes the Biſhop of this crime; To which accuſation, the Public never yet ſaw either defence or excuſe.

† By one Romaine and one Julius Bate in conjunction.

‡ Dr. Webſter by name. Who ſoon after, by a circular letter to the bench of Biſhops, claimed a reward for this exploit.

§ Webſter, Venn, Stebbing, Waterland, and others.

written

written in behalf of our Conſtitution and Eſtabliſhed Clergy) as it was an introduction to a projected Defence of *Revelation*. It might likewiſe be regarded as an intire work of itſelf, to ſhew the *uſefulneſs of Religion to Society*. This, and the large bulk of the Volume, diſpoſed him to publiſh it apart; while the preſent ſtate of Religion amongſt us ſeemed to give it a peculiar expediency, "an open and "profeſſed diſregard to Religion" (as an excellent Paſtor of our Church obſerves) "being become the diſtinguiſhing character of "the preſent age. An evil grown to a great height in the Metro-"polis of the Nation, and daily ſpreading through every part of it; "which hath already brought in ſuch diſſoluteneſs and contempt "of principle in the higher part of the world, and ſuch profligate "intemperance and fearleſſneſs of committing crimes in the lower, "as muſt, if this torrent of impiety ſtop not, become abſolutely "fatal *." Our Author therefore thought, that as this *evil*, which is now ſpread through the populace, began in *the higher part of the world*, it muſt be firſt checked there, if ever it were checked at all. And he knew no better way to do this, than by ſhewing thoſe People of Condition (who, amidſt all their *contempt of religious Principle*, yet profeſſed the greateſt zeal for their country and mankind, *that Religion is abſolutely neceſſary for the ſupport of civil Government*. He thought too, this no ill device to get the advocate of Revelation a fair hearing. For he ſuppoſed, that unleſs they could be made to ſee the *uſefulneſs* of Chriſtianity to Society (which their *contempt of Principle* ſhewed they yet did not ſee) they would never be brought to believe its *Truth*, or *Divinity*.

Theſe were his endeavours and deſigns. What he got for his pains I have already told the Reader.—

In vain had he endeavoured to deſerve well of *Religion* at large, and of the *Church of England* in particular;—by fixing the true grounds of morality;—by confuting the atheiſtic arguments of Bayle, and the flagitious Principle of Mandeville;—by explaining

* Biſhop of Oxford's Charge, London, 1738, 4to. p. 4.

the

the natures, ſettling the bounds, and adjuſting the diſtinct rights of *the two Societies*;—and by expoſing the impious tenet of Religion's being the contrivance of Politicians.

All this went for nothing with the Bigots. He had departed from the *old poſture of defence*, and had projected a new plan for the ſupport of Revelation. *His Demonſtration* (ſays one of them) *if he could make one of it, could never make us amends for changing our poſture of defence, and deſerting our ſtrong holds* *. For though they will *talk*, indeed, of the love of truth, and the invincible evidence of our Faith, yet I know not how, even amidſt all their Zeal and Fury, they betray the moſt woful apprehenſions of Chriſtianity, and are frighted to death at every fooliſh Book new written againſt Religion, though it come but from the Mint or Bedlam. And what do our directing Ingineers adviſe you to, in this exigence? Do they bid you act offenſively, and turn the enemies artillery upon them? By no means. Keep within your *ſtrong holds*. Watch where they direct their battery, and there to your old mud walls clap a buttreſs; and ſo it be done with ſpeed, no matter of what materials. If, in the mean time, one more bold than the reſt, offer to dig away the rubbiſh that hides its beauty, or kick down an aukward prop that diſcredits its ſtrength, he is ſure to be called by theſe men, perhaps to be thought by thoſe who ſet them on work, *a ſecret enemy, or an indiſcreet friend* †. He is ſure to be aſſaulted with all the rude clamours and opprobrious names that Bigotry is ever ready to beſtow on thoſe it fears and hates.

But this was the fortune of all his betters. It was the fortune of Hooker, Hales, Stillingfleet, Cudworth, Bp. Taylor. They were called *Politiques*, *Sceptics*, *Eraſtians*, *Deiſts*, and *Atheiſts*. But CUDWORTH's caſe was ſo particular, that it will excuſe a little enlargement.

The Philoſopher of Malmeſbury was the terror of the laſt age, as Tindal and Collins have been of this. The preſs ſwet with contro-

* Webſter's Country Clergyman's ſecond Letter.

† Waterland.

verſy:

verſy; and every young Church-man-militant would needs try his arms in thundering upon Hobbes's ſteel cap. The miſchief his writings had done to Religion ſet Cudworth upon projecting its defence. Of this he publiſhed one immortal volume; with a boldneſs uncommon indeed, but very becoming a man conſcious of his own integrity and ſtrength. For inſtead of amuſing himſelf with Hobbes's peculiar whimſies, which in a little time were to vaniſh of themſelves, and their anſwers with them; which are all now forgotten, from the Curate's to the Archbiſhop's *; he launched out into the immenſity of the *Intellectual Syſtem*; and, at his firſt eſſay, penetrated the very darkeſt receſſes of Antiquity, to ſtrip ATHEISM of its diſguiſes, and drag up the lurking Monſter into day. Where though few readers could follow him, yet the very ſloweſt were able to overtake his purpoſe. And there wanted not *country Clergymen* to lead the cry, and tell the world,—*That, under pretence of defending Revelation, he wrote in the very manner that an artful Infidel might naturally be ſuppoſed to uſe in writing againſt it*; that he had given us *all the filthy ſtuff that he could ſcrape together out of the ſink of Atheiſm, as a natural introduction to a demonſtration of the truth of Revelation:* that with incredible *induſtry and reading* he had rummaged all antiquity for atheiſtical arguments, which he neither knew, nor intended to anſwer. In a word, that he was an *Atheiſt* in his heart, and an *Arian* in his book †. But the worſt is behind. Theſe ſilly calumnies were believed. The much injured Author grew diſguſted. His ardour ſlackened: and the reſt, and far greateſt part of the Defence, never appeared. A Defence, that would have left nothing to do for ſuch as our Author, but to read it; and for ſuch as our Author's Adverſaries, but to rail at it.

Thus ſpiritual Hate, like carnal Love, levels all diſtinctions. And thus our Author came to be honoured with the ſame treatment

* Teniſon.

† See Webſter's Country Clergyman's firſt Letter againſt The Divine Legation; and one Mr. John Turner's diſcourſe (a Clergyman likewiſe) againſt The Intellectual Syſtem.

which

which it had beſtowed upon a CUDWORTH. But as this hate is for the moſt part, only envy, under the name of zeal, the Bigots, for their own eaſe, ſhould be more cautious in conferring their favours. They have given our Author cauſe enough to be proud: who, as inconſiderable as he is, has, it ſeems, his ——; as well as a LOCKE his *Edwards*, or a CHILLINGWORTH his *Cheynel*. But alas! the public, I am afraid, diſtinguiſh better. They ſee, though theſe men cannot, that the *Edwards's* and *Cheynels* increaſe upon us, while the LOCKES and CHILLINGWORTHS are become exceeding rare. Turn then, good Creatures! while you have time, turn your envy on their few remaining ſucceſſors: and leave our Author in peace. He has parts (had he but ſuitable morals) even to be of your party. But no time is to be loſt. We have a ſad proſpect before us. The CHILLINGWORTHS of the preſent age will, in a little time, be no more; while the race of *Cheynels* threatens to be immortal. But this is the fate of human things. The *Geeſe* of the *Capitol*, we know, remained for ages, after thoſe true defenders of it, the MANLII, the CAMILLI, the AFRICANI, were extinct and forgotten.

And alas! how ominous are the fears of friendſhip! I had but juſt written this, when the death of Dr. FRANCIS HARE, late biſhop of *Chicheſter*, gave me cauſe to lament my Divination. In him the Public has loſt one of the beſt patrons and ſupports of letters and religion. How ſteddily and ſucceſsfully he employed his great talents of reaſon and literature in oppoſing the violence of each religious party in their turns, when court-favour was betraying them into hurtful extremes, the unjuſt reproaches of Libertines and Bigots will never ſuffer us to forget. How generouſly he encouraged and rewarded Letters, let them tell who have largely ſhared in his beneficence: for his character may be truſted with his enemies, or even with his moſt obliged friends. In him our Author has loſt, what he could but ill ſpare, one of the moſt candid of his Readers and ableſt of his Critics. What he can never loſe, is the honour of his eſteem and friendſhip.

But whatever advantage our Author may have received from the outrage of his enemies, the public is a real ſufferer. He had indeed the honour to be known to thoſe few, who could have corrected his errors, reformed his courſe, and ſhewn him ſafely through the wide and trackleſs waſte of ancient times. But the calumnies of the Bigots obliged him to a kind of quarantain, as coming lately from ſuſpected places, from the cabinet-council of *Old Lawgivers*, and the ſchools of *Heathen Philoſophers*; whoſe infection was ſuppoſed to be yet ſticking on him. And under ſuch circumſtances it is held ill-breeding to come near our Superiors.

This diſadvantage was the more ſenſible to him, as few writers have been under greater obligations to conſult the ſatisfaction of capable readers; who gave his firſt Volume ſo kind a reception; and waited with a favourable expectation for the following. And if he has made theſe readers wait too long, he has only this to ſay, that he would not follow the example of paradoxical writers, who only aim to ſtrike by a novelty. For as his point was truth, he was content his notions ſhould become ſtale and common, and forego all advantages but their native evidence, before he ſubmitted the proſecution of them to the judgement of the public.

PREFACE

TO THE

EDITION

OF MDCCLVIII.

THE ſubject of theſe Volumes had occaſionally led me to ſay many things of the genius and conſtitution of PAGAN Religion, in order to illuſtrate the divinity of the JEWISH and the CHRISTIAN: Amongſt the reſt, I attempted to explain the true origin of that opprobrium of our common nature, PERSECUTION FOR OPINIONS *: And I flattered myſelf, I had done REVELATION good ſervice, in ſhewing that this evil owed its birth to the *abſurdities of Pagan Religion*, and to the *iniquities of Pagan Politics*: for that the perſecutions of the later Jews, and afterwards, of the firſt Chriſtians, aroſe from the reaſonable conſtitution of theſe two Religions, which, by avoiding idolatry, oppoſed that univerſal principle of paganiſm, INTERCOMMUNITY OF WORSHIP; or, in other words, That the Jews and Chriſtians were perſecuted as *the enemies of mankind*, for not having Gods in common with the reſt of the World.

But a learned Critic and Divine hath lately undertaken to expoſe my miſtake; He hath endeavoured to prove, that the *firſt perſecution for opinion* was of Chriſtian original; and that the Pagans perſecuted the primitive Church, not, as I had repreſented the matter,

* See Div. Leg. vol. I. b. ii. ſect. 6.

for the unſociable genius of its Religion, which forbad all intercourſe with idolaters, but for its NOCTURNAL and CLANDESTINE ASSEMBLIES. From whence it follows, as will be ſeen by and by, that the firſt Chriſtians were fanatics, libertines, or impoſtors; and that the perſecuting Emperors, provident for the public ſafety, legally purſued a bigotted or immoral ſect for a CRIME OF STATE, and not for *matter of opinion.*

If it be aſked, How a Doctor of Laws, a Miniſter of the Goſpel, and a Judge eccleſiaſtical, would venture to amuſe us with ſo ſtrange a fancy; all I can ſay for it is, he had the pleaſure, in common with many other witty men, of writing againſt *The Divine Legation*; and he had the pleaſure too, in common with many wiſe men, of thinking he might indulge himſelf in any liberties againſt a writer whom he had the precaution not to name.—But he ſays, he never read the D. L. I can eaſily believe him: And will do him this further juſtice, that, when many have written againſt it without reading it, he is the firſt who has had the ingenuity to own it.

His ſyſtem or hypotheſis, as we find it in a late quarto volume, called *Elements of the Civil Law**, is, in ſubſtance, this,—"That the "ſame principle, which ſet the Roman Senate upon proſecuting "the abominable RITES OF BACCHUS, excited the Roman Emperors "to perſecute the PRIMITIVE CHURCH."

But it is fit, this marvellous diſcovery ſhould be revealed in his own words.—*It may be aſked* (ſays he) *in that almoſt univerſal licence and toleration, which the ancients, the Romans particularly, extended to the profeſſors of all religions whatſoever, why the chriſtian profeſſion alone, which might have expected a favourable treatment, ſeems to ſtand exempted, and frequently felt the ſeverity of the bittereſt perſecution* †.—If the learned Critic be ſerious in aſking a queſtion, which had been anſwered, and as would ſeem, to the general ſatisfaction, near twenty years ago, I ſuppoſe it is, to intimate that

* By the Rev. Dr. TAYLOR, Chancellor of Lincoln. † Page 579.

no

no other anſwer will content him but one from the Perſecutors themſelves. This then he ſhall have; though it be of ſixteen hundred years ſtanding.

PLINY the younger, when proconſul of Bithynia, acquaints his maſter with the reaſons why HE perſecuted; and the ſatisfaction he had in ſo doing:—"Neque dubitabam, qualecumque eſſet quod "fatercntur, certe PERTINACIAM, ET INFLEXIBILEM OBSTINA-"TIONEM debere puniri *." What was this *froward and inflexible obſtinacy?* He tells us, it was refuſing all *intercommunity* with paganiſm; it was refuſing to throw a ſingle grain of incenſe on their altars.

TACITUS, ſpeaking of the perſecution which followed the burning of Rome by Nero (the impiety of which action that mad tyrant had charged upon the chriſtians) ſays, "Haud perinde in "crimine incendii, quam ODIO HUMANI GENERIS convicti ſunt †." By which, I underſtand him to mean,—That though the emperor falſely charged them with the burning of Rome, yet the people acquieſced in the perſecution, on account of the enormous crime of which they were convicted, [*i. e.* judged guilty in the opinion of all men;] their *hatred to the whole race of mankind* ‡; for nothing but

* Lib. x. ep. 97. † Ann. l. xv. c. 44.

‡ Tacitus, ſpeaking of the Jews, obſerves that the end of their peculiar Rites was to ſeparate them from all other people. From their *ſeparation* he inferred their *averſion*. In this ſenſe we are to underſtand him and other Pagan writers, when they exclaim againſt the Jews for their *peculiar Rites*. Each Nation had its own: ſo that, *peculiarity* was a circumſtance common to all. What differenced the Jewiſh Rites from all others was their *end*; which was to keep the People from all intercommunity with the ſeveral religions of Paganiſm; each of which, how different ſoever in their Rites, held fellowſhip with one another.—But here a famous French Critic, who writes de omni ſcibili, comes in ſupport of our Engliſh Critic's ſyſtem of the PSEUDOMARTYRS of the primitive Church, and ſays, we all miſtake Tacitus's Latin. His words are theſe—"J'oſerais dire que ces mots *odio humani generis convicti* purraint bien ſignifier, dans le ſtile de Tacite, *convaincus d'être hais du genre-humain*, autant que *convaincus de hair le genre-humain*." [Traité ſur la Tolerance, 1763, p. 60.] He tells us, *He dare ſay*,—what not one of

"Weſtminſter's bold race

dare

but ſuch an unnatural averſion, they thought, could induce men to perſevere in rejecting ſo univerſal a principle, as *intercommunity of worſhip*.

The good emperor AURELIUS was himſelf a perſecutor. It is not to be doubted, when he ſpeaks in condemnation of the Chriſtian ſect, but that he would tell the worſt he conceived of them: and it muſt certainly have been that worſt, which made him a Perſecutor, ſo much againſt the mildneſs of his nature and the equity of his philoſophic manners. Now this ſage magiſtrate, in his book of *Meditations*, ſpeaking of the wiſe man's readineſs to give up life, expreſſes himſelf in this manner,—"He ſhould be ſo pre-"pared that his readineſs may be ſeen to be the iſſue of a well-"weighed judgment, not the effect of MERE OBSTINACY, like that "of the Chriſtians *." For *intercommunity* being in the number of firſt principles, to deny theſe could be owing to nothing but to *mere obſtinacy*, or downright ſtupidity. Here, the miſtaken duty of the magiſtrate, over-came the lenity of the man, and the juſtice of the philoſopher: at other times, his ſpeculations happily got the better of his practice. In his *conſtitution to the community of Aſia*, recorded by Euſebius, he ſays,—I know the Gods are watchful "to diſcover ſuch ſort of men. And it is much fitter that they "themſelves ſhould puniſh thoſe who REFUSE TO WORSHIP THEM, "than that we ſhould interfere in their quarrel †." The emperor, at length, ſpeaks out: and what we could only infer from

dare ſay,—*that theſe words, odio humani generis convicti, may well ſignify in the ſtyle of Tacitus, convicted of being hated by the human race, as well as convicted of hating the human race.*" And now Tacitus, ſo long famed for his political ſagacity, will be made to pronounce this galimatias from his oracular Tripod, "*The Jews were not convicted ſo pro-*"*perly for the* CRIME *of ſetting fire to Rome, as for the* CRIME OF BEING HATED *by all* "*mankind.*"

*—Τὸ δὲ ἕτοιμον τοῦτο, ἵνα ἀπὸ ἰδικῆς κρίσεως ἔρχηται, μὴ καλὰ ψιλὴν παράταξιν, ὡς οἱ χριστιανοί. L. xi. § 3.

† Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶδ', ὅτι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιμελὲς ἐστι, μὴ λανθάνειν τὸς τοιούτους· πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνοι κολάσαιεν ἂν τὸς μὴ βουλομένους αὐτοὺς προσκυνεῖν ἢ ὑμεῖς. Eccl. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 13.

Pliny,

Pliny, from Tacitus, and from the paſſage in the Meditations, he now declares in ſo many words; viz. that THE CHRISTIANS WERE PERSECUTED FOR REFUSING TO WORSHIP THE GODS OF THE GENTILES.

Laſtly, the imperial Sophiſt, who, of all the idolaters, was moſt learned in this *myſtery of iniquity*, as having employed all his politics and his pedantry to varniſh over the deformities of perſecution, frankly owns, that "the Jews and Chriſtians brought the execration of the world upon them, by their AVERSION TO THE GODS OF THE GENTILES *."

We have ſeen, from the MAGISTRATE's own teſtimony, what it was for which he perſecuted. We ſhall now ſee, from the PEOPLE's demand, that they required the exertion of his power, on no other account. It was uſual in their ſanguinary ſhews, when criminals and offending ſlaves were expoſed to the beaſts, to call out for and demand execution on the Chriſtians, by the formula of AIPE ΤΟΥΣ ΑΘΕΟΥΣ. This was their early language when they required Polycarp for the ſlaughter. The name ATHEIST was only one of their more odious terms, for a rejector of their Gods. And it was but too natural, when they wanted to have their rage and cruelty thus gratified, to uſe expreſſions, which, at the ſame time that the terms were moſt calumniating, implied the very crime for which the magiſtrate was wont to perſecute.

What ſays our learned Civilian to this evidence? He allows Antiquity to have proved the *Fact*, that the pagan emperors did perſecute. But for what, is a queſtion (ſays he) that *may ſtill be aſked*. And the true anſwer, with your leave, he thinks himſelf better able to give than the Perſecutors themſelves. *My reader* (theſe are his words) *will grant the fact*; *and* I COME NOW TO ACCOUNT FOR IT. The *account*, we find, had been ſettled long ago. What

* Ἀλλὰ τὸ, Οὐ προσκυνήσεις θεοῖς ἑτέροις. ὃ δὴ μέγα τῆς περὶ τὸν θεὸν φησι διαβολῆς. Θεὸς γὰρ ζηλωτής φησι—Ἄφελε τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, καὶ μὴ τηλικαύτην ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς ἔλκειε βλασφημίαν. JULIAN apud Cyril. cont. Jul. lib. v.

of

of that? It had never paſſed through his philologic Office; and therefore lay ſtill open till our maſter-critic was at leiſure to examine it.

It is not true (ſays this redreſſer of wrongs) *that the primitive Chriſtians held their aſſemblies in the night-time to avoid the interruptions of the civil power. But the converſe of that propoſition is true* IN THE UTMOST LATITUDE, *viz. that they met with moleſtations from that quarter, becauſe their aſſemblies were nocturnal* *.

He ſays, *it is not true:* The Chriſtian Church ſays, *it is.* Who ſhall decide? A bundle of Grammarians; or the college of Apoſtles? I know *his* mind: and I gueſs at my reader's: And of the two, being at preſent more diſpoſed to gratify the latter, I ſhall, for once, venture to bring our Civilian before a foreign Judicatory, that is to ſay, HOLY SCRIPTURE.

From Scripture we learn, that the firſt Chriſtian aſſembly, held in the *night time*, was the very night after the RESURRECTION; when the diſciples met in a *clandeſtine* manner, with the doors made faſt upon them: and this, we are aſſured, was to *avoid the interruptions of the civil power*; or, in the plainer words of St. John, FOR FEAR OF THE JEWS †: for the Soldiers' ſtory of the reſurrection began now to make a noiſe; and the Jewiſh rulers were much ſtartled and enraged at it. But when the fright of the diſciples was a little over, and things had ſubſided into a calm, the next aſſembly, we hear of, was *in the day time*; without any marks of the former wary circumſpection ‡. Theſe open meetings were repeated as often as the returns of public worſhip required: ſometimes ſhifting from houſe to houſe; ſometimes more ſtationary in the Temple §.

But when now the MIRACLES, worked by the apoſtles in confirmation of the ſoldiers' ſtory, had alarmed the rulers afreſh; and Peter and John, whom they had put into priſon, were, on their releaſement, enjoined ſilence, the Church, aſſembled in this exi-

* Id. ib. † John xx. 19. ‡ Acts i. 14.—ii. 1. § Acts ii. 46.

gence

gence to implore the divine direction touching the extent of their obedience to the civil power, was anſwered by ſenſible ſigns from heaven, as at the day of Pentecoſt.—*And when they had prayed* (ſays the hiſtorian) *the place was ſhaken where they were aſſembled together; and they were all filled with the Holy Ghoſt, and they ſpake the word of God* WITH BOLDNESS *.

Here we ſee, that this ſecond perſecution had a different effect upon the Church from the former. At firſt, they aſſembled in a clandeſtine manner *for fear of the* Jews; now, they continued *openly* in the Temple *to ſpeak the word of God with boldneſs.* This conduct ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt: and the reaſon is not difficult to comprehend. The Church was now, for the firſt time, ſolemnly enjoined ſilence by Authority. It was fit it ſhould be as ſolemnly decided, Who was to be obeyed; GOD, or the civil Magiſtrate. But this was not all: the deciſion ſerved another very great purpoſe; it ſerved, to diſſeminate the Faith: for the natural conſequence of the diſciples' perſiſting to diſcharge their miniſtry, after they had been formally forbidden, was their being *ſcattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria* †. Had the Church taken its uſual remedy againſt civil violence, namely *ſecret aſſemblies* (which, in ordinary caſes, modeſty and a ſober regard to authority preſcribe), the faithful had not been diſperſed; and the purpoſe of divine Providence, in the ſpeedy propagation of the Goſpel, had not been properly effected.

This being the caſe, in the interval between the diſperſion, and St. Paul's miraculous converſion, we hear of no *nocturnal aſſemblies*; unleſs you reckon in the number that between the Diſciples and their illuſtrious Convert, on the town-wall of Damaſcus, when they let him down in a baſket, to eſcape his perſecutors ‡. In this condition, things remained till Paul's return to Jeruſalem: and then, ſays my text, *the Churches had reſt throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria* §.

* Acts iv. 31. † Acts viii. 1. ‡ Acts ix. 25. § Ver. 31.

From this time, till Herod's perſecution *, we have not one word of any *nocturnal aſſembly* of the Faithful: but no ſooner did that perſecution commence than thoſe meetings were again re-aſſumed. The Church aſſembled at midnight to pray for Peter's deliverance out of priſon: and he, when he was delivered by their prayers, found more difficulty to get to his ſecreted friends than to eſcape from his gaolers †.

In a word, from this hiſtory of the firſt propagation of the Faith, we learn, that, in times of perſecution, the Church aſſembled by ſtealth, and in the night: but whenever they had a breathing time, and were at liberty to worſhip God according to their conſcience, they always met together openly, and in the face of day. Thus when Paul came firſt to Rome (where this ſect ſhared in the general toleration of foreign worſhip, till the magiſtrate underſtood that it condemned the great principle of *intercommunity*), we learn, that he freely diſcharged the office of his miniſtry *from morning to night* ‡. And the ſacred writer, as if on purpoſe to inſinuate, that, when the Church had reſt from perſecution, it never crept into holes and corners, ends his narrative in this manner;—*And Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired houſe, and* RECEIVED ALL *that came in unto him; preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching thoſe things which concern the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with all confidence,* NO MAN FORBIDDING HIM §.

It may be objected, perhaps, "that the queſtion is, of the *perſecuting Pagans*; and all that has been here ſaid, concerns the *perſecuting Jews* only." It does ſo: But who can help it? The Jews happened to perſecute, firſt. As to the *queſtion*, that which is eſſential in it is only this, Whether the primitive Chriſtians held their clandeſtine aſſemblies to avoid perſecution; or whether they were perſecuted for holding clandeſtine aſſemblies?—Who perſecuted, whether Jews or Pagans, is merely incidental to the queſ-

* Acts xii. 1. † Acts xii. 13. ‡ Acts xxviii. 23.
§ Acts xxviii. 30, 31.

tion,

tion, and wholly indifferent to the deciſion of it. But it may ſtill be ſaid, "That the Chriſtians having thus gotten the habit of clandeſtine aſſemblies in Judea; by that time Churches became formed in the midſt of paganiſm, they continued the ſame mode of worſhip, though the occaſion of its introduction was now over; ſo that the learned Doctor's poſition may yet be true, That the Pagans perſecuted for thoſe clandeſtine meetings, which had been firſt begun in Judea, to avoid perſecution, and were now continued in contempt of authority." To this I anſwer, that the *fact*, on the Doctor's *own* principles, is impoſſible. According to his principles, clandeſtine meetings muſt be proſecuted as ſoon as obſerved; and they are of a nature to be obſerved as ſoon as practiſed. Now all Antiquity, both prophane and ſacred, aſſures us, that the chriſtian Church was not perſecuted on its firſt appearance amongſt the Pagans: who were not eaſily brought, even when excited by the Jews, to ſecond their malice, or to ſupport their impotence.

But the *fact* is, in the higheſt degree, improbable on *any* principles. Had our learned Critic conſulted what Philoſophers, and not what Philologiſts, call HUMANITY, that is, the workings of our common nature, he had never fallen into ſo abſurd a conceit, as that the inſpired propagators of a Revelation from heaven ſhould, without any reaſonable cauſe, and only in imitation of pagan worſhip, affect clandeſtine and nocturnal meetings. For he might have ſeen, that ſo ſtrange a conduct had not only been in contempt of their divine Maſter's example, who, at his arraignment before the high prieſt, ſaid, *I ſpake* OPENLY *to the world*; *and* IN SECRET *have I ſaid nothing**; but likewiſe in defiance of his injunction, when he ſent them to propagate the faith,—*What I tell you* IN DARKNESS, *that ſhall you ſpeak* IN THE LIGHT: *and what ye hear* IN THE EAR, *that preach ye* UPON THE HOUSE-TOPS†. Had our Critic (I ſay) paid that attention to human nature and to the courſe of the moral world, which he has miſapplied upon an old mouldy

* John xviii. 20. † Matth. x. 27.

braſs, and a ſet of ſtrolling Bacchanals *, he might have underſtood, that the firſt Chriſtians, under the habitual guidance of the Holy Spirit, could never have recourſe to nocturnal or clandeſtine conventicles till driven to them by the violence of perſecution: he might have underſtood, that the free choice of ſuch aſſemblies muſt needs be an after-practice, when church-men had debaſed the truth and purity of Religion by human inventions and ſordid ſuperſtitions; when, an emulous affectation of MYSTERY, and a miſtaken zeal for the tombs of the MARTYRS, had made a Hierarchy of that, which at firſt was only a Goſpel-miniſtry.

On the whole, therefore, we need not, I think, aſk leave of this learned man to continue in our opinion, *that the primitive Chriſtians held their aſſemblies in the night-time to avoid the interruptions of the civil power*; and to eſteem his CONVERSE *propoſition*, as he affects to call it *(of their meeting with moleſtation from that quarter*, BECAUSE *their aſſemblies were nocturnal)* as a mere dream or viſion.

But to hide nothing which may concern a matter of ſuch importance as our Critic's *Diſcoveries*; I will ingenuouſly confeſs, how much ſoever it may make againſt me, that there are inſtances in ſacred ſtory of meetings at midnight and before dawn of day, to which *no interruption of the civil Power* had driven the diſciples of Chriſt; but which were evidently done in contempt and defiance of that Power: ſuch, for example, was the clandeſtine meeting between Mary and the two Angels at the ſepulchre †: that between the Apoſtles and the Angel of the Lord in the common priſon ‡: and that, again, between Peter and the ſame Angel §: not to ſpeak of another famous *midnight aſſembly* between Paul, Silas, the Gaoler and an Earthquake ||.

* All theſe refined ſpeculations concerning perſecution, are at the end of the ſaid book of Elements; in a diſſertation on a curious ancient tablet, containing the ſenatorial decree againſt a crew of wicked Bacchanals, of the ſize and dignity of our modern Gypſies.

† John xx. 11, 12.

‡ Acts v. 18, 19.

§ Acts xii.

|| Acts xvi. 25.

We

We come now to the learned perſon's ſecond propoſition, called by way of eminence, the CONVERSE; which affirms, *That the primitive Chriſtians met with moleſtations from the civil power, becauſe their aſſemblies were nocturnal.* And this he aſſures us *is true* IN THE UTMOST LATITUDE; which in his language, I ſuppoſe, ſignifies, *true in the* EXACTEST SENSE, for his argument requires ſome ſuch meaning. Now in common Engliſh—*true in the utmoſt latitude*, ſignifies *true*, *in the* LOWEST SENSE; for the *greater latitude* you give to any thing, the *looſer* you make it. This moſt eloquent editor of Demoſthenes therefore, by *utmoſt latitude* may be allowed to mean, what makes moſt to his purpoſe; though it be what an Engliſhman would leaſt ſuſpect,—*utmoſt ſtrictneſs*. And now for his reaſoning.—By the *moleſtations the Chriſtians met with*, we muſt needs underſtand the FIRST moleſtations; all other being nothing to the purpoſe: for when perſecution was once on foot, I make no doubt but the *nocturnal aſſemblies*, to which perſecution had driven them, gave freſh umbrage to the Civil power; it being of the nature of a perſecuting ſpirit to take offence at the very endeavours to evade its tyranny. The queſtion between the learned Civilian and me, is, What gave birth to the *firſt*, and continued to be the *general*, cauſe of perſecution? He ſays it aroſe from *nocturnal and clandeſtine aſſemblies*: I ſuppoſe it to be occaſioned by the *Atheiſtic* renunciation of the Gods of Paganiſm.

Now it ſeems to be a violent prejudice againſt the learned Critic's ſyſtem, that no one of thoſe perſecutors ever aſſigned *nocturnal aſſemblies* as the *firſt* or *general* cauſe of perſecution; and equally favourable for my opinion, that they all concur in giving another cauſe; namely, the unhoſpitable temper of the Chriſtians, in refuſing to have Gods in common with the reſt of mankind.

PLINY, in doubt how to act with the Chriſtians of his diſtrict, writes to his maſter for inſtructions. His embarras, he tells the emperor, was occaſioned by his never having been preſent at their examinations; which made him incapable of judging *what*, or *how* he

he was to profecute. "Cognitionibus de Chriſtianis interfui nun-
"quam: ideo neſcio *quid* et *quatenus* aut puniri ſoleat aut quæri."
He wanted to know, whether the very NAME was not criminal;
either for itſelf, or for ſome miſchief hid under it——"Nomen
"ipſum etiam ſi flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohærentia nomini
"puniantur." But could a Roman Magiſtrate, when at a loſs for a
pretence to perſecute, overlook ſo fair a one as *voluntary, unforced clandeſtine aſſemblies*, and hunt after a mormo hid in the combination of four ſyllables? Not that he wanted a Precedent for proceeding on theſe viſionary grounds; but the very Precedent ſhews that the Perſecutors wanted better. TERTULLIAN aſſures us, that the Chriſtians had been actually perſecuted for the NAME *only*. "Non
"ſcelus aliquod in cauſa, ſed NOMEN; Chriſtianus, ſi nullius criminis
"reus, *nomen* valde infeſtum, ſi *ſolius nominis* crimen eſt—ſi nominis
"odium eſt, quis nominum reatus: quæ accuſatio vocabulorum?
"niſi ſi aut barbarum ſonat aliqua vox nominis, aut infauſtum,
"aut maledicum, aut impudicum," &c. From whence, by the way, allow me to conclude, that when a harmleſs NAME becomes ſo odious as to occaſion the Sect, which bears it, to be perſecuted, the averſion muſt ariſe from ſome *eſſential* principle of that Sect, and not from a *caſual* circumſtance attending their religious practice.—But to return to Pliny; at laſt he diſcovers ſomething worthy of animadverſion. It was their FROWARD AND INFLEXIBLE OBSTINACY:—"neque dubitabam, qualecumque eſſet quod fate-
"rentur, pervicaciam certe et *inflexibilem obſtinationem* debere puniri."
Now is it poſſible, if the Chriſtians were firſt perſecuted, and continued to be perſecuted, for holding their aſſemblies in the night-time, that Pliny, after ſo much experience of it, ſhould not know the crime, nor how to proceed againſt the offenders? What is ſtill more unaccountable, TRAJAN, in anſwer to this application, is unable to deliver any general rule for the direction of his Miniſter.—"Neque enim in univerſum aliquid, quod quaſi
"certam formam habeat, conſtitui poteſt." But the aſſembling in a

clan-

clandeſtine manner by night, if this was the Crime which gave offence, is an action that admits of few modifications in a Court of Juſtice; and ſo might be commodiouſly ſubmitted to a general rule. On the other hand, if what the author of *The Divine Legation* ſays, be true, that they were perſecuted for oppoſing the principle of INTERCOMMUNITY, we ſee plainly why no general rule could be delivered. They expreſſed this oppoſition in various ways and manners; ſome more, ſome leſs, offenſive:—by ſimply refuſing to worſhip with the Pagans, when called upon; by running to their tribunals uncalled; by making a profeſſion of their faith, unaſked; or by affronting the national religion, unprovoked. Now, ſo juſt and clement a prince as Trajan might well think, theſe different modes of expreſſing their abhorrence of intercommunity deſerved different degrees of animadverſion.

When Nero, in a mad frolic, ſet Rome on fire, and then threw that atrocious act upon the Chriſtians, it is highly probable that the *nocturnal aſſemblies* of the Faithful (which, by this time, perſecution had introduced amongſt them) firſt ſtarted the happy thought, and encouraged him to purſue it. Now, if this, which is very probable, and our Critic's hypotheſis, which is very improbable, be both true, I cannot ſee how it was poſſible for TACITUS, when he acquits them of this calumny, and at the ſame time expreſſes the utmoſt virulence againſt them, to omit the mention of their nocturnal aſſemblies, had they been begun without neceſſity, and obſtinately continued after the civil magiſtrate had forbidden them. Inſtead of this, all he had to object to the Chriſtians, was their *odium humani generis:* of which, indeed, he ſays, they were convicted; *convicti ſunt:* an expreſſion, without either propriety or truth, unleſs we ſuppoſe he underſtood their refuſal of *intercommunity* to be a conviction: other proof there was none: for when examined on the rack concerning this *hatred of mankind* *, they

* *i. e.* Concerning their principles and their practice, from whence the Pagans inferred their *hatred of mankind.*

conſtantly

conſtantly denied the charge; and appealed as well to their principles as their practice; both of which declared their univerſal love and benevolence to all the creatures of God. But to reprobate the Gods of Rome, the *Orbis Romanus*, (of which our Critic can tell us wonders) was proclaiming *hatred and averſion to all the world.* Hence it is that Quintilian, ſpeaking of the topics of diſpraiſe, ſays that *the Author of the Jewiſh Religion*, (equally reprobating, with the Author of the Chriſtian, the univerſal principle of *intercommunity*) *was deſervedly hated and held ignominious as the founder of a ſuperſtition which was the* BANE *of all other Religions.*—Et parentes malorum odimus: Et eſt conditoribus urbium infamiæ, contraxiſſe aliquam PERNICIOSAM cæteris gentem, qualis eſt primus Judaicæ ſuperſtitionis Auctor. But why *pernicious and baleful to the reſt*, if not by accuſing and comdemning all other Inſtitutions of error and impoſture?

MARCUS AURELIUS and JULIAN were vigilant and active; well inſtructed in the rights of Society; and not a little jealous of the intereſts of the Magiſtrate. Yet neither of theſe princes ever accuſe the Chriſtians of running to nocturnal aſſemblies unprovoked, or of perſiſting in the practice againſt imperial edicts. What a field was here for Aurelius, who deſpiſed them, to urge his charge of *brutal obſtinacy*; and for Julian, who feared them, to cry aloud of *danger to the ſtate*; their two favourite topics againſt theſe enemies of their Religion and Philoſophy!

But ſacred ſtory may help us out where the civil fails: let us ſee then how this matter ſtands repreſented in Scripture: for I make our Critic's cauſe my own, as ſuppoſing we are both in the purſuit of Truth.

I have already given a brief account of the Aſſemblies of the infant-church, as they are occaſionally mentioned in the hiſtory of the *Acts of the Apoſtles.*

Our Critic's *converſe* propoſition, which we are now upon, only requires us to ſhew in what light the perſecutors of the Apoſtles conſidered

conſidered this matter; and whether *nocturnal aſſemblies*, when any ſuch were held, either gave advantage to their Jewiſh accuſers, or umbrage to the pagan Magiſtrate, before whom the propagators of the Goſpel were convened.

The perſecutions recorded in the hiſtory of the *Acts* were almoſt all of them raiſed, or at leaſt, fomented, by the Jews. Their ſeveral accuſations againſt thoſe they called apoſtate brethren are minutely recorded: and yet the crime of *aſſembling by night* is never brought into account. In the mean time, their point was to make the unwilling Magiſtrate the inſtrument of their malice: for this reaſon they omitted nothing which might tend to alarm the jealouſy of the State; as when they accuſed the Chriſtians of ſetting up another king, againſt Cæſar. Had their nocturnal aſſemblies therefore been held out of *choice*, they would not have neglected this advantage, ſince nothing could more alarm the civil Magiſtrate than ſuch aſſemblies. The truth is, the Jews could not be ignorant of the advantage this would afford them. But conſcience and humanity are not to be overcome at once. To accuſe thoſe they hated, of what they themſelves had occaſioned, required a hardineſs in vice which comes only by degrees; and after a long habit of abuſing civil juſtice and the common rights of mankind.

Our Critic, perhaps, may be ready to ſay, "That it is probable the Jews did accuſe the Chriſtian Church of this miſdemeanor, though the hiſtorian, in his ſuccinct hiſtory of the *Acts*, hath omitted to record it."

But this ſubterfuge will never paſs with thoſe who conſider how unwilling the Roman Magiſtrate always was to interfere in their conteſts, as clearly apprehending, the ſubject of them to be of *certain matters concerning their law*: ſo that, under this diſpoſition, nothing could be more effectual to quicken his jealouſy and reſentment, than the charge of *clandeſtine aſſemblies*; of which, doubtleſs, the Romans were very jealous, as contrary to their fundamental Laws, though not ſo extravagantly umbragious as our Critic's hypotheſis obliges him to ſuppoſe.

But it will be ſaid, "Were *clandeſtine meetings* never objected to the primitive Chriſtians?" Yes, very often. CELSUS objected ſuch *meetings* to them, as things contrary to law *. But ORIGEN's reply will ſet matters right. He ſays, the Church was driven upon this obnoxious meaſure to avoid the unjuſt perſecution of its enemies †: Nay Celſus, in a more ingenuous humour, confeſſes, they had reaſon for what they did; there being no other way to eſcape the ſevereſt puniſhments ‡. At leaſt then, I have the honour of finding this reverend Epicurean on my ſide, againſt our Civilian and his *converſe propoſition*.

Theſe meetings, therefore, it is confeſſed, ſubjected the Church to much cenſure; but that was all. Tertullian, vindicating the Chriſtians on this head, ſays—"Hæc coitio chriſtianorum merito "ſane illicita, ſi illicitis par; merito damnanda, ſi quis de ea que-"ritur eo titulo quod de factionibus querela eſt §." The paſſage is remarkable; and ſhews, not only that the Chriſtians were never brought into condemnation for nocturnal meetings; but, why they were not; namely becauſe nothing bad or even ſuſpicious could be proved againſt them. The *law of the twelve tables* ſays, "Si qui "in urbe cœtus nocturnos agitaſſit, capital eſto;" meaning, if celebrated without the licence of the magiſtrate ||. The Chriſtians applied for this licence: it was denied them. They aſſembled:

* ὅσαι κατὰ νόμους γίγνονται. Orig. cont. Celſ.

† ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ κινδύνου.

‡ οὐ μάτην τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν, ἅτε διωθούμενοι τὴν ἐπηρτημένην αὐτοῖς δίκην τοῦ θανάτου.

§ Apol. cap. xxxviii.

|| This appears to be the true ſenſe of the *Law*, from a paſſage in Cicero's dialogue *De Legibus*. Atticus thought him too ſevere upon *nocturnal aſſemblies*: he vindicates himſelf by obſerving, that, even in the midſt of Greece, Diagondas, the Theban, totally aboliſhed them.—Ne nos duriores forte videamur, in media Græcia, Diagondas Thebanus lege perpetua ſuſtulit. From hence I infer theſe two things; That, were not the *Law of the twelve tables* to be underſtood in the ſenſe here given to it, Cicero needed not have gone ſo far as Thebes for his juſtification: and ſecondly, that his laying ſo much ſtreſs upon the abolition's being made in the midſt of Greece, ſhews how ſtrongly, in his opinion, that country was attached to *nocturnal aſſemblies*.

and

and ſuch aſſemblies are only liable to animadverſion, if any thing criminal or immoral be committed in them. Crimes were indeed pretended; but on enquiry, as we find by Pliny, they could not be proved. This I take to be the true explanation of Tertullian's argument: by which we underſtand that the Chriſtians were not *perſecuted*, but only *calumniated*, for their nocturnal aſſemblies.

Maximus, a pagan Philoſopher of Madaura, deſires to know of AUSTIN why the Chriſtians ſo much affected *myſtery*. To which the anſwer is, "That, without doubt, this idolater did not mean, "the meetings in caverns and ſepulchres, in which the faithful "were wont to aſſemble during the heat of perſecution—but their "myſteries of Baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper*." St. Auſtin ſuppoſes Maximus did not intend to object to their clandeſtine meetings: however, if he did, he is ready to juſtify them on the plea of neceſſity, and to avoid perſecution. Another ſad diſcredit to the *converſe propoſition*.

But ſince our Civil Judge is ſo eager to have the primitive Chriſtians found guilty of *a crime of ſtate*, at his tribunal; I will, out of tenderneſs to his credit, and deference to his authority, conſent to give them up; and fairly confeſs, they were not only accuſed, but even puniſhed for high treaſon, the *crimen læſæ majeſtatis*. The proceſs was thus carried on. Chriſtians refuſed to worſhip the Gods of Rome. Sacrificing for the ſafety of the empire, and for the life of the emperor, made part of that worſhip. If the Chriſtians could not worſhip, they could not ſacrifice: But this ſacrifice was eſteemed a neceſſary part of civil obedience. The omiſſion of it, therefore, was a crime of ſtate, and amounted to high treaſon. Tertullian ſums up the charge, and pleads guilty to it. "Deos "inquitis (ſays he, repeating the pagan accuſation) non colitis, et "pro imperatoribus ſacrificia non impenditis:—ſacrilegii & ma-"jeſtatis rei convenimur. SUMMA HÆC CAUSA, IMO TOTA EST." Here again we ſee, Antiquity gives the excluſion to the *converſe*

* Ep. xliv.

propoſition: for if this was the only cauſe of perſecution, certainly nocturnal aſſemblies was not one. I could wiſh therefore, by this *crime of ſtate*, to ſave the learned Doctor's credit and authority. But I am afraid, on examination, it will prove no more than their refuſal to *communicate* in pagan worſhip. Tertullian himſelf, in the paſſage quoted above, makes it amount to no more. However, it was eſteemed to be the *crimen læſæ majeſtatis:* and this we are not to wonder at; for one of the greateſt ornaments of Paganiſm, long before the moving this queſtion, had declared, that even the *excluſive* worſhip of one God came pretty near the matter. MAJESTATEM IMPERII NON DECUISSE UT UNUS TANTUM DEUS COLATUR, ſays Cicero, in his oration for Flaccus.

You ſee then, at length, to what our Critic's diſcovery amounts. No marvel he triumphs in it. "And now (ſays he) can any one "doubt that the conſiderations I have mentioned were thoſe which "GAVE AN EDGE to the Roman perſecutions? The profeſſors of "Chriſtianity had NO REASON to be apprehenſive of any ſeverities "upon the ſcore of religion, any more than the profeſſors of ANY "OTHER RELIGION beſides. *Antiquity, in its public capacity*, was "generally very indulgent to all who diſſented from the eſtabliſhed "worſhip: perſecution for DIFFERENCE OF BELIEF ALONE owes its "nativity to more modern ages, and Spain was its country; where "Priſcillian, by ſome, is held to be the firſt ſufferer for mere opi-"nion *."

——*And now can any one doubt that the conſiderations I have mentioned were thoſe which* GAVE AN EDGE *to the Roman perſecutions?* —For a truſty Guide, allow me to recommend him, to the reader; whom he is ready to miſlead, the very firſt ſtep he makes. The queſtion is, and ſo he himſelf has ſtated it, *what* OCCASIONED *the Roman perſecutions?* Here, he changes it to—*What* GAVE AN EDGE *to them?—Nocturnal aſſemblies* might *give an edge* to the perſecutions, and yet all be true that his Adverſary affirms, and the per-

* Page 579, 580.

ſecutions

ſecutions be *occaſioned* by a very different thing.—But our Critic is ſo highly figurative, and often ſo ſublime, as to tranſcend the common liberties of ſpeech. Thus he ſpeaks of *Antiquity in its public capacity*, meaning, I ſuppoſe, the civil ſtates of Greece and Rome; though in the mode of ordinary language it would be no inelegant periphraſis for the NEW INCORPORATED SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES: again he talks of the *nativity of perſecution*, and of its being a native of Spain; and yet he ſeems not to mean, as you would fancy, its *birth*, but its *education*. For he tells us * it was *born* long before, in Egypt; where it occaſioned, what he calls, their *holy wars*; which, by his own account, were *perſecutions for difference of belief alone*. However, as this Egyptian intrigue was but a *miſcarriage*, and a kind of coming before its time, he forces it to enter again into the womb of Fate, and to be born, we ſee, a ſecond time for the honour of Chriſtianity. Since then, our Critic's figures are ſo new, and of ſo tranſcendent a kind, why may we not ſuppoſe that, the *giving an edge to perſecution*, may ſignify the *giving a ſword* to it, and then all will be right.

——*The profeſſors of Chriſtianity* (ſays he) *had no reaſon to be apprehenſive of any ſeverities upon the ſcore of Religion.*—The more fools they; when their Maſter had pointed out ſo many. If they *had no reaſon*, it muſt be becauſe *no reaſon* would make an impreſſion. For they were frequently reminded by him, of what they were to ſuffer, not indeed for aſſembling in the night-time, but *for his* NAME SAKE, *and becauſe of the* WORD †. St. Paul too had expreſsly aſſured the churches, that *all who live godly in Jeſus Chriſt ſhall ſuffer perſecution* ‡. But where was the wonder, that they, who paid ſo little attention to their Maſter, ſhould pay ſtill leſs to their Fellow-ſervant?

——Hear me out, however, cries our learned Critic: I affirm that *the profeſſors of Chriſtianity had no reaſon to be apprehenſive of any ſeverities upon the ſcore of Religion*, ANY MORE *than the profeſſors*

* Page 583. † Matt. xiii. 21. ‡ 2 Tim. iii. 12.

of

of any other ſect or religion beſides. On my word, he has mended matters greatly! What, had the *profeſſors of other ſects or religions* any PROPHESIES OR REVELATIONS *of ſeverities upon the ſcore of religion?*

But, from this eſſential difference in the *external* circumſtances of theſe two ſets of *Profeſſors*, the Pagan and the Chriſtian, we will turn to the *internal:* And, under this head, let me aſk another queſtion. The *Profeſſors* of the faith held it to be unlawful, and a deadly ſin, to have *communion or fellowſhip* with the Gods of the Heathen. But had the *Profeſſors* of Idolatry any of theſe ſcruples, or did they hold any thing analogous to them? On the contrary, did not the *Profeſſors* of Gaul, of Greece, of Aſia, and of Egypt, join heartily with the Profeſſors of Rome, to pay all due honours to the eſtabliſhed religion? while thoſe maſters of the world as heartily joined communion with theſe ſtrangers: nay, were ready to do the ſame honours to the Goſpel, had they found the ſame diſpoſition towards mutual civilities among its followers.

And was this ſo trifling a difference as to deſerve no notice either of the Critic or the Civilian? Had the Chriſtians, who damned Paganiſm in the lump, and reprobated the eſtabliſhed religion of Rome, as the work of evil demons and evil men, *no more reaſon to be apprehenſive of any ſeverities from this antiquity in its public capacity, than the profeſſors of any other religion beſides*, all of which not only acknowledged the Gods of Rome, but, to make good weight, added Rome itſelf to the number of her Divinities? This *public capacitied antiquity* muſt have been of an odd paſte, and ſtrangely compoſed, to uſe thoſe, who attempted the deſtruction of its Gods, in the ſame gentle way it treated thoſe who revered and honoured them.

But, as this *public capacitied antiquity* is, after all, no more than a fantom, and *owes its nativity* to our Critic's brain, it is no wonder, it ſhould have ſomething of the perverſity of its parent; who, ſearching for the CAUSE of Perſecution, could not find it in a circumſtance in which idolatry and Chriſtianity *differed*, namely, *excluſive*

cluſive worſhip, a principle moſt abhorred by paganiſm; and yet can ſee it in a circumſtance where both agreed, namely, *nocturnal worſhip*, a practice moſt venerated by paganiſm.

But *antiquity* (ſays he) *in its public capacity was generally very indulgent to all who diſſented from the eſtabliſhed worſhip.* This, he had many ways of learning: but the *cauſe* of the indulgence, if it be yet unknown to him, he will owe to the author of *The Divine Legation*, who hath ſhewn that it was entirely owing to the *abſurdity* of its religious ſyſtems, juſt as the want of this indulgence, under Chriſtianity, was occaſioned by the *reaſonableneſs* of its ſyſtem, unreaſonably indeed inforced upon the miſtaken principles of Judaiſm. So that the indulgence of Paganiſm had continued to this day, had not Chriſtianity come boiſterouſly in, and broken the peace. Then aroſe an exception, unfavourable to the new Comer: For why was the eſtabliſhed religion ſo indulgent to every ſtrange ſect, but becauſe every ſtrange ſect was as indulgent to the eſtabliſhed? So that, in this commerce of mutual civilities, while the national worſhip enjoyed the civil rights of an Eſtabliſhment, it was content, the Stranger ſhould ſtill poſſeſs the natural rights of a Toleration. But all this good harmony, the Chriſtian faith diſturbed and violated. It condemned paganiſm in the groſs, whether *eſtabliſhed* or *tolerated:* and, under pain of damnation, required all men, both Greeks and Barbarians, to forſake their ancient abſurdities, and profeſs their faith in a crucified Saviour. A circumſtance, ſufficient, one would think, without *nocturnal aſſemblies*, to ſour this ſweet-tempered *Antiquity in its public capacity.*

But he goes on—*Perſecution for* DIFFERENCE OF BELIEF ALONE *owes its nativity to more modern ages; and Spain was its country, where Priſcillian, by ſome, is held to be the firſt ſufferer for mere opinion.*

Here we have another caſt of his office. The queſtion between us is, "Whether the Chriſtians were firſt perſecuted for their *faith* "*in general*, or for their *nocturnal aſſemblies*." I hold the former; he contends for the latter: and to confute my opinion, obſerves

"that

" that *perſecution for* DIFFERENCE of *belief alone*, was of later date, " and began with Priſcillian :" That is, perſecution for MODES OF FAITH began at that time. Well, and if it did, what then ? What is this to the diſpute between us ? I never held, becauſe Jeſus and his apoſtles never foretold, that the firſt Chriſtians ſhould be perſecuted by the Pagans for *modes of Faith* ; but on the contrary, for the very *genius of that Faith*, ſo oppoſite to the idolatrous world.

Paganiſm had no dogmatic theology, or, what we call *Religion :* and not having the thing, it was no wonder they had not the word : neither the Greeks nor Romans, with all their abundance, had a word for that moral mode : the Latin word *Religio*, when it comes neareſt to it. ſignifies only a *ſet of ceremonies*. However, though they were without a dogmatic theology, yet they had their general principles ; but theſe principles regarded *utility* rather than *truth* ; the chief of which was that of *intercommunity* ; which the principle of Chriſtianity directly oppoſing, they roſe againſt this principle, and ſo began a perſecution. Pagans therefore, having no *modes of faith*, could not perſecute for any : but Chriſtians, who had, might and did perſecute for them.

Again, when the perſecution is for *modes of faith*, their truth or falſhood comes in queſtion : when for the *common genius of a religion*, its harmleſſneſs or malignity is the only matter of inquiry. Now the pagan perſecutors were ſo far from regarding Chriſtianity as a falſe religion, that they were ready *, according to their *general indulgence to all who diſſented from the eſtabliſhed worſhip*, to put the profeſſors of the Faith on a footing with other foreign ſects : but this would not ſerve their turn. The Chriſtians believed their Religion to be the only true ; and therefore, that it ſhould be the

* Cæcilius, the Pagan, in Minucius Felix, draws the following extraordinary character of the genius of the Roman Religion—dum obſeſſi, et citra ſolum capitolium capti, colunt deos, quos alius jam ſpreviſſet iratos—dum captis hoſtilibus mœnibus, adhuc ferociente victoria, numina victa venerantur : dum undique hoſpites deos quærunt, et ſuos faciunt : dum aras extruunt etiam *ignotis numinibus* et manibus. Sic dum univerſarum gentium ſacra ſuſcipiunt, etiam regna meruerunt.

only

only one profeſſed. This PARADOX brought on perſecution. But for what? not for the profeſſion of a *falſehood*; but for a practiſed *hatred to the whole race of mankind.*

Here then, we find, the learned Critic has ſhuffled in one queſtion for another; and again put the change upon his reader; and perhaps, upon himſelf.

But to let his *reaſoning* paſs, and come to his *fact*: which, as a Critic, he is much more concerned, in honour, to ſupport.—— *Priſcillian* (it ſeems) *was the firſt ſufferer for mere opinion.* But how ſhall we reconcile him to himſelf in this matter? for as he goes on to diſplay his learning, he unluckily diſcovers a much earlier original of *perſecution for mere opinion* than that of the *firſt ſufferer*, *Priſcillian:* This was in the *holy wars* (as he calls them) of the idolatrous Egyptians *: which, according to his own account, were *perſecutions for difference of belief alone.* Here then we ſtick, between *the firſt*, and *the firſt of all*;—but not long. He has a fetch to bring us off. "This *holy war* was indeed *perſecution* in the Egyptians, who dealt and felt the blows; but it was ſtill *toleration*, and civil policy in thoſe, who ſet them together by the ears: for it was a ſtanding maxim with the Romans to ſupport and encourage in the ſubdued Provinces, a *variety* in religious worſhip; which occaſioning *holy wars*, the parties concerned to carry them on with proper decency and zeal had work enough cut out for them, without forming plots and conſpiracies againſt their Maſters." Thus, although, in theſe *tools* the Egyptians, the *holy war* might be perſecution for opinions, yet in the *workmen*, who put it to uſe, it was an engine of ſtate. *The Egyptian ſuperſtition* (ſays our learned Civilian) *was rather an engine of ſtate. Rather* than what?—than perſecution. How ſo, when ſuperſtition made them perſecute? No matter for that. It was under the direction of their Maſters: and in their hands it was an *engine of ſtate.* It is

* Page 583.

pity that ſo great a politician as our Chancellor had not ſtill, like his predeceſſors the Chancellors of old, a patent for making theſe *engines*. We know of One who has long lived upon this trade: and an example of his management may ſet our Chancellor's political refinement in a true light. The *Roman Conclave* ſucceeded to the *Roman Senate* in this engineering work: and the later *holy wars in Egypt* carried on by their ſainted Kings and their imperious Saints, were contrived and fomented by the *Roman Church*, as before by the *Roman* State, to divert the ſubject nations from quarreling with the ſacred See.——But what then? If a ſpirit of Policy projected it, was it not a ſpirit of Superſtition that put it in hand? And the point our learned Civilian is debating, though only with himſelf, is the ſpirit of *Pagan Religion*, not the ſpirit of *Roman Policy*. Now ſurely it is a terrible breach in the general indulgence of paganiſm, even as he ſtates it, to find *holy wars* amongſt them *for difference of belief alone*; a ſpecies of perſecution which, in another place, he expreſsly tells us, *owed its nativity to modern ages*.

To ſay the truth, *Perſecution* is one of the wickedeſt imps of Hell, and capable of any miſchief: but who would have ſuſpected it of this trick, plaid as it were, in its mother's belly; ſo long before its NATIVITY; and while yet it had ſcarce got a *human* being? But the adventure was, in all reſpects, extraordinary; and well deſerving the pen of our illuſtrious Hiſtorian.

Serioufly, He ſeems much better fitted, whether as Critic or Civilian, to manage the intrigues of the Greek and Roman Alphabets, (whoſe Revolutions make ſo ſhining a figure in this ſplendid Diſſertation on the *Bacchanals*) than to develope the policy of Empires, or to adjuſt the rights of civil and religious Societies.

But it is now time to ſhew, that his hypotheſis has as little ſupport from *reaſon* as from *fact*: and that *nocturnal aſſemblies* neither DID, nor, on our Critic's own principles, poſſibly COULD, give birth to Perſecution, even though theſe aſſemblies had preceded all *interruptions of the civil power*.

While

While the common opinion remained undiſputed, that nocturnal aſſemblies were held to avoid perſecution, all men ſa wa ſufficient reaſon for their practice. But ſince we have been told, that they *preceded* perſecution, and were the *cauſe* of it, we are utterly at a loſs to account for ſo extraordinary a mode of worſhip in the immediate followers of Chriſt. For the original of *nocturnal aſſemblies* being now, CHOICE, not NECESSITY, they muſt be reſolved into one or other of theſe cauſes—

1. Either becauſe *true Chriſtianity* hath myſterious rites, proper to be celebrated in the night-time, like the pagan Orgies:

2. Or that the *firſt propagators* of the Faith affected to imitate the dark and enigmatic genius of Paganiſm:

3. Or that *their followers* were a ſet of gloomy Fanatics, who delighted in the horrors of a mid-night ſeaſon:

4. Or laſtly, that, like the BACCHANALS (whoſe ſtory gave birth to this new hypotheſis) they had ſome very debauched and licentious practices to conceal, whoſe celebration was only adapted to the obſcenities of night and darkneſs.

Now, of all theſe cauſes, our learned Critic, as a Diſpenſer of the doctrine, and a Miniſter of the diſcipline of the church, can admit only the *ſecond*. He is too well inſtructed in the nature of the Chriſtian Religion to allow the *firſt*; and he has too great a regard for the honour of its early Profeſſors, to ſuppoſe it poſſible to be the *third* or *fourth*.

He muſt needs conclude, therefore, that the primitive Chriſtians went voluntarily into this practice, in imitation of the myſterious rites of Paganiſm. On a preſumption of the truth of this fact, he muſt build his hypotheſis—*It may be aſked* (ſays he) *in that almoſt univerſal licence or toleration, which the Ancients, the Romans particularly, extended to the profeſſors of all Religions whatſoever, why the Chriſtian profeſſion alone, which might have expected a favourable treatment, ſeems to ſtand exempted, and frequently felt the ſeverity of the*

bittereſt perſecution?—Having *aſked* this, he very magiſterially ſolves the riddle: *They met* (ſays he) *with moleſtations from that quarter*, BECAUSE *their aſſemblies were nocturnal.*

What, now, would be the firſt reflection of a reader, unacquainted with Greece and Rome? Would he not conclude, that *nocturnal aſſemblies* for religious worſhip were, till now, unknown in paganiſm, and regarded as a prodigy, to be expiated only by capital puniſhments? He would never conceive that *myſterious* and *nocturnal* Rites were the moſt venerable and ſacred part of their worſhip. But when he is told that theſe Chriſtian Aſſemblies were in imitation of the moſt favorite practices of Gentiliſm, and to conciliate the world's good will, he will be loſt in wonder, that a modern Critic ſhould pretend to know better what would appeaſe or irritate the Pagans than the primitive Church did, which had the beſt opportunities of diſtinguiſhing in theſe matters, and was moſt concerned not to be miſtaken. He will tell our Critic, that if he really aims at the ſolution of what he calls a difficulty, he ſhould ſeek for a *cauſe* as uncommon and ſingular as the *effect*. The EFFECT, *religious perſecution*, our Critic himſelf tells us, was a thing almoſt unknown to the pagan world: but the CAUSE, *nocturnal aſſemblies*, was as common and as extenſive as idolatry itſelf.

—All the various Religions of Paganiſm, were ever attended with *myſterious* rites, which (to keep up a veneration for the worſhip, and to create a ſacred horror in the Participant) were generally celebrated in the *night*. But as this afforded opportunities of private enormities, as well as of danger to the State, the laws of the beſt governed countries, ſuch as Greece, required that foreign Religions, which celebrated ſuch rites, ſhould have the previous licence of the magiſtrate. Hence we find, that, by a *Law of the twelve tables* (an inſtitute compoſed chiefly from the Grecian laws) clandeſtine aſſemblies held in the night were puniſhed with death. In courſe of time, as ſuperſtition abounded, this law was but little obſerved: for, in the 566th year of Rome, ſome ſpurious rites of

Bacchus

Bacchus had crept out of Greece, and inſinuated themſelves into the city; where being celebrated by night, without the knowledge or licence of the Magiſtrate, they preſently ſuffered an abominable corruption *. On diſcovery, they were aboliſhed; and freſh vigour given to the *law of the twelve tables*, by a new regulation for celebrating of nocturnal worſhip. So cautious and tender was the Magiſtrate (even under this horrid provocation) of violating the rights of Religion in this capital point of *myſterious* worſhip: nor did the heat of reformation carry him to impinge upon any other of the nocturnal Rites, then celebrated in Rome; ſuch as the Myſteries of the *Bona Dea*.

Greece and Aſia had been long famous for the celebration of this kind of rites: which, Rome, now maſters of the eaſt, brought home with them; together with the other ARTS of Greece, of which, Cicero † reckons theſe of the MYSTERIES in the firſt claſs. And thus things continued in reſpect to theſe rites, throughout the whole Roman Empire, down even to the time of Valentinian; who, out of zeal for Chriſtianity, publiſhed an edict to aboliſh the moſt famous of them all, the ELEUSINIAN. But he was diverted from his purpoſe by his prudent miniſter, Prætextatus; who aſſured him, that it would drive Greece and Aſia to deſpair, and endanger the peace of the Empire ‡.

Such was the ſtate and condition of *nocturnal aſſemblies* in the pagan world: They were of the earlieſt original; of the moſt venerable uſe; and practiſed with the fondeſt attachment. In the very centre, and during the full celebrity, of theſe Rites, the Chriſtian church aroſe: which, if you will believe our Critic, went into them with as much ſpirit and attention as any Gentile Community of them all. When, ſtrange to tell! the Genius of Paganiſm, ſo indulgent to new forms of Religion (every one of which had their

* See Divine Legation, Book II. Sect. 6.

† De Legg. ‡ Zoſim. l. iv.

Myſteries,

Myſteries, and moſt of them their *nocturnal aſſemblies*) all of a ſudden turned tail, and fell foul upon this riſing Sect, for a circumſtance common to all, and in a time of full peace and ſecurity.

What could occaſion ſo unexpected a reception? Was it any diſguſt the PEOPLE had entertained to this Chriſtian rite? (for, indeed, on their paſſions, the Magiſtrate is generally obliged to ſquare his adminiſtration). This could not be; for the People (every where the ſame) are rarely offended, in religious matters, but with novelties. What is of common uſe they receive with indifference; often with a favourable prejudice. Our Critic confounds the nature and order of things, to make Paganiſm paſſive and unprovoked at a Principle which ſubverted the whole ſyſtem of their religion, namely the UNSOCIABILITY of the Chriſtian Faith; and yet mortally offended with a practice the moſt ſacred and univerſal in Paganiſm, namely MYSTERIOUS AND NOCTURNAL RITES.

But it will be ſaid, "Some jealouſy entertained of this way of worſhip, by the MAGISTRATE, might occaſion that fiery inquiſition: Nocturnal aſſemblies had been abuſed, and therefore it became him to be very attentive to every new inſtitution of the like kind." Here our Critic will appeal to his *Bacchanalian rites*: and, indeed, it ſeems to have been this deteſtable Mummery which firſt put the fancy into his head. But this abuſe was a ſingle, temporary thing, and had been long forgotten. Nocturnal aſſemblies had ſince that time been practiſed, for many ages, without jealouſy. Cicero, indeed, in an ideal Utopia *, had declared againſt them: but he brings them in, apparently for no other purpoſe than to ſtigmatize his mortal enemy Clodius. And, what is remarkable, he gives not the leaſt intimation that the abuſes of nocturnal aſſemblies had ever been ſo general as to keep alive the attention or jealouſy of the Magiſtrate: Particulars had now and then perverted them to the gratification of their luſts; and for this (for want of better evidence) he appeals to the comic poets of Greece, where in-

* De Legg.

deed

deed ſome of the Myſteries appear to have undergone a ſhameful corruption.

However, let us ſuppoſe the ſtate of Rome to be as delicate on this point as our Critic's hypotheſis requires it to be: Their circumſpection could never go further than to regulate or to reform theſe Aſſemblies: it could never proceed to the ſuppreſſion or abolition of them, becauſe nocturnal meetings made an eſſential part of their own worſhip.

It is probable, indeed, that thoſe ridiculous calumnies of the Vulgar, concerning the immoralities committed in the nocturnal aſſemblies of the Chriſtians, might reach the ears of the Magiſtrate: But if he attended to them, would he not begin his inquiry by examining into the truth of them, as he had done in the caſe of the *Bacchanalian rites?* and when he found them as innocent as Pliny the Younger, on a like examination, reports them to have been, would not the ſearch have ended here; and a ſhare of that univerſal toleration, which he afforded to others, been imparted to them likewiſe?

Our Critic may perhaps ſay, that theſe Chriſtians were ſuch lovers of a ſecret, that they would not reveal the nature of their rites to the Pagan Magiſtrate, though it were to entitle them to his protection. Should he ſay this, he would forget the principles I have now forced him to go upon, which will allow no other reaſon of the firſt Chriſtians' falling into this practice, than to conciliate the good will of their Pagan neighbours.

Well, but "there might be ſome idolatrous Teſt required to qualify the Church for its ſhare in this toleration of nocturnal worſhip; and, for non-compliance with the condition (he may tell us) the perſecution began." It is, indeed, likely enough that ſuch a Teſt was required; and moſt probably it conſiſted in their approbation of the principle of *intercommunity*; if not in words, yet at leaſt in deeds; ſuch as throwing a grain or two of incenſe on the Pagan altars. But then the miſchief of this evaſion is, that it brings us round

round again to the place from whence the learned Critic ſet out, when he turned his back upon the reaſon given in *The Divine Legation* for toleration, and would needs ſeek a better in *nocturnal aſſemblies.*

Hitherto we cannot conceive how a perſecution could ſo much as *begin*, from the cauſe our Critic has aſſigned. But let us, for argument's ſake, ſuppoſe, that the Magiſtrate, out of mere caprice (for we have ſhewn he could have no reaſon) and in the plenitude of his power, would forbid the Chriſtians their *nocturnal aſſemblies*, while he allowed the privilege to all beſides: Even in this caſe, his perſecution muſt end almoſt as ſoon as it was begun: it is impoſſible, on our Critic's own principles, that it ſhould have any continuance: for, as the *choice* of nocturnal aſſemblies was only to reconcile Paganiſm to Chriſtianity, when they found their neighbours receive theſe advances ſo ungraciouſly, they would ſoon remove the occaſion of offence; in which they would be quickened by their knowledge of the *rights of the Sovereign*, to whom, in things indifferent, they had been told, all obedience was due.

Thus the matter being turned on all ſides, we find that NO perſecution whatever could follow from that *cauſe*, which our learned Civilian has aſſigned for the whole TEN.

But it being certain, that perſecuted they were; and as certain, that our Civilian will admit of no other cauſe than what he himſelf has given, namely, their *nocturnal aſſemblies:* Let us for once ſuppoſe him to be in the right; and then conſider the conſequences which will ariſe from it. When we have done this, we ſhall have done his Syſtem full juſtice; and the reader, with ſufficient knowledge of the caſe, may take or reject it as he finds himſelf inclined.

HYPOTHESISES are often very plauſible, and much oftener very flattering things. You ſhall have of theſe, ſo fair and promiſing, that an honeſt reader ſhall be tempted to wiſh them, and, from wiſhing,

wiſhing, to think them, true. But this, before us, is by no means in the number of thoſe ſpecious viſions.

I ſeriouſly believe it would be doing our Chancellor great injuſtice to ſuppoſe he had any other view in this notable diſcovery than to do honour to the Chriſtian name: much leſs ſhould we ſuſpect that he had any formed deſign of traducing it. Yet it is very certain, that neither COLLINS nor TINDAL could have formed a project more injurious to the reputation of primitive Chriſtianity, than to prove, what is the aim of this learned Critic, that THE FIRST CHRISTIANS WERE PERSECUTED FOR HOLDING THEIR ASSEMBLIES IN THE NIGHT TIME. For it inevitably follows, that theſe early profeſſors of the Faith were either wild FANATICS or abandoned LIBERTINES: and conſequently, that the Pagan Magiſtrate did but his duty in inforcing, what the Church has been ſo long accuſtomed to call, a *cruel and unjuſt perſecution.*

Before the conception of this new fancy, it was univerſally ſuppoſed, that the primitive Chriſtians *aſſembled in the night-time to avoid the interruptions of the civil power.* This our Critic aſſures us is a miſtake. It is NOT TRUE (ſays he); *but the converſe of the propoſition is true* IN THE UTMOST LATITUDE, *viz. that they met with moleſtation from the civil power* BECAUSE *their aſſemblies were nocturnal.*

While the common opinion prevailed, theſe *nocturnal aſſemblies*, recorded in ancient church-hiſtory, gave as little ſcandal to the Pagans of our times, as indeed they did to the Pagans of their own. But when this opinion is given up for the ſake of its CONVERSE, we ſhall be utterly at a loſs to account, to our irreligious Inquiſitors, for ſo extraordinary a CHOICE in the immediate followers of Chriſt.

It hath been ſhewn above, that theſe voluntary Aſſemblies could be occaſioned only by one or other of theſe cauſes—either that the Chriſtian religion hath *Myſteries*, like the Pagan, which required nocturnal celebrations—or that the firſt preachers of Chriſtianity

affected to imitate the practices of Paganiſm—or that they were Fanatics, and delighted in the horrors of a midnight ſeaſon—or laſtly, that, like the debauched Bacchanals, they had ſome very licentious Rites to be performed only in the dark.

Our Critic's religious principles will not allow him to admit of any of theſe cauſes but the *ſecond*. And I have ſhewn that, from the *ſecond*, no perſecution could ariſe, or, at leaſt, could continue. This, on a ſuppoſition that the Chriſtians affected to imitate pagan obſervances. But it is a ſuppoſition which contradicts fact, and violates the nature of things. The hiſtory of the infant-church informs us, that the firſt Propagators of the Faith were moſt averſe to every thing which bore a ſhew of conformity to Paganiſm. They could not but be ſo, for their Religion roſe out of Judaiſm, which breathes nothing but oppoſition to Idolatry.

In courſe of time, indeed, when pious zeal, by growing overheated, became leſs pure; when love of pomp and ſhew (which is natural to men buſied in the external offices of Religion), and the affectation of importance (which is as natural to thoſe who preſide in them), had ſpread their leproſy through the Church, the Miniſters of the Goſpel would be fatally tempted to rival the magnificence, and to ape the myſterious air of Paganiſm. And the obliquities, which led them into theſe follies, they would ſtrive to palliate or diſguiſe by a pretended impatience for the ſpeedier extenſion of the Faith. I have ſhewn, from Caſaubon, how this corrupt conduct infected all the language of Theology *. But this was ſome ages after the times in queſtion.

Our Critic may perhaps tell us, it was accident or whim which drew together the firſt Chriſtians into dark corners; and as the *evening and the morning made the firſt day* of the old Creation, ſo it was to make *the firſt day* of the new: And thus *Night*, by her proper Uſher, *Chance*, became once again reinſtated in her ancient honours.

* Div. Leg. vol. I. pp. 221. 388.

But

But this will ſtand him in ſmall ſtead. He has not only to account for the firſt threatenings of Perſecution, but for the ACT; and, what is ſtill more, for the continuance of it. Now, what the Chriſtians fell into with ſo little reaſon, they would certainly forſake on the appearance of ſo great, as the diſpleaſure of the Magiſtrate, and the crime and danger of diſobeying lawful Authority. It is poſſible, indeed, that, in the heat of Perſecution, ſome over zealous men might miſtake their noncompliance with ſuch commands as a neceſſary mark of their open profeſſion of the Faith. But this was not generally the caſe; Their common practice was *to give to Cæſar the things which were Cæſar's; and to God, the things which were God's:* Of this, we have ſufficient evidence in the famous letter of Pliny the younger, before quoted. Trajan had forbidden the aſſemblies called *Hetæriæ*, which ſucceeded thoſe of public worſhip, and were uſed by the Chriſtians of Bithynia, to confirm and bind them to one another in the practice of virtue, by the external badge or ceremony of *breaking bread*; and we are aſſured by this vigilant Magiſtrate, that the Chriſtians, under his juriſdiction, obeyed the imperial Edict *.

From all this Letter it appears, that the only *cauſes*, which, on our Critic's principles, could poſſibly bring on and continue perſecution (if perſecution aroſe from nocturnal or clandeſtine aſſemblies), muſt be either FANATICISM OR DEBAUCHED PRACTICES: in the firſt caſe, their obſtinacy would make them perſiſt; in the other, their libertinage. To theſe agreeable concluſions, have our learned Civilian's principles reduced us for a ſolution of our difficulties: and ſuch is the flattering picture, he has exhibited of primitive Chriſtianity. Could its moſt inveterate enemies deſire more!

* —quod eſſent ſoliti ſtato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Chriſto, quaſi Deo, dicere, &c.—quibus peractis morem ſibi diſcedendi fuiſſe, rurſuſque coëundi ad capiendum cibum, promiſcuum tamen & innoxium: quod ipſum facere deſiiſſe poſt edictum meum, quo ſecundum mandata tua hetærias eſſe vetueram. Lib. x. ep. 97.

or, if its friends ſhould give credit to theſe fancies, would its enemies be content with leſs? Such are the diſgraces which this *converſe propoſition* is ready to bring upon Chriſtianity; diſgraces of ſo complicated a ſtain, as not ſimply to diſhonour our holy Faith, but even to juſtify the powers of Paganiſm in all the violences they offered to it. For the Magiſtrate had a right to ſuppreſs the clandeſtine meetings of Fanaticiſm and Debauchery.

But our Enemies will have no need to fly to *conſequences* for the diſcharge of the pagan Magiſtrates; our Chriſtian Chancellor himſelf proceeds directly to their acquittal. He frankly tells us, that their duty, as Magiſtrates, required them to animadvert on *nocturnal aſſemblies*, where they bound themſelves to one another, and employed the word SACRAMENTUM for a kind of teſſera of union; the very appearance of guilt which had occaſioned the *decree* againſt the infamous rites of Bacchus.

You will ſay, this is horrid, to make the Magiſtrate proſecute the primitive Chriſtians by the ſame proviſion which obliged him to exterminate thoſe monſters of ſociety! But who can help it? Our Chancellor had but this one precedent for the proſecution of *nocturnal aſſemblies*; and if it be not the moſt honourable ſupport of his hypotheſis, it is not his fault.

But there was no proof (you will ſay) againſt the Chriſtian, as there was againſt thoſe Bacchanalian aſſemblies. What of that? Our Chancellor opines, that mere ſuſpicion, in ſo delicate an affair, was ſufficient to acquit the Magiſtrate of blame: nay, to make his conduct, in his care and jealouſy for the State, very commendable. You ſhall have his own words. *A jealous Governor therefore, and a ſtranger to the true principles of Chriſtianity, was naturally open to ſuch impreſſions; and* COULD NOT BUT *exert that caution and attention which the practice of their Country ſo warmly recommended**. Could Cicero himſelf have been more *warm*, not to ſay more eloquent,

* Page 579.

in

in defending the Decree which diſperſed the profligate crew of Bacchanals?

And now a very capital point of Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory is cleared up and ſettled. "The Ten Perſecutions were begun and carried on, not, as had been hitherto ſuppoſed, upon the ſcore of Religion, or mere opinion, but againſt bad Subjects, or, at leaſt againſt thoſe who were reaſonably ſuſpected of being ſuch." And this is given to us by the learned Critic as the true defence of free and generous Antiquity, IN ITS PUBLIC CAPACITY: juſt as in free Britain (where, indeed, we now find ſmall difference, as to freedom, between its *public* and its *private capacity*, except to the advantage of the latter), when Papiſts complain of the penal laws, we reply, They are not inforced againſt erroneous Religioniſts, but againſt refractory Subjects, for refuſing the Magiſtrate the common ſecurity for obedience.—There is indeed a difference; our anſwer to the Papiſts is a ſerious truth; and our Critic's apology for the pagan Perſecutors, an idle and ridiculous fiction.

But as if he had not yet done enough for his beloved Antiquity, in thus blanching its TEN PERSECUTIONS; he goes on to clear it from the opprobrium of perſecution in general; by charging the original of this diabolic practice on the Chriſtian Church; where, indeed, the Freethinkers had very confidently placed it, till the Author of *The Divine Legation* reſtored it to its right owner, the Pagan Magiſtrate.——PERSECUTION FOR DIFFERENCE OF BELIEF ALONE (ſays our learned Civilian) OWES ITS NATIVITY TO MORE MODERN AGES; *and Spain was its country; where Priſcillian, by ſome, is held to be the firſt ſufferer for* MERE OPINION.

Thus the whole blame of PERSECUTION for Religion is thrown from the Gentile Perſecutors, upon the ſuffering Church: And Chriſtianity, or for its follies or its crimes (as either inſulting civil Society by its obſtinacy, or polluting it by its vices), ſtands covered with confuſion. So happy an Advocate has our learned Civilian approved himſelf for the Cauſe to which, by a double tye, he had devoted and engaged his miniſtry.——

The

The length of theſe animadverſions hindered them from finding a place in the body of this volume, amongſt other things of the like ſort. Except for this, he had no claim to be diſtinguiſhed from his fellows. I had a large choice before me: for who has not ſignalized himſelf againſt the DIVINE LEGATION? Bigots, Hutchinſonians, Methodiſts, Anſwerers, Freethinkers, and Fanatics, have in their turns been all up in arms againſt it. Quid dicam? (to uſe the words of an honeſt man in the ſame circumſtances) Commune fere hoc eorum fatum eſt, quorum opera ſupremum Numen uti vult in Eccleſia, ut MATURE *inſidiis*, *accuſationibus* et *criminationibus* appetantur. The ſcene was opened by a falſe Zealot, and at preſent ſeems likely to be cloſed by a true Behmeniſt *. A natural and eaſy progreſs, from knavery to madneſs, where the Impoſture fails: as the progreſs is from madneſs to knavery, where it ſucceeds. It was now time to ſettle my accounts with them. To this end I applied to a learned perſon, who, in conſideration of our friendſhip, hath been prevailed upon to undergo the drudgery of turning over this dirty heap, and marking what he imagined would in the leaſt deſerve, or could juſtify any notice: for I would not have the reader conceive ſo miſerably of me as to think I was ever diſpoſed to look into them myſelf. He will find, as he goes along, both in the text and the notes, what was thought leaſt unworthy of an anſwer. Nor let it give him too much ſcandal that, in a work which I have now put into as good a condition for him as I was able, I have revived the memory of the numerous and groſs abſurdities of theſe writers, part of whom are dead, and the reſt forgotten: For he will conſider, that it may prove an uſeful barrier to the return of the like follies, in after-times, againſt more ſucceſsful Inquirers into Truth. The ſeeds of Folly, as well as Wit, are connate with the mind: and when, at any time, the teeming intellect gives promiſe of an unexpected

* Rev. Mr. William Law.

harveſt,

harveſt, the traſh ſtarts up with it, and is ever forward to wind itſelf about riſing Truth, and hinder its progreſs to maturity. Were it not for this, I ſhould refer the candid reader to what I take to be the beſt defence and ſupport of the ARGUMENT OF THE DIVINE LEGATION, the ſuccinct view of the whole and of all its parts, which he will find at the concluſion of the laſt of theſe Volumes. For, as Lord Verulam ſays excellently well, THE HARMONY OF A SCIENCE, SUPPORTING EACH PART THE OTHER, IS, AND OUGHT TO BE, THE TRUE AND BRIEF CONFUTATION AND SUPPRESSION OF ALL THE SMALLER SORTS OF OBJECTIONS.

THE

THE DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES DEMONSTRATED.

BOOK IV.

SECT. I.

THE foregoing volume hath occaſionally, and in the courſe of my main argument, ſhewn the reader, that it was always the practice of mankind to liſten to, and embrace ſome pretended REVELATION; in neglect of what is called, in contradiſtinction to it, the RELIGION OF NATURE; that, I mean, which is only founded on our relation to the firſt Cauſe; and deducible from the eternal reaſon of things*.

If ever a general propenſity might be called a dictate of Nature, this ſurely may. That ſuch a propenſity there is, the Deiſt, or pretended follower of *natural Religion*, freely confeſſeth, nay, is

* Σὺ δὲ τὸν λόγον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβὼν τῆς δεισιδαίμονος πλάνης, ἐπίσκεψαι τὴν διάπλωσιν. φύσει μὲν ἔν τε αὐτοδιδάκτοις ἐννοίαις, μᾶλλον δὲ θεοδιδάκτοις, καλόντι τε ὠφέλιμον τυγχάνειν, τὸ σημαῖνον τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προσηγορίαν τε καὶ οὐσίαν. πάλιες γὰρ ἄνθρωποι κοιναῖς λογισμοῖς προειλήφεσαν, τοῦ τῶν ὅλων Δημιουργοῦ, τοῦτο πάσῃ λογικῇ καὶ νοερᾷ ψυχῇ, φυσικαῖς ἐννοίαις ὑποσπείρανος. ὁ μὲν καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει τῇ κατὰ λόγον ἐκέχρηλο. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. ii. c. 6. Edit. Steph. p. 45, 46.

forward to inſiſt upon, as a circumſtance of diſcredit to thoſe *Revelations*, which we receive for true. Yet ſurely, of all his viſionary advantages, none ever afforded him leſs cauſe of triumph; a conſequence flowing from it, which is entirely ſubverſive of his whole ſcheme.

For let me aſk ſuch a one, What could be the cauſe of ſo univerſal a *propenſity* in all ages, places, and people? But before he anſwer, let him ſee that he be able to diſtinguiſh between the cauſes which the Few had in giving, and the Many in receiving, pretended Revelations. The cauſes for projecting and giving are explained at large in the former volume; where it is ſhewn, that all the pretended Revelations, but real corruptions of religion, came from Princes and Lawgivers. It is true, he hath been taught otherwiſe. His inſtructors, the Tolands and Tindals of the time, aſſure him; that all came from the PRIESTS; and I ſuppoſe they ſpoke what they believed: It might be ſo for any thing they knew.

My queſtion then is, What could induce Mankind to embrace theſe offered Revelations, unleſs it were,

1. Either a CONSCIOUSNESS that they wanted a revealed Will for the rule of their actions; or,
2. An old TRADITION that God had vouchſafed it to their forefathers?

One can hardly conceive any thing elſe; for a general effect muſt have as general a cauſe: which, in this caſe, is only to be found in the *nature* of man; or in a *tradition* preſerved in the whole race. Prince-craft or prieſt-craft might indeed offer them, for their own private ends: but nothing ſhort of a common inducement could diſpoſe mankind to accept them.

1. As to the conſciouſneſs of the want of a Revelation, that may fairly be inferred from the miſerable blindneſs of our condition: And he who wants to be informed of this, ſhould conſult Antiquity; or, what may be more for his eaſe, thoſe modern writers, who, for no very good ends, but yet to a very good iſſue, have drawn

drawn ſuch lively pictures of it, from thence. But without going even ſo far, he may find, in the very diſpoſition to receive ſuch abſurd ſchemes of religion as Revelations from heaven, more than a thouſand other arguments to prove men ignorant of the firſt principles of natural religion; a very moderate knowledge of which would have certainly detected the impoſture of thoſe pretences. But now, men ſo totally at a loſs for a rule of life, would greedily embrace any direction that came with pretended credentials from heaven.

If we turn to the Few, the wiſe and learned amongſt them, we ſhall find the caſe ſtill more deſperate. In religious matters, theſe were blinder even than the People; and in proportion too, as they were leſs conſcious of their ignorance. The moſt advanced in the knowledge of human nature and its dependencies, were, without queſtion, the ancient Sages of Greece. Of theſe, the wiſeſt, and far the wiſeſt, was SOCRATES; for he ſaw and confeſſed his ignorance, and deplored the want of a ſuperior direction. For the reſt, who thought *themſelves wiſe*, and appeared not ſo ſenſibly to feel their wants, we have ſhewn at large *, how they *became Fools*; and, debauched by falſe ſcience, affected the language of Gods before they had well emancipated themſelves from the condition of brutes †. The two great ſupports of natural religion, in the world at large, are the belief of a FUTURE STATE, and the knowledge of MORAL OBLIGATION. The firſt was rejected by all; and the true ground of the ſecond was underſtood by none: The honour of this diſcovery was reſerved for Revelation, which teacheth us, in ſpite of unwilling hearers, that *the real ground of moral obligation is the will of God.*

2. There only remains that other poſſible cauſe, *the general tradition of God's early revelation of his will to mankind*, as delivered in

* Book iii. ſect. 2, 3, 4, and 5.

† The Stoics, who thought the ſoul mortal, yet reckoned their *wiſe man* equal, or ſuperior, to the gods.

Scripture. I, for my part, ſuppoſe both concerned in the effect; and that that ſtate of mind which diſpoſed men to ſo ready and general a reception of theſe numerous impoſtures, was the reſult of the conſciouſneſs of their wants, joined to the prejudice of Tradition. If the Deiſt allow Tradition, he gives up the queſtion; if he acknowledge our wants, he affords a ſtrong preſumption, in favour of Revelation.

For if man (let the cauſe proceed from what it will) be ſo irrecoverably blind and helpleſs, it is highly reaſonable to think that infinite goodneſs would lead and enlighten him by an extraordinary revelation of his will.

But here, Tindal objects, "That this blindneſs is men's own fault, who, inſtead of improving their reaſon, and following its dictates, which would lead them into all truth (our own Scriptures aſſuring us, that *that which may be known of God is manifeſt in them; for God hath ſhewed it unto them* *), go on like beaſts, and follow one another as they are led or driven."

To this I anſwer, that what had been the lot of man from the beginning of the world to the birth of Christ, was like to continue ſo to the end of it. A deviation ſpringing from no partial cauſe of climate, government, or age; but the ſad effect of human weakneſs in the circumſtance of our earthly ſituation.——By the fault of man, it is true; but ſuch a fault as, it is ſeen by long experience, man could never remedy. He therefore flies to Heaven for relief; and ſeems to have reaſon for his confidence.

But to this, our *man of morals* has a reply at hand; "That if ſuch be our condition, it may indeed want redreſs; but then, a Revelation will not render the cure laſting." And for this he appeals to the corrupt ſtate of the Chriſtian world; which, in his opinion, ſeems to demand a new Revelation, to reſtore the virtue and efficacy of the old.

* Rom. i. 19, 20.

But

But let me tell this vain Rationaliſt, There is an extreme difference between the corruption of the Pagan and the Chriſtian world. In the Pagan, where falſe Revelations had given men wrong ideas of the attributes of the Deity, they muſt of courſe, and did in fact, act viciouſly UPON PRINCIPLE *; a condition of blindneſs which ſeemed to call out on God's goodneſs for a remedy: but in the Chriſtian world, for the very contrary reaſon, all wicked men act ill AGAINST PRINCIPLE; a condition of perverſeneſs which ſeems to call out for nothing but his juſtice: God, according to the ſtate of the caſe, having done every thing that man, with all his preſumption, can pretend to expect from the goodneſs of his Maker.

So far on the Deiſt's own principles; on his own falſe notion that God's Revelation is repreſented in Scripture to be merely a *republication of the religion of nature.* For, as ſuch he has preſumed to comment on it; and as ſuch, in exceſs of complaiſance, we believers have generally thought fit to receive it. But I ſhall, ere long, ſhew it to be a very different thing: and, from its true nature, prove not only (as here) the *uſe* of Revelation, but likewiſe the abſolute *neceſſity* of it, to mankind. I ſhall ſhew that what our adverſaries ſuppoſe the only, was but the ſecondary end of the two Revelations; that what was primary and peculiar to them, as Revelations, was of ſuch a nature as the utmoſt perverſity of man

* See Div. Leg. vol. I. book ii. ſect. 5.——Τὴν φύσιν θνητοὺς καὶ ἀνθρωπίναις κεχρημένους συμφοραῖς, ὡς ἀγαθῶν χορηγοὺς, σωτῆρας καὶ θεοὺς ἀναγορεύειν, τὴν σεβάσμιον ἔννοιαν φυσικῶς αὐτοῖς ἐνυπάρχουσαν, ἐφ' οὓς ἐνόμιζον ἐυεργέτας μετατεθεικότες. τοσαύτη δ' ἄρα συνεῖχεν αὐτοὺς φρενῶν ἀποπληξία, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν πλημμελουμένων τοῖς θεολογουμένοις ὑπολογίζεσθαι· μηδ' ἐρυθριᾷν ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰσχρῶς περὶ αὐτῶν φημιζομένοις, τὰ πάντα δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας διὰ τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν παρεχομένας ὠφελείας, ἢ καὶ διὰ τὰς τότε πρῶτον συνισταμένας δυναστείας τε καὶ τυραννίδας ἀποθαυμάζειν. νόμων γοῦν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἤδη πρότερον μηδέπω τότε ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευομένων, μηδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτανομένοις ἁμαρτίας [τιμωρίας] ἀπῃωρημένης, μοιχείας καὶ ἀῤῥένων φθορὰς, ἰκθέσμους τε καὶ παρανόμους γάμους, μιαιφονίας τε καὶ πατροκτονίας, τικνων τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν σφαγὰς, καὶ μὴν καὶ πολέμους καὶ στάσεις πεπραγμένας ὄντως τοῖς οἰκείοις προστάταις, οὓς θεοὺς ἡγοῦντό τε καὶ ἀπεκάλουν, ὥσπερ ἐν μέρει κατορθωμάτων καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀπεμνημόνευον, τὴν τούτων μήνμην ὡς σεμνῶν καὶ ἀνδρείων τοῖς ὀψιγόνοις ἀπολιπόντες. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. ii. c. 6. Edit. Steph. p. 46.

could

could not, in any degree, defeat; of ſuch a nature as manifeſts there muſt needs be theſe Revelations; and that to expect more, or further, would not only be unreaſonable, but abſurd *.

At preſent, to go on with the Deiſt in his own way. From what hath been ſaid, we ſee a ſtrong preſumption, that God hath indeed communicated his will to mankind in that extraordinary way we call REVELATION.

And now, that amazing number of *falſe* religions, under paganiſm, begins to appear leſs formidable and injurious to the *true*. It was on a preſumption they would prove ſo, that, in the foregoing volume, they were drawn out in review, with each its falſe Prophet at its head †. And here at laſt they are employed, wicked inſtruments as they were, and wickedly as they have been abuſed in diſhonouring truth, to evince the high probability of God's having actually given a revelation of his will to mankind.

If, therefore, there be ſuch a thing as true revelation, our higheſt intereſts will engage us in the ſearch of it: and we ſhall want no encouragement to proceed, becauſe it muſt needs have ſome *characteriſtic mark* to diſtinguiſh it from the falſe. And this mark muſt be our guide.

Now if we look round the ancient world, and take a view of the numerous religions of paganiſm, we ſhall find (notwithſtanding all pretended to be original, and all were actually independant) ſo perfect a harmony in their genius, and conformity in their miniſtrations, as to the object, ſubject, and end of religious worſhip ‡, that we muſt needs conclude them to be all falſe, or all true. All true they could not be, becauſe they contradicted one another, in matters of practice and ſpeculation, profeſſed to be revealed.

But amongſt this prodigious number of pretended revelations, we find ONE, in an obſcure corner of the globe, inhabited by a

* See Book ix. and, in the mean time, Sermons on the Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion, Serm. v. vol. i.

† See book ii. ſect. 2.

‡ See book ii. ſect. 1, 2, 5, 6. book iii. ſect. 4.

ſingle

ſingle family, ſo fundamentally oppoſite to all the other inſtitutions of mankind, as would tempt us to conclude we have here found what we ſearch after.

The many particulars in which this religion differed from all others, will be occaſionally explained as we go along. For, as our ſubject forced us, in the former volume, to draw into view thoſe marks of agreement which the falſe had with true revelation; ſo the ſame ſubject brings us now to the more pleaſing taſk of ſhewing wherein the true differed from the falſe. To our preſent purpoſe it will be ſufficient to take notice only of that primary and capital mark of diſtinction, which differenced JUDAISM from all the reſt; and this was its pretending TO COME FROM THE FIRST CAUSE OF ALL THINGS; AND ITS CONDEMNING EVERY OTHER RELIGION FOR AN IMPOSTURE.

I. Not one of all that numerous rabble of revelations, ever pretended to come from the FIRST CAUSE *, or taught the worſhip of the one God in their PUBLIC miniſtrations †. So true is that which Euſebius obſerves from Scripture, that "for the Hebrew "people alone was reſerved the honour of being *initiated* into the "knowledge of *God the Creator* of all things, and of being in-"ſtructed in the practice of true piety towards him ‡." I ſaid, *in their public miniſtrations*, for we have ſeen it was taught in their *myſteries* to a few; and to their myſteries, it is remarkable, the learned Father alludes; who oppoſeth the caſe of the Hebrews, to the Pagans §; where a ſmall and ſelect number only was initiated into the knowledge of the Creator; but in Judea, a whole people.

II. That the Hebrews were as ſingular, in condemning all other religions of impoſture, as in publicly worſhipping one God, the Creator, hath been ſhewn in the former volume.

* See Div. Leg. book ii. ſect. 2.

† See note [A], at the end of this Book.

‡ See note [B], at the end of this Book.

§ See Div. Leg. vol. I. pp. 193. 381.

There

There is nothing more ſurpriſing in all Pagan Antiquity, than that, amidſt their endleſs Revelations, not one of them ſhould ever pretend to come from the FIRST CAUSE of all things; or ſhould condemn the reſt of falſhood: And yet there is nothing which modern writers are more accuſtomed to paſs over without reflection. But the ancient Fathers, who were more intimately acquainted with the ſtate of paganiſm, ſeem to have regarded it with the attention that ſo extraordinary a circumſtance deſerves: and I apprehend, it was no other than the difficulty of accounting for it, which made them recur ſo generally, as they do, to the agency of the DEVIL: for I muſt beg leave to aſſure certain modern rectifiers of prejudices, that the Fathers are not commonly led away by a vain ſuperſtition; as they affect to repreſent them: ſo that when theſe venerable writers unanimouſly concurred in thinking, *that the devil had a great ſhare in the introduction and ſupport of pagan revelation*, I imagine they were led to this concluſion from ſuch like conſiderations as theſe,——That had theſe impoſtures been the ſole agency of men, it is inconceivable that no one falſe prophet, no one ſpeculative philoſopher, of all thoſe who regulated ſtates, were well acquainted with the firſt Cauſe, and affected ſingularities and refinement, ſhould ever have pretended to receive his Revelations from the only true God; or have accuſed the reſt of falſhood: A thing ſo very natural for ſome or other of them to have done, were it but to advance their own religion, in point of truth or origin, above the reſt. On the contrary, ſo averſe were they to any thing of this management, that thoſe who pretended to inſpirations even from JUPITER, never conſidered him, as he was often conſidered by particulars, in the ſenſe of the Creator of all things; but as the local tutelar Jupiter, of Crete, for inſtance, or Libya. Again, thoſe who pretended to the beſt ſyſtem of religion, meant not the beſt ſimply; but the beſt for their own peculiar community *. This, if a ſupernatural agency be excluded, ſeemed utterly unac-

* See Div. Leg. vol. I. b. ii. ſect. 6.

countable.

countable. But admitting the Devil to his ſhare, a very good reaſon might be aſſigned: for it is certain, the ſuffering his agents to pretend inſpiration from the firſt Cauſe would have greatly endangered idolatry; and the ſuffering any of them to condemn the reſt of falſhood, would (by ſetting men upon enquiry and examination) have ſoon put a ſtop to the unbounded progreſs of it.

Thus, I ſuppoſe, the Fathers reaſoned: and I believe our Freethinkers, with all their logic, would find it ſomewhat difficult to ſhew that they reaſoned ill.

But as we have made it our buſineſs, all along, to enquire into the NATURAL cauſes of paganiſm, in all its amazing appearances, we ſhall go on, in the ſame way, to ſee what may be aſſigned for this moſt amazing of all.

1. Firſt then, the FALSE PROPHET and POLITICIAN, who formerly cheated under one and the ſame perſon *, found it neceſſary, in his character of Prophet, to pretend inſpiration from the God moſt reverenced by the people; and this God was generally one of their dead anceſtors, or citizens, whoſe ſervices to the community had procured him divine honours †; and who was, of courſe, a local tutelary Deity. In his character of Politician, he thought it of importance to have the national worſhip paid to the Founder of the Society, or to the father of the Tribe: for a God, who had them in peculiar, ſuited the groſs conceptions of the people much better then a common Deity at large. But this practice gave birth to two principles, which prevented any opening for a pretended intercourſe with the one God, the Creator. 1. The firſt was, an opinion of their DIVINES, that the ſupreme God did not immediately concern himſelf with the government of the world, but left it to local tutelary deities, his vicegerents ‡. 2. The ſecond, an opinion of their LAWGIVERS, that it would be of fatal conſequence to Society to diſcover the firſt Cauſe of all things to the people §.

* Div. Leg. vol. I. b. ii. ſect 2.
† Ibid. ſect. 1.
‡ Ibid. vol. i.
§ Book ii. ſect. 4.

2. But ſecondly, that which one would imagine ſhould have brought the one God, the Creator, to the knowledge of the world, in ſome public Inſtitution of religion, namely his being taught to ſo many in the Myſteries, and particularly to all who pretended to *revelation* and *lawgiving* *, was the very thing that kept him unknown; becauſe all who came to the knowledge of him this way, had it communicated to them under the moſt religious ſeal of ſecrecy.

3. Now, while the firſt Cauſe of all things was rejected or unknown, and nothing profeſſed in the public worſhip but local tutelary Deities, each of which had his own appointment, and little concerned himſelf in that of another's, no one religion could accuſe the other of falſhood, becauſe they all ſtood upon the ſame foundation.

How far this may account, in a natural way, for the matter in queſtion, is ſubmitted to the judgment of the learned.

Here then we reſt. An eſſential difference between the Jewish and all other religions is now found: the very mark we wanted, to diſcriminate the true from the falſe.

As for any marks of reſemblance in matters circumſtantial, this will give us no manner of concern. The ſhame of this allegation muſt lie with the Deiſt, who can, in conſcience, bring it into account, for the equal falſhood of them both; ſeeing, were the Jewiſh (as we pretend) true, and the Pagan falſe, that very reſemblance muſt ſtill remain. For what, I pray, is a falſe religion, but the counterfeit of a true? And what is it to counterfeit, but to aſſume the likeneſs of the thing uſurped? In good earneſt, an Impoſtor, without one ſingle feature of truth, would be a rarity even amongſt monſters.

* Div. Leg. Book ii. ſect. 4.

SECT.

SECT II.

BUT the buſineſs of this work is not probability but DEMONSTRATION. This, therefore, only by the way, and to lead us the more eaſily into the main road of our enquiry: for the reader now ſees we are purſuing no deſperate adventure, while we endeavour to deduce the divinity of MOSES's Law, from the circumſtances of the Law itſelf.

I go on with my propoſed demonſtration.

Having proved in the foregoing volume the firſt and ſecond propoſitions —— *That the inculcating the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments is neceſſary to the well-being of civil Society*; — and, *That all mankind, eſpecially the moſt wiſe and learned nations of antiquity, have concurred in believing and teaching that this doctrine was of ſuch uſe to civil Society*:——I come, in this, to the third,

THAT THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS IS NOT TO BE FOUND IN, NOR DID MAKE PART OF, THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION.

Now as, in ſupport of the two firſt Propoſitions, I was forced to make my way through the long chicane of Atheiſm and Free-thinking; ſo in defence of the third, I ſhall have the much harder fortune of finding Adverſaries in the quarter of our Friends: for it hath happened unluckily, that miſtaken conceptions of the JEWISH and of the CHRISTIAN Diſpenſations, have made ſome advocates of Revelation always unwilling to confeſs the truth which I here endeavour to eſtabliſh; and a late revived deſpicable whimſy concerning the ſadduciſm of the Hebrews, hath now violently inclined them to oppoſe it.

A man leſs fond of TRUTH, and equally attached to RELIGION, would have here ſtopt ſhort, and ventured no further in a road where he muſt ſo frequently ſuffer the diſpleaſure of forſaking thoſe he moſt agrees with; and the much greater mortification of

appearing to go along with thoſe he moſt differs from. I have often aſked myſelf, What I had to do, to invent new arguments for Religion, when the old ones had outlived ſo many generations of this mortal race of infidels and freethinkers? Why I did not rather chuſe the high road of literary honours, and pick out ſome poor critic or ſmall philoſopher of this ſchool, to offer up at the ſhrine of violated ſenſe and virtue? Things that might be expoſed to their deſerved contempt on any principles; or indeed without any: I might then have flouriſhed in the favour of my ſuperiors, and the good-will of all my brethren. But the love of TRUTH breaks all my meaſures: *Imperioſa trahit veritas*; and I am once more borne away in the deep and troubled torrent of Antiquity.

Theſe various prejudices abovementioned oblige me therefore to prove the third Propoſition, in the ſame circumſtantial manner I proved the firſt and ſecond: and this will require a previous explanation of the MOSAIC POLICY.

But to form a right idea of that Inſtitution, it will be neceſſary to know the genius and manners of the HEBREW PEOPLE; though it be, as we conceive, of divine appointment: and ſtill more neceſſary to underſtand the character and abilities of their LAWGIVER, if it be, as our adverſaries pretend, only of human.

Now as the Hebrews, on receiving their LAW, were but juſt come from a ſtrange country, the land of EGYPT; where the people had been held in ſlavery and oppreſſion; and their Leader bred at court, and inſtructed in all the learning of their colleges; it could not but be, that the genius and manners of both would receive a high tincture from thoſe with whom they had ſo long, and in ſuch different ſtations, converſed: And in fact, holy Scripture aſſures us, that MOSES was *converſant in all the wiſdom*, and the ISRAELITES beſotted *with all the whoredomes or idolatries, of Egypt*.

It will be of importance therefore to know the ſtate of SUPERSTITION and LEARNING in Egypt during theſe early ages.

This,

This, as it is a neceſſary, ſo one would think, ſhould be no difficult enquiry; for it is natural to ſuppoſe, that the ſame Scripture which tells us, that the Lawgiver and his people brought their wiſdom and ſuperſtitions from Egypt, would tell us alſo what that wiſdom and what thoſe ſuperſtitions were. And ſo indeed it does; as will be ſeen in due time: Yet, by ill fortune, the fact ſtands, at preſent, ſo precarious, as to need much pains, and many words, to make it owned. Divines, it is confeſſed, ſeem to allow the teſtimony of Stephen and Ezekiel, who, under the very impulſe of inſpiration, ſay *that* MOSES *was learned in all the wiſdom, and the people devoted to all the ſuperſtitions of Egypt*; yet, when they come to explain that learning, they make it to conſiſt in ſuch fopperies, as a wiſe and honeſt man, like MOSES, would never practiſe: when they come to particularize thoſe ſuperſtitions, they will not allow even the *Golden Calf*, the ὁ ΜΟΣΧΟΣ ἔτῳ ὁ ΑΠΙΣ καλεόμενῳ *, to be of their number. For by an odd chance, though not uncommon in blind ſcuffles, the infidels and we have changed weapons: Our enemies attack us with the Bible, to prove the Egyptians very learned and very ſuperſtitious in the time of Moſes; and we defend ourſelves with the *new Chronology* of Sir Iſaac Newton, to prove them very barbarous and very innocent.

Would the reader know how this came about; it was in this wiſe: The infidels had obſerved (as who that ever looked into ſacred and profane Antiquity hath not?) that in the Jewiſh Law there were many ordinances reſpective of the inſtitutions of Egypt. This circumſtance they ſeized; and, according to their cuſtom, envenomed; by drawing from thence a concluſion againſt *The Divine Legation of Moſes*. The defenders of Revelation, ſurprized with the novelty of the argument, did that, in a fright and in exceſs of caution, which one may obſerve unprepared diſputants generally do, to ſupport their opinions; that is, they choſe rather to deny the PREMISSES than the CONCLUSION. For ſuch,

* Herod. l. iii. c. 28.

not

not knowing to what their adverſary's principles may lead, think it a point of prudence to ſtop him in his firſt advance: whereas the ſkilful diſputant well knows, that he never has his enemy at more advantage, than when, by allowing the premiſſes, he ſhews him arguing wrong from his own principles; for the queſtion being then to be decided by the certain rules of logic, his confutation expoſes the weakneſs of the advocate as well as of the cauſe. When this is over, he may turn with a good grace upon the premiſſes; to expoſe them, if falſe; to rectify them, if miſrepreſented; or to employ them in the ſervice of Religion, if truely and faithfully delivered: and this ſervice they will never refuſe him; as I ſhall ſhew in the previous queſtion of *the high antiquity of Egypt*, and in the main queſtion of *the omiſſion of a future ſtate in the inſtitution of the Hebrews*.

And I am well perſuaded that, had thoſe excellent advocates of Religion (whoſe labours have ſet the truth in a light not to be reſiſted) but duly weighed the character of thoſe with whom they had to do, they would have been leſs ſtartled at any conſequences the power of their logic could have deduced. The Tolands, the Blounts, the Tindals, are, in truth, of a temper and complexion, in which one finds more of that quality which ſubjects men to draw wrong Concluſions, than of that which enables them to invent falſe Principles.

The excellent Spencer, indeed, endeavoured to diſſipate this panic, by ſhewing theſe premiſſes to be the true key to the reason of the law; for the want of a *ſufficient reaſon* in the ceremonial and poſitive part of it, was the greateſt objection, which thinking men had, to the divinity of its original.

But all this did not yet reconcile men to thoſe premiſſes. It would ſeem as if they had another quarrel with them, beſides the poor unlearned fear of their leading to the infidel's concluſion; namely, for their being an adverſary's principle ſimply; and, on that ſcore alone to be diſputed. This is a perverſe, though common

mon prejudice, which infects our whole communication; and hath hurt unity in the church, and humanity in civil life, as well as peace in the schools. For who knows not that the same impotent aversion to things abused by an enemy, hath made one sort of sectaries divide from the national church, and another reprobate the most indifferent manners of their country *?

And it is to be observed, that till that unlucky time when the infidels first blundered upon truth, this principle met with a very general reception: the ancient Fathers, and modern Divines of all denominations, concurring in their use of it, to illustrate the wisdom of God's Laws, and the truth of his Son's interpretation of them, where he assureth us that they were given to the Hebrews *for the hardness of their hearts*; no sort of men sticking out, but a few visionary Jews, who, besotted with the nonsense of their cabbala, obstinately shut their eyes against all the light which the excellent MAIMONIDES had first poured into this palpable obscure.

Not that I would be understood as admitting the premisses in the latitude in which our adversaries deliver them;

Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra.

The human mind, miserably weak and instable, and distracted with a great variety of objects, is naturally inclined to repose itself in SYSTEM; nothing being more uneasy to us than a state of doubt; or a view too large for our comprehension. Hence we see, that, of every imaginary fact, some or other have made an hypothesis; of every cloud, a castle: And the common vice of these castle-builders is to draw every thing within its precincts, which they fancy may contribute to its defence or embellishment. We have given an instance, in the former book †, of the folly of those who have run into the contrary extreme, and are for deriving all arts, laws and religions from the People of God: an extravagance at length come to such a height, that, if you will believe certain

* Puritans, Quakers, &c.

† See book iii. p. 40.

writers,

writers *, the poor heathen had neither the grace to kneel to prayers, nor the wit to put their Gods under cover, till the Iſraelites taught them the way. But our wiſe adverſaries are even with them; and will bate no believer an inch, in driving on an hypotheſis: for had not the Egyptians, by great good luck, as they give us to underſtand †, enjoined *honour to parents*, and *reſtrained theft, by puniſhment*, the Jews had been in a ſad blind condition when they came to take poſſeſſion of the promiſed land. Are theſe men more ſober in their accounts of the religious Inſtitutions of the Hebrews? I think not; when they pretend to prove *circumciſion* of Egyptian original from the teſtimony of late writers, who neither ſpeak to the point, nor in this point are in reaſon to be regarded, if they did ‡.

But why all this ſtrife for or againſt the one or other hypotheſis? for aſſuredly it would no more follow, from this of our adverſaries, that the Jewiſh Religion was falſe, than from a lately revived one of our friends, which ſuppoſes all the Gods of Egypt to have come out of Abraham's family §, that the Egyptian was true.

It muſt indeed be of uſe to true religion, where or whatever it be, to trace up things to their original: and for that reaſon alone, without any views to party, I ſhall endeavour to prove the four following propoſitions.

1. That the Egyptian learning, celebrated in Scripture, and the Egyptian ſuperſtition there condemned, were the very learning and ſuperſtition repreſented by the Greek writers, as the honour and opprobrium of that Kingdom.

2. That the Jewiſh people were extremely fond of Egyptian manners, and did frequently fall into Egyptian ſuperſtitions: and

* See note [C], at the end of this Book.

† See Marſham's Canon Chron. ed. Franeq. p. 177, 188.

‡ See note [D], at the end of this Book.

§ Voyez Reflexions Critiques ſur les Hiſtoires des Anciens Peuples.

that

that many of the laws given to them by the miniſtry of Moſes, were inſtituted, partly in compliance to their prejudices, and partly in oppoſition to thoſe ſuperſtitions.

3. That Moſes's Egyptian learning, and the laws he inſtituted in compliance to the people's prejudices, and in oppoſition to Egyptian ſuperſtitions, are no reaſonable objection to the divinity of his miſſion. And,

4. That thoſe very circumſtances are a ſtrong confirmation of the truth of his pretenſions.

The inquiry, into which the proof of theſe points will lead us, is, as we ſaid, very neceſſary to the gaining a true idea of the nature of the Jewiſh Diſpenſation: as that idea will enable the reader to form a right judgment of the force of thoſe arguments, I am preparing for the ſupport of my THIRD PPOPOSITION, *That the doctrine of a future ſtate is not to be found in, nor did make part of, the Jewiſh Diſpenſation.* But the enquiry has ſtill a further uſe. I ſhall employ the reſult of it to *ſtrengthen* that general concluſion, THAT MOSES HAD REALLY A DIVINE MISSION, which I have promiſed to deduce through the medium of this third propoſition: ſo that the reader muſt not think me in the humour to trifle with him, if this enquiry ſhould prove longer than he expected.

And here, on the entrance, it will be no improper place to explain my meaning, when, in my firſt ſetting out, I promiſed to demonſtrate the truth of the Jewiſh revelation, ON THE PRINCIPLES OF A RELIGIOUS DEIST. Had I meant no more by this, than that I would argue with him on common principles, I had only inſulted the reader's underſtanding by an affected expreſſion, while I pretended to make that peculiar to my defence, which is, or ought to be, a circumſtance common to all: or had I meant ſo much by it, as to imply, that I would argue with the Deiſt on his own falſe principles, I had then unreaſonably beſpoke the reader's long attention to a mere argument *ad hominem*, which, at beſt, had only proved the free-thinker a bad reaſoner; and who wants to be

convinced of that? but my point was not ſo much to ſhew that the Infidel was in the wrong, as that the Believer was in the right. The only remaining ſenſe then of the Deiſt's own principles is this, Thoſe true principles of his, which becauſe they are generally held by the enemies of Religion, and almoſt as generally rejected by the friends of it, have got the title of *deiſtical principles*. Such, for inſtance, as this I am going upon, *the high antiquity of the Egyptian wiſdom*; and ſuch as that, for the ſake of which I go upon it, *the omiſſion of the doctrine of a future ſtate in the Moſaic diſpenſation*. And theſe are the principles by which I promiſe, in good time, to overturn all his concluſions.

SECT. III.

THE firſt propoſition is,—*That the Egyptian learning, celebrated in Scripture, and the Egyptian ſuperſtition there condemned, were the very learning and ſuperſtition repreſented by the Greek writers as the honour and opprobrium of that kingdom.*

To prove this, I ſhall in the firſt place ſhew (both by external and internal evidence) the juſt pretenſions which Egypt had to a ſuperior antiquity: and then examine the new hypotheſis of Sir Isaac Newton againſt that antiquity.

It is confeſſed on all hands, that the Greek writers concur in repreſenting Egypt as one of the moſt ancient and powerful monarchies in the world. In ſupport of what they deliver, we may obſerve, that they have given a very particular account of the civil and religious cuſtoms in uſe from the moſt early times of memory: cuſtoms of ſuch a kind, as ſhew the followers of them to have been moſt polite and powerful.—Thus ſtands the Grecian evidence.

But to this it may be replied, that the Greeks are, in all reſpects, incompetent witneſſes, and carry with them ſuch imperfections as are ſufficient to diſcredit any evidence; being, indeed, very *ignorant*, and very *prejudiced*. As this made them liable to impoſition;

impoſition; ſo falling, as we ſhall ſee, into ill hands, they actually were impoſed on.

Their *ignorance* may be fairly collected from their age; and from the authors of their intelligence. They all lived long after the times in queſtion; and, though they received indeed their information from Egypt itſelf; yet, for the moſt part, it was not till after the entire deſtruction of that ancient empire, and when it was now become a province, in ſucceſſion, to Aſiatic and European conquerors: when their ancient and public records were deſtroyed; and their very learning and genius changed to a conformity with their Grecian maſters: who would needs, at this time of day, ſeek wiſdom from Egypt, which could but furniſh them with their own; though, becauſe they would have it ſo, diſguiſed under the ſtately obſcurity of an Eaſtern cover *.

Nor were their *prejudices* leſs notorious. They thought themſelves Autocthones, the original inhabitants of the earth, and indebted to none for their advantages. But when knowledge and acquaintance with foreign nations had convinced them of their miſtake; and that, ſo far from owing nothing to others, they owed almoſt every thing to Egypt; their writers, ſtill true to their natural vanity, now gave the poſt of honour to theſe, which they could no longer keep to themſelves: and complimented their new inſtructors with the moſt extravagant antiquity. What the Greeks conceived out of vain-glory, the Egyptians cheriſhed to promote a trade. This country was long the mart of knowledge for the Eaſtern and Weſtern world: and as nothing ſo much recommends this kind of commodity as its age, they ſet it off by forged records, which extended their hiſtory to a moſt unreaſonable length of time: accounts of theſe have been conveyed to us by ancient authors, and fully confuted by the modern. Thus ſtands the objection to the Grecian evidence. And, though I have no buſineſs to determine in this queſtion, as the uſe I make of the Greek au-

* See Divine Legation, book iii. Sect 4.

thority is not at all affected by it; yet I muſt needs confeſs that, were there no writings of higher antiquity to confirm the Grecian, their teſtimony would be very doubtful: but, could writings of much higher antiquity be found to contradict it, they would deſerve to have no credit at all.

Whatever therefore they ſay of the high antiquity of Egypt, unſupported by the reaſon of the thing, or the teſtimony of holy Scripture, ſhall never be employed in this enquiry: but whatever Reaſon and Scripture ſeem to contradict, whether it ſerve the one or other purpoſe, I ſhall always totally reject.

The unanimous agreement of the Greek writers in repreſenting Egypt as the moſt ancient and beſt policied empire in the world, is, as we ſay, generally known and acknowledged.

I. Let us ſee then, in the firſt place, what REASON ſays concerning this matter.

There is, if I be not much miſtaken, one circumſtance in the ſituation of Egypt, which ſeems to aſſert its claim to a priority amongſt the civilized Nations; and conſequently to it's elderſhip in Arts and Arms.

There is no ſoil on the face of the globe ſo fertile but what, in a little time, becomes naturally effete by paſturage and tillage. This, in the early ages of the world, forced the unſettled tribes of men to be perpetually ſhifting their abode. For the world lying all before them, they ſaw a ſpeedier and eaſier relief in removing to freſh ground, than in turning their thoughts to the recovery * of the fertility of that already ſpent by occupation: for it is neceſſity alone, to which we are indebted for all the artificial methods of ſupplying our wants.

Now the plain of Egypt having it's fertility annually reſtored by the periodic overflowings of the Nile, they, whom chance or choice had once directed to ſit down upon it's banks, had never after an occaſion to remove their tents. And when men have been ſo long

* See note [E], at the end of this Book.

ſettled

ſettled in a place, that the majority of the inhabitants are become natives of the ſoil, the inborn love of a Country has, by that time, ſtruck ſuch deep roots into it, that nothing but extreme violence can draw them out. Hence, civil policy ariſes; which, while the unſettled tribes of mankind keep ſhifting from place to place, remains ſtifled in its ſeeds.

This, I apprehend, if rightly conſidered, will induce us to conclude, that Egypt was very likely to have been one of the firſt civilized countries on the globe.

II. Let us ſee next what SCRIPTURE has recorded in ſupport of the ſame truth.

1. So early as the time of Abraham we find a king in Egypt of the common name of Pharaoh *: which would induce one to believe, that the civil policy was much the ſame as in the times of Joſeph and Moſes: and how perfect it then was, will be ſeen preſently. This kingdom is repreſented as abounding in corn, and capable of relieving others in a time of famine †: which no kingdom can do, where agriculture has not been improved by art, and regulated by a civil policy. We ſee the ſplendor of a luxurious court, in the princes who reſided in the monarch's houſhold: amongſt whom, we find ſome (as the moſt thriving trade for royal favour) to have been procurers to his pleaſures ‡: nor were the preſents made by Pharaoh to Abraham, at all unworthy of a great king §. An adventure of the ſame ſort as this of Abraham's with Pharaoh, happened to his ſon Iſaac with Abimelech; which will inſtruct us in the difference between an Egyptian monarch, and a petty roitolet of the Philiſtines. Abimelech is deſcribed as little different from a ſimple particular ||, without his guards, or great princes: ſo jealous and afraid of Iſaac's growing power, that he obliged him to depart out of his dominions **; and, not ſatisfied with that,

* Geneſis xii. 15. † Ver. 10.

‡ *The princes alſo of Pharaoh ſaw her, and* COMMENDED HER BEFORE PHARAOH: *and the woman was taken into Pharaoh's houſe.* Gen. xii. 15.

§ Gen. xii. 16. || Chap. xxvi. 7, 8. ** Ver. 16.

went

went afterwards to beg a peace of him, and would ſwear him to the obſervance of it *.

2. The caravan of Iſhmaelite merchants, going from Gilead to Egypt †, brings us to the ſecond ſcripture-period of this ancient monarchy. And here their camel-loads of ſpicery, balm, and myrrh, and their traffic in young ſlaves ‡, commodities only for a rich and luxurious people, ſufficiently declare the eſtabliſhed power and wealth of Egypt. We find a captain of Pharaoh's guard; a chief butler, and a baker §. We ſee in the veſtures of fine linen, in the gold chains, and ſtate-chariots given to Joſeph ||, all the marks of luxury and politeneſs: and in the cities for laying up of ſtores and proviſions **, the effects of wiſe government and opulence. Nor is the policy of a diſtinct PRIESTHOOD, which is ſo circumſtantially deſcribed in the hiſtory of this period, one of the leaſt marks of the high antiquity of this flouriſhing kingdom. It is agreed, on all hands, that there was ſuch an Inſtitution in Egypt, long before it was known in any other parts of the Eaſt. And if what Diodorus Siculus intimates to be the original of a diſtinct prieſthood, be true, namely the growing multitude of religious rites, we ſee the whole force of this obſervation. For multiplicity of religious rites is generally in proportion to the advances in civil life.

3. The redemption of the Hebrews from their ſlavery is the third period of the Egyptian monarchy, recorded in Scripture. Here, the building of treaſure cities ††, and the continual employment of ſo vaſt a multitude, in only preparing materials ‡‡ for public edifices, ſhew the vaſt power and luxury of the State. Here too, we find a fixed and ſtanding militia §§ of chariots; and, what is more extraordinary, of cavalry ||||: in which kind of military ad-

* Gen. chap. xxvi. ver. 26, & ſeq. † Chap. xxxvii. 25.
‡ Chap. xxxvii. ver. 28. § Chap. xxxix, xl. || Chap. xli. ver. 42, 43.
** Chap. xli. †† Exod. i. 11. ‡‡ Chap. v. ver. 14.
§§ Chap. xiv. ver. 7. |||| Ver. 9.

dreſs

dreſs the Greeks were unſkilled till long after the times of the Trojan war. And indeed, if we may believe St. Paul, this kingdom was choſen by God to be the ſcene of all his wonders, in ſupport of his elect people, for this very reaſon, that through the celebrity of ſo famed an empire, the power of the true God might be ſpread abroad, and ſtrike the obſervation of the whole habitable world.—*For the Scripture ſaith unto Pharaoh, Even for this ſame purpoſe have I raiſed thee up, that I might ſhew my power in thee; and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth* *.

To this let me add, that Scripture every where, throughout theſe three periods, repreſents Egypt as as entire kingdom under one monarch †; which is a certain mark of great advances in civil policy and power: all countries, on their firſt egreſſion out of barbarity, being divided into many little States and principalities; which, as thoſe arts improved, were naturally brought, either by power or policy, to unite and coaleſce.

But here let me obſerve, ſuch is the ceaſeleſs revolution of human affairs, that that power which reduced Egypt into a monarchy, was the very thing which, when it came to it's height, occaſioned it's falling back again under it's *Reguli*. Seſoſtris, as Diodorus Siculus informs us, divided the lower Egypt to his ſoldiery, by a kind of feudal Law, into large patrimonial tenures. The ſucceſſors of this militia, as Marſham reaſonably conjectures ‡, growing powerful and factious, ſet up, each leader for himſelf, in his own patrimonial Nome. The powerful empire of the Franks, here in the Weſt, from the ſame cauſes, underwent the ſame fate, from the debility of which it did not recover till theſe latter ages.

Thus invincibly do the Hebrew records § ſupport the Grecian evidence for the high antiquity of Egypt. And it is further remarkable, that the later inſpired writers of the ſacred canon con-

* Rom. ix. 17.

† See Gen. xli. 41, 43, 45, 46, 55. xlvii. 20. & Exod. paſſim.

‡ Can. Chron. p. 446.

§ See note [F], at the end of this Book.

firm

firm this concurrent teſtimony, in the conſtant attributes of *antiquity* and *wiſdom*, which, upon all occaſions, they beſtow upon the Egyptian nation. Thus the prophet Iſaiah, in denouncing God's judgments againſt this people:—"Surely the princes of Zoan are "fools, the counſel of the WISE counſellors of Pharaoh is become "brutiſh: How ſay ye unto Pharaoh, I am the ſon of the WISE, "the ſon of ANCIENT KINGS? Where are they? where are thy "WISE MEN? and let them tell thee now, and let them know "what the Lord of hoſts hath purpoſed upon Egypt *."

But the Greek writers do not content themſelves to tell us, in a vague and general manner, of the high antiquity and power of Egypt, which in that caſe was little to be regarded; but they ſupport the fact, of which their books are ſo full, by a minute and circumſtantial account of INSTITUTIONS, civil and religious, ſaid to be obſerved by that people from the moſt early times, which, in their very nature, ſpeak a great and powerful people; and belong only to ſuch as are ſo. Now this account ſacred Scripture remarkably confirms and verifies.

I. The PRIESTHOOD being the primum mobile of the Egyptian policy, we ſhall begin with that. Diodorus Siculus thus deſcribes its ſtate and eſtabliſhment:——"The whole country being divided "into three parts; the firſt belongs to the body of Prieſts; an "order in the higheſt reverence amongſt their countrymen, for "their piety to the Gods, and their conſummate wiſdom, acquired "by the beſt education, and the cloſeſt application to the improve-"ment of the mind. With their revenues they ſupply all Egypt "with public ſacrifices; they ſupport a number of inferior officers, "and maintain their own families: for the Egyptians think it ut-"terly unlawful to make any change in their public worſhip; "but hold that every thing ſhould be adminiſtered by their prieſts, "in the ſame conſtant invariable manner. Nor do they deem it "at all fitting that thoſe, to whoſe cares the public is ſo much

* Iſaiah xix. 11, 12. See note [G], at the end of this Book.

indebted,

"indebted, ſhould want the common neceſſaries of life: for the "prieſts are conſtantly attached to the perſon of the King, as his "coadjutors, counſellors, and inſtructors, in the moſt weighty "matters.——For it is not amongſt them as with the Greeks, "where one ſingle man or woman exerciſes the office of the prieſt-"hood. Here a Body or Society is employed, in ſacrificing and "other rites of public worſhip; who tranſmit their profeſſion to "their children. This Order, likewiſe, is exempt from all charges "and impoſts, and holds the ſecond honours, under the King, in "the public adminiſtration *."

Of all the colleges of the prieſthood, Herodotus tells us, that of HELIOPOLIS was moſt famed for wiſdom and learning †: and Strabo ſays that, in his time, very ſpacious buildings yet remained in that place; where, as the report ran, was formerly the chief reſidence of the Prieſts, who cultivated the ſtudies of philoſophy and aſtronomy ‡.

Thus theſe three celebrated hiſtorians; whoſe account, in every particular, is fully confirmed by MOSES; who tells us, that the Egyptian Prieſts were a diſtinct order in the ſtate, and had an eſtabliſhed landed revenue; that when the famine raged ſo ſeverely that the people were compelled to ſell their lands to the crown for bread, the Prieſts ſtill kept theirs, unalienated, and were ſup-

* Τῆς δὲ χώρας ἁπάσης εἰς τρία μέρη διῃρημένης, τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἔχει μερίδα τὸ σύστημα τῶν ἱερέων, μεγίστης ἐντροπῆς τυγχάνον παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις, διά τε τὴν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν, καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστην σύνεσιν τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους ἐκ παιδείας εἰσφέρεσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτων τῶν προσόδων τάς τε θυσίας ἁπάσας τὰς κατ' Αἴγυπτον συντελοῦσι, καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας τρέφουσι, καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις χρείαις χορηγοῦσιν· οὔτε γὰρ τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς ᾤοντο δεῖν ἀλλάττειν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀεὶ καὶ παραπλησίως συντελεῖσθαι· οὔτε τοὺς πάντων προβουλευομένους, ἐνδεεῖς εἶναι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. Καθόλου γὰρ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων οὗτοι προβουλευόμενοι συνδιατρίβουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ, τῶν μὲν συνεργοὶ, τῶν δὲ εἰσηγηταὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι γινόμενοι·— οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, εἷς ἀνὴρ ἢ μία γυνὴ τὴν ἱερωσύνην παρείληφεν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ περὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν θυσίας καὶ τιμὰς διατρίβουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις τὴν ὁμοίαν τοῦ βίου προαίρεσιν παραδιδόασιν. οἱ δὲ οὗτοι πάντων τε ἀτελεῖς, καὶ δευτερεύοντες μετὰ τὸν βασιλέα ταῖς τε δόξαις, καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις. Bibl. Hiſt. p. 46. Steph. ed.

† Οἱ γὰρ Ἡλιουπολῖται λέγονται Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι λογιώτατοι. lib. ii. c. 3.

‡ Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἡλιουπόλει καὶ οἴκους εἴδομεν μεγάλους, ἐν οἷς διέτριβον οἱ ἱερεῖς μάλιστα γὰρ δὴ ταύτην κατοικίαν ἱερέων γεγονέναι φασὶ τὸ παλαιὸν, φιλοσόφων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀστρονομικῶν. Geogr. l. xvii.

plied gratis *. Diodorus's account, which gives us the reaſon of this indulgence, confirms the ſcripture-hiſtory, and is fully ſupported by it: for there we ſee, not only the reverence in which the Order was held, but the public uſes of religion, to which two-thirds of their revenues were applied, kept Pharaoh from attempting on their property. Again, Moses ſupports what Diodorus ſays of the public and high employments of the Prieſts (who were privy counſellors and miniſters of ſtate), where ſpeaking of the prieſt of On †, he calls him *Chohen*, which, as J. Cocceius ſhews in his lexicon ‡, ſignifies as well the friend and privy counſellor of the King, as a Prieſt; and accordingly, the *Chald. Paraphr.* calls him *Princeps On*. The word often occurs; and, I imagine, was borrowed from the Egyptian language; the Hebrews having no order of prieſthood before that inſtituted by Moses. This further appears from the name Coes §, given to the prieſts of the *Samothracian Myſteries*, plainly a corruption of Coen or Chohen. The Myſteries in general, we have ſhewn ||, were derived from Egypt, and particularly thoſe of Ceres or Iſis, at Eleuſis: Now, in Samothrace, the Myſteries were of Ceres and Proſerpine, as at Eleuſis **. Laſtly, Moses confirms Herodotus's and Strabo's account of the ſuperior

* *Only the land of the prieſts bought he not: for the prieſts had a portion aſſigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them; wherefore they ſold not their lands.* Gen. xlvii. 22.

† Gen. chap. xlvi. ver. 20.

‡ *Chohen*, proprie & ex vi vocis, *qui accedit* ad Regem, & eum, qui ſummus eſt. Ideo explicationis ergô adjungitur tanquam etymologiæ evolutio, Exod. xix. 22. "Sacerdotes *qui accedunt* ad Jehovam."—Non, quod vox *Chohen* notet *primatum*, ut vult Kimchius, ſed quod notet *primos accedentium*—Certe in Ægypto fuerunt tales, & his alimonia a rege debebatur.

§ Κοῆς, ἱερεὺς Καβείρων. Heſych.

|| Divine Legation, lib. ii. ſect. 4.

** Μυεῖσθαι δὲ ἐν τῇ Σαμοθράκῃ τοὺς Καβείροις, οὓς Μνασέας φησὶ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα. Τέσσαρες δ' εἰσὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν, Ἀξίερος, Ἀξιόκερσα, Ἀξιόκερσος. Ἀξίερος μὲν οὖν ἐστι ἡ Δημήτης· Ἀξιόκερσα δὲ ἡ Περσεφόνη· Ἀξιόκερσος δὲ ὁ Ἅιδης· ὁ δὲ προστιθέμενος τέταρτος Κάσμιλος ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐστιν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Διονυσόδωρος. Schol. in Apoll. Argon. l. i. ver. 917.

learning

learning and dignity of the Heliopolitan college. When Joſeph was exalted to the prime miniſtry, he tells us, that Pharaoh married him to a daughter of the prieſt of ON *; which the Septuagint and vulgar Latin rightly interpret HELIOPOLIS: that the king was then in a diſpoſition to do Joſeph the higheſt honours, is plain from the circumſtances of the ſtory; and that he principally conſulted his eſtabliſhment in this alliance, appears from the account given us by theſe Greek hiſtorians. We ſee the public adminiſtration was in the hands of the prieſthood; who would unwillingly bear a ſtranger at the head of affairs. The bringing Joſeph therefore into their family, and Order †, which was hereditary, was the beſt expedient to allay their prejudices and envy. And this Pharaoh did moſt effectually, by marrying him into that Caſt which was then of greateſt name and credit amongſt them.

I will only obſerve, that this ſuperior nobility of the Prieſts of *On* ſeems to have been chiefly owing to their higher antiquity. Heliopolis, or the city of the Sun, was the place where that luminary was principally worſhipped; and certainly, from the moſt early times: for Diodorus tells us, that *the firſt gods of Egypt were the ſun and moon* ‡; the truth of which, all this, laid together, remarkably confirms. Now if we ſuppoſe, as is very reaſonable, that the firſt eſtabliſhed Prieſts in Egypt were thoſe dedicated to the Sun at *On*, we ſhall not be at a loſs to account for their titles of nobility. Strabo ſays, they were much given to aſtronomy; and this too we can eaſily believe: for what more likely than that they ſhould be fond § of the ſtudy of that ſyſtem, over which their God preſided, not only in his *moral*, but in his *natural* capacity? For whether they received the doctrine from original tradition, or whether they invented it at hazard, which is more likely ||, in order to

* Gen. xlvi. 20.

† See note [H], at the end of this Book.

‡ See Div. Leg. vol. I. book ii.

§ See note [I], at the end of this Book.

|| See the firſt volume of the Divine Legation, book i.

exalt this their viſible God, by giving him the poſt of honour, it is certain they taught that the ſun was in the centre of its ſyſtem, and that all the other bodies moved round it, in perpetual revolutions. This noble theory came, with the reſt of the Egyptian learning, into Greece (being brought thither by Pythagoras; who, it is remarkable, received it from Œnuphis, a prieſt of Heliopolis *); and, after having given the moſt diſtinguiſhed luſtre to his ſchool, it ſunk into obſcurity, and ſuffered a total eclipſe throughout a long ſucceſſion of learned and unlearned ages; till theſe times relumed its ancient ſplendor, and immoveably fixed it on the moſt unerring principles of ſcience.

II. Another obſervable circumſtance of conformity between the Greek hiſtorians and Moses, is in their accounts of the RELIGIOUS RITES of Egypt. Herodotus expreſsly tells us, that the Egyptians eſteemed it a prophanation, to ſacrifice any kind of cattle, except ſwine, bulls, clean calves, and geeſe †; and, in another place, that heifers, rams, and goats were held ſacred ‡, either in one province or in another: though not from any adoration paid in theſe early times to the *living animal*. I ſhall ſhew hereafter that the Egyptians at firſt only worſhiped their figures or images. However picture worſhip muſt needs make the animals themſelves ſacred, and unfit for ſacrifice. Now here again, in confirmation of this account, we are told by Scripture, that when Pharaoh would have had Moses ſacrifice to God, in the land of Egypt, according to his own family-rites, the prophet objected,—*It is not meet ſo to do; for we ſhall ſacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the Lord our God:*

* See note [K], at the end of this Book.

† Τοῖσι γὰρ ἀδὲ κλήεσι ὁσίη θύειν ἐστὶ, χωρὶς ὑῶν, καὶ ἐρσένων βοῶν, καὶ μόσχων, ὅσοι ἂν καθαροὶ ἔωσι, καὶ χηνέων, κατὰ ἂν ἔτοι ἀνθρώπους θύοιεν; l. ii. c. 45.

‡ —τὰς βοῦς τὰς θηλέας Αἰγύπτιοι πάντες ὁμοίως σέβονται πρεσβάτων πάντων μᾶλλον μακρῷ.—cap. xli. —Ὅσοι μὲν δὴ Διὸς Θηβαίου ἵδρυνται ἱρὸν, ἢ νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαίου εἰσὶ, ἔτοι μὲν πάντες οἶον ἀπεχόμενοι, αἰγὰς θύουσι. Θεοὺς γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες ὁμοίως Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, πλὴν Ἶσίός τε καὶ Ὀσίριδος. τὸν δὴ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι. τούτους δὲ ὁμοίως ἅπαντες σέβονται. ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ Μενδησίου ἔκτηνται ἱρὸν, ἢ νομοῦ τοῦ Μενδησίου εἰσὶ, ἔτοι δὲ αἰγῶν ἀπεχόμενοι, οἷς θύουσι. cap. xlii.

Lo

Lo ſhall we ſacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not ſtone us *?* And if Herodotus came any thing near the truth in his account of the early ſuperſtition of Egypt, the Iſraelites, we ſee, could not avoid ſacrificing the abomination, *i. e.* the Gods of the Egyptians. And with what deadly hatred and revenge they purſued ſuch imaginary impieties, the ſame Herodotus informs us, in another place †.

III. To come next to the CIVIL ARTS of Egypt:—Concerning their practice of phyſic, Herodotus ſays, that it was divided amongſt the faculty in this manner: "Every diſtinct diſtemper hath its own "phyſician, who confines himſelf to the ſtudy and cure of that "alone, and meddles with no other: ſo that all places are crouded "with phyſicians: for one claſs hath the care of the eyes, another "of the head, another of the teeth, another of the region of the "belly, and another of occult diſtempers ‡." After this, we ſhall not think it ſtrange that Joſeph's phyſicians are repreſented as a number.—*And Joſeph commanded his ſervants, the phyſicians, to embalm his father: and the phyſicians embalmed Iſrael* §. A body of theſe domeſtics would now appear an extravagant piece of ſtate, even in a firſt miniſter. But then, we ſee, it could not be otherwiſe, where each diſtemper had its proper phyſician: ſo that every great family, as well as city, muſt needs, as Herodotus expreſſes it, ſwarm with the Faculty: and a more convincing inſtance, of the grandeur, luxury, and politeneſs of a people, cannot, I think, be well given. But indeed it was this circumſtance for which the Egyptian nation was peculiarly diſtinguiſhed, not only by the earlieſt Greek writers (as we ſhall ſee hereafter), but likewiſe by the holy prophets. There is a remarkable paſſage in Jeremiah, where, foretelling the overthrow of Pharaoh's army at the Euphrates, he

* Exod. viii. 26. † Lib. ii. cap. 65.

‡ Ἡ δὲ ἰητρικὴ κατὰ τάδε σφι δέδασται· μιῆς νούσου ἕκαστος ἰητρός ἐστι, καὶ οὐ πλεόνων. πάντα δ' ἰητρῶν ἐστι πλέα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ, ὀφθαλμῶν ἰητροὶ καλέονται· οἱ δὲ, κεφαλῆς· οἱ δὲ, ὀδόντων· οἱ δὲ, κατὰ γαστέρα· οἱ δὲ, τῶν ἀφανέων νούσων. lib. ii. c. 84.

§ Gen. l. 2.

deſcribes

deſcribes Egypt by this characteriſtic, her ſkill in medicine. *Go up into Gilead, and take balm, O virgin the daughter of Egypt: in vain ſhalt thou* USE MANY MEDICINES; *for thou ſhalt not be cured**. The Prophet delights in this kind of imagery, which marks out a people by its ſingularities, or pre-eminence. So again, in this very chapter: EGYPT, ſays he, *is like a* FAIR HEIFER, *but deſtruction cometh: it cometh from the north. Alſo her hired men are in the midſt of her like* FATTED BULLOCKS, *for they alſo are turned back and are fled away together*†. For the worſhip of Iſis and Oſiris, under the figure of a cow and a bull, and afterwards by the animals themſelves, was the moſt celebrated in all the Egyptian Ritual.

But a learned writer, frightened by the common panic of the high antiquity of Egypt, will needs ſhew, the art of medicine to be of much later original ‡. And to make room for his hypotheſis, he contrives to explain away this direct teſtimony of Herodotus, by a very uncommon piece of criticiſm. This is the ſubſtance of his reaſoning, and in his own words:—"We read of the Egyptian "phyſicians in the days of Joſeph; and Diodorus repreſents them "as an order of men not only very ancient in Egypt, but as "having a full employment in continually giving phyſic to the "people, not to cure, but to prevent their falling into diſtempers. "Herodotus ſays much the ſame thing, and repreſents the ancient "Egyptians as living under a continual courſe of phyſic, under-"going ſo rough a regimen for three days together, every month, "that I cannot but ſuſpect ſome miſtake, both in him, and Diodo-"rus's account of them in this particular. Herodotus allows "them to have lived in a favourable climate, and to have been a "healthy people, which ſeems hardly conſiſtent with ſo much me-"dicinal diſcipline as he imagined them to go through, almoſt "without interruption. The firſt mention we have of phyſicians "in the ſacred pages ſhews indeed that there was ſuch a profeſſion

* Jerem. xlvi. 11. † Jerem. xlvi. 20, 21.

‡ See note [L], at the end of this Book.

"in

" in Egypt in Joſeph's time, and Jacob was their patient; but " their employment was to embalm him after he was dead; we do " not read that any care was taken to give him phyſic whilſt alive; " which inclines me to ſuſpect that the Egyptians had no practice " for the cure of the diſeaſes of a ſick bed in theſe days: we read " of no ſick perſons in the early ages. The diſeaſes of Egypt, " which the Iſraelites had been afraid of, were ſuch as they had " no cure for; and any other ſickneſſes were then ſo little known, " that they had no names for them.——An early death was ſo " unuſual, that it was generally remarked to be a puniſhment for " ſome extraordinary wickedneſs. Moſes informs us, that the " phyſicians embalmed Jacob; many of them were employed in " the office, and many days time was neceſſary for the performance, " and different perſons performed different parts of it, ſome being " concerned in the care of one part of the body, and ſome of the " other: and I imagine this manner of practice occaſioned Hero- " dotus to hint, that the Egyptians had a different phyſician for " every diſtemper, or rather, as his ſubſequent words expreſs, for " each different part of the body: For ſo indeed they had, not to " cure the diſeaſes of it, but to embalm it when dead. Theſe, I " imagine, were the offices of the Egyptian phyſicians in the early " days. They were an order of the miniſters of religion. The " art of curing diſtempers or diſeaſes was not yet attempted.—We " may be ſure the phyſicians practiſed only ſurgery until after " Homer's time;—for we read in him, that their whole art con- " ſiſted in extracting arrows, healing wounds, and preparing ano- " dynes.—In the days of Pythagoras the learned began to form " rules of diet for the preſervation of health, and to preſcribe in " this point to ſick perſons, in order to aſſiſt towards their recovery. " And in this, Strabo tells us, conſiſted the practice of the ancient " Indian phyſicians. They endeavoured to cure diſtempers by a " diet regimen, but they gave no phyſic. Hippocrates—began the " practice of viſiting ſick-bed patients, and preſcribed medicines

" with

" with ſucceſs for their diſtempers. This, I think, was the pro-
" greſs of phyſic.—*And it muſt evidently appear from it, that the*
" *Egyptians could have no ſuch phyſicians in the days of Moſes as Dio-*
" *dorus and Herodotus* SEEM *to ſuppoſe* *."—So far this writer. But if it be made appear, that the very contrary of every thing here advanced be the truth; I ſhall hope, that what Herodotus and Diodorus, conformable to Scripture, do not *ſeem to ſuppoſe*, but directly and circumſtantially to affirm, may be admitted for certain.

He tells us, firſt, " that Diodorus repreſents the Egyptian phy-
" ſicians as adminiſtring phyſic to the people in the early times,
" *not to cure, but to prevent their falling into diſtempers.*" One would conclude, from his manner of expreſſion, that the hiſtorian had ſaid they did not adminiſter to the infirm, but to the healthy only; which gives us the idea of a ſuperſtitious kind of practice, by charms and amulets: and ſo indeed the writer is willing we ſhould think of it. *I ſhould imagine*, ſays he, *that their ancient preſcriptions, which Diodorus and Herodotus ſuppoſe them ſo punctual in obſerving, were not medicinal, but religious purifications* †. Let Diodorus then ſpeak for himſelf: " They prevent diſtempers, ſays
" he, and keep the body in health by refrigerating and laxative me-
" dicines; by abſtinence and emeticks; ſometimes in a daily regi-
" men, ſometimes with an intermiſſion every three or four days:
" for they hold a ſuperfluity in all food, as uſually taken; and
" that it is the original of diſtempers: ſo that the above-mentioned
" regimen removes the cauſe, and greatly contributes to preſerve
" the body in a ſtate of health ‡." Here we have a very rational

* The ſacred and profane Hiſtory of the World connected, vol. ii. ed. 2. p. 359, 360, 361. 364—367.

† P. 361.

‡ Τὰς δε—νόσους προκαθαιρόμενοι θεραπεύεσι τὰ σώματα κλυσμοῖς, καὶ ποτίμοις τισὶ καθαρηρίοις, καὶ νηστείαις καὶ ἐμέτοις, ἐνίοτε μὲν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, ἐνίοτε δὲ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἡμέρας διαλείποντες. φασὶ γὰρ, πάσης τροφῆς ἀναδοθείσης, τὸ πλέον εἶναι περίττον· ἀφ' ἧ γεννᾶσθαι τὰς νόσους. ὥστε τὴν προειρημένην θεραπείαν ἀναιρεῖσαν τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς νόσου, μάλις' ἂν παρασκευάσαι τὴν ὑγίειαν. Bibl. l. i. p. 52.

theory

theory, and expert and able practice; this preſcribing to prevent diſtempers, being, as amongſt us, the reſult of the phyſician's long experience in his art: for the regimen, we ſee, was intermitted or continued according to the habit and conſtitution of the patient.

But the Egyptians being a healthy people, and living under a favourable climate, could not have occaſion (ſays the learned writer) *for ſo much phyſic*; therefore he will *ſuſpect their accounts.* I have obſerved, that theſe accounts are a proof of that grandeur, luxury, and politeneſs, which ſacred and prophane hiſtory aſcribe to this people, and which ſo many other circumſtances concur to make credible. Now a too great repletion, the effect of a luxurious diet, would certainly find employment for the whole tribe of evacuants (as we may ſee by the various experience of our own times), notwithſtanding all the advantages of climate and conſtitution. And let me obſerve, and it ſeems to be deciſive, that the very eſtabliſhment of this principle of the Egyptian phyſic, that *all diſtempers aroſe from a too great repletion*, fully evinces them to be a very luxurious people: for a nation accuſtomed to a ſimple and frugal diet, could never have afforded ſufficient obſervations for the invention of ſuch a theory.

It is true, (he owns) *we hear of phyſicians in Joſeph's family, who embalmed his father Jacob; but we do not read they gave him any phyſic while alive.*——Nor do we read that Jacob had any other diſtemper than old age; and, I ſuppoſe, Hippocrates himſelf would ſcarce have preſcribed to that——*But we read of no ſick perſons in the early ages.* A plain man would have thought this a good reaſon why we read of no medicines adminiſtered. Though no man, who conſiders the nature of Scripture hiſtory, will think this any proof that there were *no ſick perſons in thoſe early ages.*— But further, *the diſeaſes of Egypt which the Iſraelites had been afraid of, were ſuch as they had no cure for*, Deut. xxviii. 27. and from hence is inferred the low eſtate of medicine in theſe early times. One would reaſonably ſuppoſe the authority here quoted, to ſup-

port this obſervation, had informed us that theſe were natural diſeaſes, which ſubmitted not to the rude practice of that time. But we are ſurprized to find that they are ſupernatural puniſhments which the Prophet is here denouncing in caſe of diſobedience: And Providence would have defeated its own purpoſe, in ſuffering theſe to be treatable by the common rules of art:—"But it ſhall "come ro paſs, if thou wilt not hearken to the voice of the Lord "thy God,—The Lord will ſmite thee with the botch of Egypt, "&c. whereof thou canſt not be healed *." That very *Botch* or *Boyl*, which God had, in their behalf, miraculouſly inflicted on the Egyptians, by the miniſtry of this Prophet; as appears by the following words of God himſelf: "If thou wilt (ſays he) dili- "gently hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God, &c. I will "*put none of theſe diſeaſes upon thee which I have brought upon the* "*Egyptians:* for I am the Lord that healeth thee †."—*And all other ſickneſſes*, this learned writer ſays, *were then ſo little known, that they had no name for them.* For which we are referred to the following words of the ſame denunciation, "Alſo every ſickneſs "and every plague which is not written in the book of this law, "them will the Lord bring upon thee 'till thou be deſtroyed ‡." This ſeems as if the writer conſidered the law of Moſes in the light of *Salmon's Diſpenſatory*, in which we reaſonably ſuppoſe every diſeaſe and remedy without name or mention, to be unknown.—And ſtill further, *An early death* (ſays he) *was ſo unuſual, that it was generally remarked to be a puniſhment for ſome wickedneſs*: and for this we are ſent to the xxxviiith chapter of Geneſis.—It ſeems then it was the rarity of the fact, which made men believe the evil to be a puniſhment. 'Till now I imagined, it was the ſenſe of their being under an extraordinary Providence: it is certain at leaſt, that the book of Geneſis as plainly repreſents the patriarchs, as the book of Deuteronomy repreſents their poſterity to be

* Deut. xxviii. 15. 27. † Exod. xv. 26. ‡ Deut. xxviii. 61.

under

under that dispensation: and I hope, ere long, to prove these representations true. If then we hear in Scripture of little sickness but what is delivered as the effect of divine vengeance, no believer, I persuade myself, will ascribe this opinion to ignorance, superstition, or an unusual appearance, though pagan writers be never so much accustomed to talk in that strain *, but will own it to be the necessary consequence of an extraordinary providence. The truth is, diseases were then, as now, common in the world at large; but the infliction of them, or an exemption from them, amongst the people of God, made part of the sanction of that œconomy under which they lived:—"Ye shall serve the Lord your God," says MOSES, "and he shall bless thy bread and thy water, and I will "take SICKNESS away from the midst of thee †." And again, "Thou shalt be blessed above all people,—and the Lord will take "away from thee all SICKNESS ‡." But there are of these Divines who read their Bible, and readily talk of the extraordinary Providence there represented, yet argue in all questions arising from sacred history as if there were indeed no such thing.

The learned writer goes on: *The physicians embalmed Jacob, many of them were employed in the office, and many days time was necessary for the performance, and different persons performed different parts of it, some being concerned in the care of one part of the body, and some of the other.*——This account is pretended to be taken from Diodorus: how the latter part came in, or how it can be true, unless the body were cut in pieces to be embalmed, is not easy to conceive: but we know it was embalmed intire; and Diodorus says nothing of *some being concerned in the care of one part of the body, and some of the other.* His plain, intelligible account is this: That different persons performed different parts of the operation; one marked the place for incision; another cut; a third drew out the

* Eodem auctore [Homero] disci potest, morbos tum ad iram Deorum immortalium relatos esse; & ab iisdem opem posci solitam. Celsus de Medicina, lib. i. Præf.

† Exod. xxiii. 25. ‡ Deut. vii. 14, 15.

entrails; a fourth ſalted the body; a fifth waſhed; and a ſixth embalmed it.—But the learned Writer's addition to the account ſeems for the ſake of introducing the extraordinary criticiſm which follows.

And I imagine, ſays he, *this maner of practice occaſioned Herodotus to* HINT *that the Egyptians had a different phyſician for every diſtemper, or rather, as the ſubſequent words expreſs, for each different part of the body: for ſo indeed they had, not to cure the diſeaſes of it, but to embalm it when dead.*——What he means by Herodotus's *hinting* I can hardly tell: for had the hiſtorian been to give his evidence in a court of juſtice, it is impoſſible he ſhould have delivered himſelf with more preciſion. Let us hear him over again: "Every "diſtinct DISTEMPER [ΝΟΥΣΟΣ] hath its own phyſician, who "confines himſelf to the ſtudy and cure of that, and meddles with "no other; ſo that all places are crouded with phyſicians: for "one claſs hath the care of the eyes, another of the head, another "of the teeth, another of the region of the belly, and another of "OCCULT DISTEMPERS [ΑΦΑΝΕΩΝ ΝΟΥΣΩΝ."]. Notwithſtanding all this, by *every diſtemper*, is meant, it ſeems, *each part of a dead body:* Death, indeed, has been often called a *remedy*, but never, I believe, a *diſeaſe*, before.——But the *ſubſequent words*, he ſays, *lead us to this ſenſe.* The reader will ſuſpect by this, that I have not given him the whole of the account: But the *ſubſequent words*, whereby our author would ſupport his interpretation, are the beginning of a new chapter about funeral rites:——*As to their mournings for the dead, and funeral rites, they are of this kind* *, *&c.* Now becauſe Herodotus ſpeaks next of their *obſequies*, which, methinks, was methodical enough, after his account of their phyſicians, this writer would have the foregoing chapter an anticipation of the following; and the hiſtorian to treat of his ſubject before he comes to it.——He goes on:—*For ſo indeed they had* [*i. e.* a different phyſician for each different part of the body] *not to cure*

* Θρῆνοι δὲ καὶ ταφαὶ σφέων, εἰσὶ ἅδε, l. ii. c. 85.

the

the diſeaſes of it, but to embalm it when dead. How comes he to know this? Doth Scripture inform him that they had a different phyſician for every different part of a dead body? No. They are only the Greek writers (in his opinion) miſunderſtood who are ſuppoſed to ſay it. But why will he depend ſo much upon them in their account of funeral rites, and ſo little in their account of phyſicians? Scripture, which ſays they uſed embalming, and had many phyſicians, is equally favourable to both accounts: But it may be, one is, in itſelf, more credible than the other. It is ſo; but ſurely it is that which tells us they had a different phyſician to every different diſtemper; for we ſee great uſe in this; it being the beſt, nay perhaps the only expedient of advancing medicine into a ſcience. On the other hand, what is ſaid of the ſeveral parts aſſigned to ſeveral men, in the operation of embalming, appears, at firſt view, much more wonderful. 'Tis true, it may be rendered credible; but then it is only by admitting the other account of the Egyptian practice of phyſic, which the learned writer hath rejected: for when each diſorder of the body had a ſeveral phyſician, it was natural, it was expedient, that each of Theſe who were the embalmers likewiſe ſhould inſpect that part of the dead corpſe to which his practice was confined; partly to render the operation on the dead body more compleat, but principally, by an anatomical inſpection, to benefit the Living. On this account every interment required a number, as their work was to be divided in that manner which beſt ſuited the ends of their inſpection. It is true, ſubſequent ſuperſtitions might introduce various practices in the diviſion of this taſk amongſt the operators, which had no relation to the primitive deſigns.

Theſe I imagine, concludes our writer, *were the offices of the Egyptian phyſicians, in the early days; there were an order of the miniſters of religion.*—He then employs ſome pages* to prove that the Egyptian phyſicians were an order of Religious; and the whole amount

* P. 361—364.

comes

comes to this, that their practice was intermixed with ſuperſtitions; a circumſtance which hath attended medicine through all its ſtages; and ſhall be accounted for in the progreſs of this enquiry.—But their *office of embalming* is likewiſe much inſiſted on: for this being part of the Egyptian funeral rites, and funeral rites being part of their religion; the conſequence is, that theſe were religious miniſters. The phyſicians had indeed the care of embalming; and it was, as we have hinted above, a wiſe deſignation, if ever there was any: For, firſt, it enabled the phyſicians, as we have obſerved, to diſcover ſomething of the cauſes of the ἀφανέων νόσων, the *unknown* diſeaſes, which was the diſtrict of one claſs; and, ſecondly, to improve their ſkill by anatomical enquiries into the cauſe of the *known*, which was the buſineſs of the reſt. Pliny expreſly ſays, it was the cuſtom of their kings to cauſe dead bodies to be diſſected, to find out the origin and nature of diſeaſes; of which he gives a particular inſtance*: and Syncellus, from Manetho, relates, that books of anatomy were written in the reign of the ſecond king of the Thinites.—But to make their employment, in a ſacred rite, an argument of their being an order of Religious, would be juſt as wiſe as to make the prieſts of the church of *Rome*, on account of their adminiſtring *extreme unction*, an order of phyſicians. But though the learned writer's arguments to ſupport his fanciful opinions be thus defective, yet what he imagined in this caſe is very true; theſe phyſicians were properly an order of the miniſters of religion; which (though it make nothing for his point, for they were ſtill as properly phyſicians) I ſhall now ſhew by better arguments than thoſe of ſyſtem-makers, the teſtimonies of antiquity.—In the moſt early times of the Egyptian mo-

* ——Crudos [raphanos] Medici ſuadent ad colligenda acria viſcerum dandos cum ſale jejunis eſſe, atque ita vomitionibus præparant meatum. Tradunt & præcordiis neceſſarium hunc ſuccum: quando phthiſim cordi intus inhærentem, non alio potuiſſe depelli compertum ſit in ÆGYPTO, REGIBUS CORPORA MORTUORUM AD SCRUTANDOS MORBOS INSECANTIBUS. Nat. Hiſt. lib. xix. cap. 5.

narchy

narchy there was no accurate ſeparation of ſcience * into its diſtinct branches. The ſcholiaſt on Ptolemy's Tetrabiblus expreſly tells us, that their ancient writings did not treat ſeparately of medicine, aſtrology, and religion, but of all theſe together †: and Clemens Alexandrinus ſays, that of forty-two books of Mercury, which were the Bible of the Egyptians, ſix and thirty contained all their philoſophy; and were to be well ſtudied by the ſeveral orders of the prieſthood, which he before mentions; the other ſix, which related entirely to medicine, belonged to the παστοφόροι, *i. e.* ſuch as wore the cloak ‡; and theſe, as in another place he tells us, were an order of miniſters of religion §: and even in Greece, the art of medicine being brought thither from Egypt, went in partnerſhip, during the firſt ages, with philoſophy; though the ſeparation was made long before the time which Celſus aſſigns to it ||, as we ſhall ſee preſently. Thus it appears that theſe artiſts were properly both prieſts and phyſicians, not very unlike the monk and friar phyſicians of the late ages of barbariſm.

Our author now proceeds to the general hiſtory of phyſic. Let us ſee if he be more happy in his *imaginations* here. *We may be ſure*, ſays he, *the phyſicians practiſed only ſurgery 'till after Homer's time.*——What muſt we ſay then to the ſtory of Melampus **, who

* See Divine Legation, vol. I. book. i.

† Οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκ ἰδίᾳ μὲν τὰ Ἰατρικὰ, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὰ Ἀστρολογικὰ, καὶ τὰ Τελεστικὰ, ἀλλὰ ἅμα πάντα συνέγραψαν.

‡ —δύο μὲν ἓξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα αἱ πάνυ ἀναγκαῖαι τῷ Ἑρμῇ γεγόνασι βίβλοι· ὧν τὰς μὲν λϛ', τὴν πᾶσαν Αἰγυπτίων περιεχούσας φιλοσοφίαν, οἱ προειρημένοι ἐκμανθάνουσι· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἕξ, οἱ ΠΑΣΤΟΦΟΡΟΙ, ἰατρικὰς ὕσας, &c.——l. vi. Strom.

§ —ΠΑΣΤΟΦΟΡΟΣ δὲ, ἤ τις ἄλλος τῶν ἱεροποιῶν περὶ τὸ τέμενος, σεμνὸν δεδορκὼς, &c. Præd. l. iii. c. 2. From this paſſage we underſtand, that it was an inferior order of the prieſthood which practiſed phyſic; for ſuch were thoſe who ſacrificed.

‖ Hippocrates Cous, primus quidem ex omnibus memoria dignis ab ſtudio ſapientiæ diſciplinam hanc ſeparavit. De Med. l. i. Præf. He adds, we ſee, to ſave his credit, *ex omnibus memoria dignis*; taking it for granted, that thoſe who were not remembered, were not worth remembering.

** See Divine Legation, vol. I. book i.

learnt

learnt the art of phyſic and divination in Egypt *; and cured Prœtus's daughters of an Atrabilaire diſorder, with hellebore, a hundred and fifty years before the argonautic expedition? But why not *'till after the time of Homer*, who wrote not of his own time, but of the Trojan, near three hundred years before; and this, in a kind of work which requires decorum, and will not ſuffer a mixture of later or foreign manners to be brought into the ſcene? The writer, therefore, at leaſt ſhould have ſaid, 'till after the Trojan times. But how is even this ſupported? Why *we read in Homer, that their* WHOLE *art conſiſted in extracting arrows, healing wounds, and preparing anodynes*; and again, where Idomeneus ſays to Neſtor, *That one phyſician is worth a many other men, for extracting arrows, and applying lenitives to the wound*;

Ἰητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀνθάξιος ἄλλων,
Ἰὸς τ' ἐκθάμνειν, ἐπί τ' ἤπια φάρμακα πάσσειν †.

Homer's ſpeakers rarely talk impertinently. Idomeneus is ſhewing the uſe of a phyſician in an army: now, ſurely, his uſe on theſe occaſions conſiſts in healing wounds. The poet therefore choſe his topic of recommendation with good judgment; and we may be certain, had he ſpoken of the uſe of a phyſician in a peaceable city, he had placed it in the art of curing diſtempers: and this is no *imagination*: we ſhall ſee preſently that he hath in fact done ſo. In the mean time let me aſk, what there is in this paſſage, which in the leaſt intimates that *the* WHOLE *art conſiſted in extracting arrows, and applying anodynes?* But Pliny ſays ſo ‡, who underſtands

* See note [M], at the end of this Book.

† Il. xi. ver. 514, 515.

‡ Medicina—Trojanis temporibus clara—vulnerum tamen duntaxat remediis. Nat. Hiſt. l. xxix. cap. 1. Celſus too talks in the ſame ſtrain:—Quos tamen Homerus non in peſtilentia, neque in variis generibus morborum aliquid attuliſſe auxilii, ſed vulneribus tantummodo ferro & medicamentis mederi ſolitos eſſe propoſuit. Ex quo apparet has partes medicinæ *ſolas* ab his eſſe tentatas, eaſque eſſe vetuſtiſſimas. De Medicina, lib. i. Præf.

Homer

Homer to intimate thus much. What then? Is not Homer's poem ſtill remaining; and cannot we ſee, without Pliny, what inference the rules of good ſenſe authoriſe us to draw from the poet's words? The general humour of Antiquity, which was ſtrangely ſuperſtitious with regard to this Father of the poets *, may be ſome excuſe for Pliny in concluding ſo much from his ſilence; for Homer was their bible; and whatſoever was not read therein, nor could be expreſly proved thereby, paſſed with them for apocryphal. But let us, whoſe veneration for Homer riſes not quite ſo high, fairly examine the nature of his firſt great work: This, which is an intire ſcene of war and ſlaughter, gave him frequent occaſion to take notice of outward applications, but none of internal remedies; except in the hiſtory of the peſtilence; which being believed to come in puniſhment from the Gods, was ſuppoſed to ſubmit to nothing but religious atonements: not to ſay, that it was the chirurgical part of healing only that could be mentioned with ſufficient dignity. The Greeks were large feeders, and bitter railers; for which exceſſes, I ſuppoſe, Machaon, during the ten years ſiege, adminiſtered many a ſound emetic and cathartic: but theſe were no proper ornaments for an epic poem. I ſaid, his ſubject did not give him occaſion to mention inward applications; nor was this ſaid evaſively, as ſhall now be ſhewn from his ſecond poem, of a more peaceable turn; which admitting the mention of that other part of the art of medicine, the uſe of internal remedies, he has therefore ſpoken in its praiſe: Helen is brought in, giving Telemachus a preparation of opium; which, the poet tells us, ſhe had from Polydamna, the wife of Thon the Egyptian, whoſe country abounded with medicinal drugs, many of which were ſalubrious, and many baneful; whence the phyſicians of that land were more ſkilful than the reſt of mankind.

* —Homerum poetam multiſcium, vel potius *cunctarum rerum adprime peritum.*— And again:—Ut *omnis vetuſtatis certiſſimus auctor* Homerus docet. This was ſaid by Apuleius, a very celebrated platonic philoſopher, in a juridical defence of himſelf before a proconſul of Africa.

Τοῖα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μειλιόεντα,
Ἐσθλὰ, τὰ οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρεν Θῶνος παράκοιτις;
ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΗ, τῇ πλεῖστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
Φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά.
Ἰητρὸς δὲ ἕκαστος ἐπιστάμενος περὶ πάντων
Ἀνθρώπων· ἦ γὰρ Παιήονός εἰσι γενέθλης *.

Here then is an expreſs teſtimony much earlier than the time of Homer, for the Egyptian phyſicians practiſing more than ſurgery; which was the thing to be proved.

Our author goes on: *In the days of Pythagoras the learned began to form rules of diet for the preſervation of health, and to preſcribe in this point to ſick perſons.* This is founded on the rules of diet obſerved in the Pythagoric ſchool. There ſeems to be ſomething ſtrangely perverſe in this writer's way of arguing:—In the caſe of the Egyptian regimen, though it be expreſly delivered by the Greek writers as a medicinal one, yet by reaſon of ſome ſuperſtitions in it, our author will have it to be *a religious obſervance*; on the contrary, this Pythagoric regimen, though it be generally repreſented, and even by Jamblichus himſelf, as a ſuperſtitious practice, yet by reaſon of its healthfulneſs, he will have to be *a courſe of phyſic.*

He proceeds:—Hippocrates *began the practice of viſiting ſick-bed patients, and preſcribed medicines with ſucceſs for their diſtempers.* For which, Pliny is again quoted; who does indeed ſay he was the founder of the clinic ſect: but it is ſtrange he ſhould ſay ſo; ſince Hippocrates himſelf, in numerous places of his writings, has informed us that it was founded long before. His tract *De diæta in acutis*, begins in this manner: "Thoſe who have collected what "we call the CNIDIAN SENTENCES, have accurately enough regiſ-"tered the various ſymptoms or affections in the ſeveral diſtempers, "with the cauſes of ſome of them: thus far might be well per-

* Odyſſ. lib. iv. ver. 227, & ſeq. Clarke on this place of Homer obſerves that Pliny, lib. xxv. c. 1. quotes this paſſage as aſcribing a knowledge of medicinal herbs to the Egyptians before Lower Egypt was inhabited.

"formed

" formed by a writer who was no phyſician, if ſo it were, that he " carefully examined each patient about his ſeveral affections. But " what a phyſician ſhould previouſly be well inſtructed in, and " what he cannot learn from his patient, that, for the moſt part, " is omitted in this work; ſome things in this place, others in " that; ſeveral of which are very uſeful to be known in the art of " judging by ſigns. As to what is ſaid of judging by ſigns, or " how the cure ſhould be attempted, I think very differently from " them. And it is not in this particular only that they have not " my approbation: I as little like their practice in uſing ſo ſmall a " number of medicines; for the greateſt part they mention, except " in acute diſtempers, are purgatives, and whey, and milk for the " time: indeed, were theſe medicines proper for the diſtempers to " which they direct them to be applied, I ſhould think them wor- " thy of double praiſe for being able to attain their purpoſe ſo " eaſily. But this I do not apprehend to be the caſe: however, " thoſe who have ſince reviſed and new modelled theſe *ſentences*, " have ſhewn much more of the phyſician in their preſcriptions *."

From this long paſſage we may fairly draw theſe concluſions: 1. That there was a phyſic-ſchool at Cnidus: this appears from the ſentences collected under its name. 2. That the Cnidian ſchool was derived from the Egyptian: this appears from their ſole uſe of evacuants, in all but acute diſtempers. 3. That it was now of conſiderable ſtanding; having had a reform in the teaching

* Οἱ ξυγγράψαντες τὰς ΚΝΙΔΙΑΣ καλεομένας ΓΝΩΜΑΣ, ὁκοῖα μὲν πάσχουσιν οἱ κάμνοντες ἐν ἑκάστοισι τῶν νουσημάτων, ὀρθῶς ἔγραψαν, καὶ ὁκοίως ἕνια ἀπέβαινεν αὐτέων· καὶ ἄχρι μὲν τοιέων καὶ μὴ ἰητρὸς ἂν δύναιτο ὀρθῶς ξυγγράψαι, εἰ εὖ παρὰ τῶν καμνόντων ἑκάστου πυθοίατο, ὁκοῖα πάσχουσιν· ὁκόσα δὲ προκαλαμαθεῖν δεῖ τὸν ἰητρὸν, μὴ λέγοντος τοῦ κάμνοντος, τοιέων τὰ πολλὰ παρεῖται· ἄλλα ἐν ἄλλοισι, καὶ ἐπίκαιρα ἕνια ἑούσα ἐς τέκμαρσιν. ὁκόταν δὲ ἐς τέκμαρσιν λέγηται ὡς χρὴ ἕκαστα ἰητρεύειν, ἐν τουτέοισι πολλὰ ἑτεροίως γινώσκω, ἢ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι ἐπεξίεσαν· καὶ ἐ μόνον διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπαινέω, ἀλλ ὅτι καὶ ὀλίγοισι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῖσιν ἀκέεσιν ἐχρέοντο· τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα αὐτέοισιν εἰρέαται, πλὴν τῶν ὀξέων νούσων, φάρμακα ἐλαίης διδόναι, καὶ ὄρρὸν, καὶ γάλα, ἐς τὴν ὥρην ποιέσκειν· ἣν μὲν ἓν ταῦτα ἀγαθὰ ἦν, καὶ ἁρμόζοντα τοῖσι νουσήμασιν, ἐφ' οἵστι παρήνεον διδόναι, πολὺ ἂν ἀξιώτερα ἐπαίνου ἦν, ὅτι ὀλίγα ἑόντα αὐταρκέα ἐστὶ· νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἔτως ἔχει· οἱ μέν τοι ὕστερον ἐπιδιασκευάσαντες ἰητρικώτερον δή τι ἐπῆλθον περὶ τῶν παρασοιτέων ἑκάστοισιν.

of more able practitioners. 4. And laſtly, which is moſt to the point, that the phyſicians of this ſchool were of the clinic ſect; it being impoſſible they ſhould compoſe ſuch a work as Hippocrates here criticizes, without a conſtant attendance on the ſick-bed: and therefore Hippocrates was not the founder of this ſect, as Pliny, and our author after him, ſuppoſed.—But, for the eſtabliſhed ſtate of phyſic, its ſtudy as an art, and its practice as a profeſſion, when Hippocrates made ſo ſuperior a figure, we have the full evidence of Herodotus, his contemporary; who tells us, that in the time of Darius Hyſtaſpis the phyſic ſchool at Crotona was eſteemed by the Greeks firſt in reputation; and that, at Cyrene, ſecond*; which both implies, that theſe were of conſiderable ſtanding, and that there were many others: and if Galen may be believed, who, though a late writer, was yet a very competent judge, there were many others †: ſo that Hippocrates was ſo far from being the firſt that viſited ſick-beds, and preſcribed with ſucceſs in diſtempers, that he was not even the firſt amongſt the Greeks. The truth of the matter is this, the *divine old man* (as his diſciples have been wont to call him) ſo greatly eclipſed all that went before him, that, as poſterity eſteemed his works the canon, ſo they eſteemed him the father of medicine: And this was the humour of antiquity. The ſame eminence in poetry made them regard Homer as the founder of his art, though they who penetrate into the perfection of his compoſitions, underſtand that nothing is more unlikely. But what is ſtrange in this matter is, that the writer ſhould think it evidence enough to bring in Pliny ſpeaking of Hippocrates as the firſt amongſt the Greeks who preſcribed to ſick-beds with ſucceſs, for the confutation of Herodotus (contemporary with Hippocrates) in what he ſays of the pharmaceutic part of medicine, as an ancient practice in Egypt.

* —ἰγένετο γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο ὅτε μὲν Κροτωνιῆται ἀρίστοι ἰητρῶν ἐλέγοντο ἀπὸ τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἶναι, δεύτεροι δὲ, Κυρηναῖοι. lib. iii. c. 131.

† Meth. Medendi, lib. i.

But

But all the writer's errors in this diſcourſe ſeem to proceed from a wrong aſſumption, that the diætetic medicine was, in order of time, before the pharmaceutic: and the greater ſimplicity of the firſt method ſeems to have led him into this miſtake:——*In the days of Pythagoras*, ſays he, *the learned began to form rules of diet for the preſervation of health*; *and in this conſiſted the practice of the ancient Indian phyſicians*; *they endeavoured to cure diſtempers by a diet regimen, but they gave no phyſic. Hippocrates began the practice of viſiting ſick-bed patients, and preſcribed medicines with ſucceſs for their diſtempers. This, I think, was the progreſs of phyſic.*—I hold the matter to be juſt otherwiſe; and that, of the three parts of medicine, the CHIRURGIC, the PHARMACEUTIC, and the DIÆTETIC; the *diætetic* was the laſt in uſe; as the *chirurgic* was, in all likelihood, the firſt. In the early ages of long life and temperance, men were ſtill ſubject to the common accidents of wounds, bruiſes, and diſlocations; this would ſoon raiſe *ſurgery* into an art: agreeably to this ſuppoſition, we may obſerve, that Sextus Empiricus derives ἰατρὸς, a phyſician, from ἰὸς, a dart or arrow; the firſt attack upon the human ſpecies being of this more violent ſort. Nor was *pharmacy* ſo far behind as ſome may imagine; nature itſelf often eaſes a too great repletion by an extraordinary evacuation; this natural remedy (whoſe good effects as they are immediately felt, are eaſily underſtood) would teach men to ſeek an artificial one, when nature was not at hand to relieve. But the very early invention of pharmacy is further ſeen from that ſuperſtition of antiquity, which made medicine the *gift of the Gods*. For, what medicine do they mean? It could not be ſetting a fracture, or cloſing the lips of a wound; much leſs a regular diet. It could be nothing then but pharmacy; and this, both in the invention and operation, had all the advantages for making its fortune: Firſt, it was not the iſſue of ſtudy, but of chance; the cauſe of which is out of ſight: but what men underſtand not, they generally aſcribe to ſuperior agency. It was believed, even ſo late as the time of Alexander *, that

* Cicero de Divin. lib. ii. c. 66.

the

the Gods continued to enrich the phyſical diſpenſatory. Secondly, there was ſomething as extraordinary in the operation as in the invention. Pharmacy is divided into the two general claſſes of evacuants and alteratives; the moſt efficacious of theſe latter, commonly called *Specifics*, not working by any viſible effects of evacuation, do their buſineſs like a charm. Thus, as the general notion of the divine original of medicine made the patient very ſuperſtitious *, ſo the ſecret operation of alteratives inclined the practiſer to the ſame imbecillity. Hence it is that ſo much of this folly hath overrun the art of medicine in all ages. Now the beſtowing the origin of pharmacy in this manner, is abundantly ſufficient to prove its high antiquity; for the Ancients gave nothing to the Gods of whoſe original they had any records: but where the memory of the invention was loſt, as of ſeed-corn, wine, writing, civil ſociety, &c. there, the Gods ſeized the property, by that kind of right, which gives ſtrays to the lord of the manor †.

But now the diætetic medicine had a very low original, and a well-known man for its author; a man worth a whole dozen of heathen gods, even the great Hippocrates himſelf: and this we learn from the ſureſt evidence, his own writings. In his tract *de Veteri Medicina*, he expreſsly ſays, that MEDICINE *was eſtabliſhed from the moſt early times* ‡; meaning, as the context ſhews, *Pharmacy:* but where he ſpeaks ſoon after in the ſame tract of the *diætetic medicine* (which he calls τέχνη ἡ ἰητρικὴ, as the pharmaceutic above, ἰητρικὴ ſubſtantively) he ſays, *the* ART OF MEDICINE *was neither found out in the moſt early times, nor ſought after* §. And in

* Diis primum inventores ſuos aſſignavit, & cœlo dicavit; nec non & hodie multifariam ab oraculis medicina petitur. Plin. N. H. l. xxix. Proœm.

† The Rabbins, amongſt their other pagan conceits, adopted this; and taught that God himſelf inſtructed Adam in the art of medicine;—"Et ductus Adam per omnes "Paradiſi ſemitas vidit omne lignum, arbores, plantas, & lapides, & docuit eum "Dominus omnem naturam eorum, ad ſanandum omnem dolorem & infirmitatem." R. Ebenezra. Which, however, ſhews their opinion of the high antiquity of the art.

‡ ——ἰητρικῇ δὲ πάνλα πάλαι ὑπάρχει. c. iii.

§ —τὴν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ὅτ' ἂν εὑρέθη τέχνη ἡ ἰητρικὴ, ὅτ' ἂν ἐζητήθη. cap. v.

his

his *de diæta in acutis*, he tells us, *That the ancients* (meaning all who had preceded him) *wrote nothing of diet worthy notice; and that, notwithſtanding it was a matter of vaſt moment, they had intirely omitted it, although they were not ignorant of the numerous ſubdiviſions into the ſpecies of diſtempers, nor of the various ſhapes and appearances of each* *. Hence it appears, that, before the time of Hippocrates, the viſiting of ſick-beds and preſcribing medicines were in practice; but that the diætetic medicine, as an art, was intirely unknown: ſo that had Pliny called Hippocrates the author of this, inſtead of the founder of the clinic ſect, he had come much nearer to the truth.

But without this evidence we might reaſonably conclude, even from the nature of the thing, that the *diætetic* was the lateſt effort of the art of medicine. For, 1. The cure it performs is ſlow and tedious, and conſequently it would not be thought of, at leaſt not employed, till the quick and powerful operation of the pharmaceutic (which is therefore moſt obvious to uſe) had been found to be ineffectual. 2. To apply the diætetic medicine, with any degree of ſafety or ſucceſs, there is need of a thorough knowledge of the animal œconomy, and of its many various complexions; with long experience in the nature and qualities of aliments, and their different effects on different habits and conſtitutions †. But the art of medicine muſt have made ſome conſiderable progreſs before theſe acquirements were to be expected in its profeſſors.

* Ἀτὰρ ὀδὲ περὶ διαίτης οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ξυνέγραψαν ἐδὲν ἄξιον λόγυ, καί τοι μέγα τῆτο πάρηκαν. τὰς μὲν τοι πολυτροπίας τὰς ἐν ἑκάστοισι τῶν νέσων, καὶ τὴν πολυσχιδίην αὐτέων ὐκ ἠγνόεν. cap. ii.

† Φημὶ δὲ δεῖν τὸν μέλλοντα ὀρθῶς ξυγγράφειν περὶ διαίτης ἀνθρωπίνης, πρῶτον μὲν πάντὸς φύσιν ἀνθρώπυ γνῶναι καὶ διαγνῶναι· γνῶναι μὲν, ἀπὸ τίνων συνέστηκεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς· διαγνῶναι δὲ, ὑπὸ τίνων μερῶν κεκράτηται· εἰ μὴ γὰρ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ξύστασιν ἐπιγνώσεται, καὶ τὸ ἐπικρατέον ἐν τῷ σώματι, ὐκ οἷός τ' ἂν εἴη τὰ ξυμφέροντα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ προσενείκειν· ταῦτα μὲν ἂν χρὴ γινώσκειν τὸν ξυγγράφοντα· μετὰ δὲ αὖτα, σίτων καὶ πάντων ἁπάντων, οἷσι διαιτώμεθα, δύναμιν ἕν τινα ἕκαστα ἔχει, καὶ τὴν καλὰ φύσιν, καὶ τὴν διὰ ἀνάγκην καὶ τέχνην ἀνθρωπίνην· δεῖ γὰρ ἐπίστασθαι τῶν τε ἰσχυρῶν φύσει ὡς χρὴ τὴν δύναμιν ἀφαιρέεσθαι· τοῖσι δὲ ἀσθενέσιν, ὅκως χρὴ ἰσχὺν προσιθέναι διὰ τέχνης, ὅκε ἂν ὁ καιρὸς ἑκάστων παραγένηται. Hippocr. de Diæta, lib. i. cap. 1.

If

If I have been longer than ordinary on this ſubject, it ſhould be conſidered, that the clearing up the ſtate of the Egyptian medicine is a matter of importance; for if the practice, in the time of Joſeph, was what the Greek writers repreſent it, as I think I have ſhewn it was, then this topic ſeems abſolutely deciſive for the high antiquity of Egypt; and the learned perſon's hypotheſis lying in my way, it was incumbent on me to remove it.

IV. We come, in the laſt place, to the FUNERAL RITES of Egypt; which Herodotus deſcribes in this manner: "Their "mournings and rites of ſepulture are of this kind: When any "conſiderable perſon in the family dies, all the females of that "family beſmear their heads or faces with loam and mire; and "ſo, leaving the dead body in the hands of the domeſtics, march "in proceſſion through the city, with their garments cloſe girt "about them, their breaſts laid open, beating themſelves; and all "their Relations attending. In an oppoſite proceſſion appear the "males, cloſe girt likewiſe, and undergoing the ſame diſcipline. "When this is over, they carry the body to be ſalted: there are "men appointed for this buſineſs, who make it their trade and "employment:—They firſt of all draw out the brain, with a "hooked iron, through the noſtrils, &c.——after this they hide "it in nitre for the ſpace of SEVENTY DAYS, and longer it is not "lawful to keep it ſalted*." Diodorus agrees with Herodotus in all the eſſential circumſtances of mourning and embalming. In this laſt he ſeems to vary in one particular: "They then anoint the "whole body with the gum or reſin of cedar, and of other plants,

* Θρῆνοι δὲ καὶ ταφαὶ σφέων, εἰσὶ αἵδε· τοῖσι ἂν ἀπογένηται ἐκ τῶν οἰκηίων ἄνδρωπος, τῇ τις καὶ λόγος ἦ, τὸ θῆλυ γένος πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τῶν οἰκηίων τούτων κατ' ὧν ἐπλάσαλο τὴν κεφαλὴν πηλῷ ἢ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον· καπόειλα ἐν τοῖσι οἰκηίοισι λιπόσαι τὸν νεκρὸν, αὗται ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν σροφώμεναι, τύπλοῖαι ἐπιζωσμέναι, καὶ φαίνουσαι τὰς μαζούς· ζὺν δέ σφι αἱ προσήκουσαι πᾶσαι. ἐτέρωθεν δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες τύπλοῖαι, ἐπιζωσμένοι καὶ ὕπτοι· ἐπειὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, ὕτω ἐς τὴν ταρίχευσιν κομίζουσι. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ καλέαλαι, καὶ τέχνην ἔχουσι ταύτην.—πρῶτα μὲν σκολιῷ σιδηρῷ διὰ τῶν μυξωλήρων ἐξάγουσι τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, &c.——ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσανλες, ταριχεύουσι λίτρῳ κρύψανλες ἡμέρας ἑβδομήκοντα· πλείονας δὲ τουτέων οὐκ ἔξεσι ταριχεύειν. lib. ii. cap. 85, 86.

"with

" with great coſt and care, for ABOVE THIRTY DAYS; and after-
" wards ſeaſoning it with myrrh, cinnamon, and other ſpices, not
" only proper to preſerve the body for a long time, but to give it a
" grateful odour, they deliver it to the relations *," &c. All this operoſe circumſtance of embalming, ſcripture hiſtory confirms and explains; and not only ſo, but reconciles the ſeemingly different accounts of the two Greek writers, concerning the number of days, during which the body remained with the embalmers: " And the phy-
" ſicians," ſays Moſes, " embalmed Iſrael; and FORTY DAYS were
" fulfilled for him (for ſo are fulfilled the days of thoſe which are
" embalmed) and the Egyptians mourned for him THREESCORE
" AND TEN DAYS †." Now we learn from the two Greek hiſto-rians, that the time of mourning was while the body remained with the embalmers, which Herodotus tells us was ſeventy days: this explains why the Egyptians mourned for Iſrael threeſcore and ten days. During this time the body lay in nitre; the uſe of which was to dry up all its ſuperfluous and noxious moiſture ‡; and when, in the compaſs of thirty days, this was reaſonably well effected, the remaining forty, the ἐφ' ἡμέρας πλείους τῶν τριάκοντα of Diodorus, were employed in anointing it with gums and ſpices to preſerve it, which was the proper embalming. And this explains the meaning of *the forty days which were fulfilled for Iſrael, being the days of thoſe that are embalmed.* Thus the two Greek writers are reconciled; and they and Scripture mutually explained and ſup-ported by one another.

But if it ſhould be ſaid, that though MOSES here mentions em-balming, yet the practice was not ſo common as the Greek hiſto-rians repreſent it, till many ages after; I reply, that the company of Iſhmaelitiſh merchants with their camels bearing ſpicery, balm,

* Καθόλῳ δὲ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κηδείᾳ καί τισιν ἄλλοις ἐπιμελείας ἀξιοῦσιν ἐφ' ἡμέρας πλείους τῶν τριάκοντα, ἔπειτα σμύρνῃ καὶ κινναμώμῳ, καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις μὴ μόνον πολὺν χρόνον τηρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εὐωδίαν παρέχεσθαι διαπίνοῦσι, παραδιδόασι τοῖς συγγενέσι. lib. i. Bibl. p. 58.

† Gen. l. 2, 3.

‡ Τὰς δὲ σάρκας τὸ νίτρον καθατήκει. Herodot. p. 119.

and myrrh, to carry down into Egypt *, clearly ſhews, that embalming was at this time become a general practice.

On the whole, what ſtronger evidence can any one require of a rich and powerful monarchy, than what hath been here given?— Scripture deſcribes Egypt under that condition, in the times of the Patriarchs, and the egreſſion of their poſterity: the Greek writers not only ſubſcribe to this high antiquity, but ſupport their teſtimony by a minute detail of cuſtoms and manners then in uſe, which could belong only to a large and well policied kingdom; and theſe again are diſtinctly confirmed by the circumſtantial hiſtory of Moses.

But it is not only in what they agree, but likewiſe in what they differ, that ſacred and profane accounts are mutually ſupported, and the high antiquity of Egypt eſtabliſhed. To give one inſtance: Diodorus expreſsly tells us, that *the lands were divided between the king, the prieſts, and the ſoldiery* †; and Moses (ſpeaking of the Egyptian famine and its effects) as expreſsly ſays that *they were divided between the king, the prieſts, and the people* ‡. Now as contrary as theſe two accounts look, it will be found, upon comparing them, that Diodorus fully ſupports all that Moses hath delivered concerning this matter. Moses tells us, that before the famine, all the lands of Egypt were in the hands of the king, the prieſts, and the people; but that this national calamity made a great revolution in property, and brought the whole poſſeſſions of the people into the king's hands; which muſt needs make a prodigious acceſſion of power to the crown. But Joſeph, in whom the offices of miniſter and patriot ſupported each other, and jointly concurred to the public ſervice §, prevented for ſome time the ill effects of this acceſſion, by his farming out the new domain to the old proprietors, on very eaſy conditions. We may well ſuppoſe this wiſe diſpoſition

* Gen. xxxvii. 25. † L. i. Bibl.

‡ Gen. xlvii.

§ See note [N], at the end of this Book.

to

to continue till that *new king arose, who knew not Joseph** ; that is, would obliterate his memory, as averse to his system of policy †. He, as appears from Scripture, greatly affected a despotic government; to support which, he first established, as I collect, a standing militia; and endowed it with the lands formerly the people's; who now became a kind of Villains to this order, which resembled the Zaims and Timariots of the Turkish empire; and were obliged to personal service: this, and the priesthood, being the orders of nobility in this powerful empire; and so considerable they were, that out of either of them, indifferently, as we observed before ‡, their kings were taken and elected. Thus the property of Egypt became at length divided in the manner, the Sicilian relates: and it is remarkable, that from this time, and not till now, we hear in Scripture of a standing militia §, and of the king's six hundred chosen chariots, *&c.*

SECT. IV.

HAVING thus proved the high antiquity of Egypt from the concurrent testimony of sacred and profane history; I go on, as I proposed, to evince the same from internal evidence; taken from the original use of their so much celebrated HIEROGLYPHICS.

But to give this argument its due force, it will be necessary to trace up hieroglyphic writing to its original; which a general mistake concerning its primeval use hath rendered extremely difficult. The mistake I mean, is that which makes the hieroglyphics to be invented by the Egyptian priests, in order to hide and secrete their

* Exod. i. 8.

† In this sense is the phrase frequently used in Scripture, as Judges ii. 10.—"And "there arose another generation after them, which *knew not* the Lord, nor yet the "works which he had done for Israel."—Here, *knew not*, can only signify *despised, set at nought.*

‡ See the first volume.

§ Exod. xiv. 8, 9.

wiſdom from the knowledge of the vulgar *: a miſtake which hath involved this part of ancient learning in much obſcurity and confuſion.

I.

Men ſoon found out two ways of communicating their thoughts to one another; the firſt by SOUNDS, and the ſecond by FIGURES: for there being frequent occaſion to have their conceptions either perpetuated, or communicated at a diſtance, the way of figures or characters was next thought upon, after ſounds (which were momentary and confined), to make their conceptions laſting and extenſive.

The firſt and moſt natural way of communicating our thoughts by marks or figures, is by tracing out the images of things. So the early people, to expreſs the idea of a man or horſe, delineated the form of thoſe animals. Thus the firſt eſſay towards writing was a mere picture.

I. We ſee an example of this amongſt the MEXICANS, whoſe only method of recording their laws and hiſtory, was by a picture-writing †. Joſeph Acoſta tells us, that, when the inhabitants of the ſea ſhore ſent expreſſes to Montezuma with news of the firſt appearance of the Spaniſh navy on their coaſts, the advices were delineated in large paintings, upon cloth ‡. The ſame writer gives

* See note [O], at the end of this Book.

† In diffetto di lettere uſarono gl' ingegnoſi Mexicani figure, e *Geroglifici*, per ſignificar le coſe corporee, che han figura; e per lo rimanente, altri caratteri propri: e in tal modo ſegnavano, a prò della poſterità, tutte le coſe accadute. Per ragion d' eſempio per ſignificare l' entrata degli Spagnuoli dipinſero un' uomo col cappello, e colla veſte roſſa, nel ſegno di Canna ch' era proprio di quell' anno. Giro del Mondo del Dottor D. Gio Fr. Gemelli Careri, tom. ſeſto. Ar°. Nuova Spagna. cap. vi. p. 37.

‡ —Quando era caſo de importancia lleuauana a los Señores de Mexico pintado el negocio de que les querian informar; como lo hizieron quando aparecieron los primeros navios de Eſpañoles, y quando fueron a tomar a Toponchan. Acoſta's hiſt. of the Indies, Madr. 1608. 4to. lib. vi. cap. 10.—Con eſte recado fueron a Mexico los de la coſta lleuando pintado en unos panos todo quanto auian viſto, y los navios, y hombres, y ſu figura, y juntamente las piedras que les auien dado. lib. vii. cap. 24.

us,

us, in another place, a more particular account of this ſort of painting: "One of our company of Jeſus (ſays he) a man of much ex- "perience and diſcernment, aſſembled in the province of Mexico "the Ancients of Tuſcuco, Tulla, and Mexico; who, in a long "conference held with him, ſhewed him their records, hiſtories, "and calendars; things very worthy notice, as containing their "figures and hieroglyphics, by which they painted their concep- "tions in the following manner: things that have a bodily ſhape "were repreſented by their proper figures; and thoſe which have "none, by other ſignificative characters: and thus they writ or "painted every thing they had occaſion to expreſs.—For my own "ſatisfaction I had the curioſity to inſpect a paternoſter, an ave- "maria, the creed, and a general confeſſion *, written in this man- "ner by the Indians:—To ſignify theſe words, *I a ſinner confeſs* "*myſelf*, they painted an Indian on his knees before a religious in "the act of one confeſſing; and then for this, *To God almighty*, "they painted three faces adorned with crowns, repreſenting the "Trinity; and, *To the glorious virgin Mary*, they delineated the "viſage of our Lady, with half a body, and the infant in her arms; "*To St. Peter and St. Paul*, two heads irradiated, together with "the keys and ſword, *&c.*—In Peru I have ſeen an Indian bring "to the confeſſional a confeſſion of all his ſins written in the "ſame way, by picture and characters; portraying every one of "the ten commandments after a certain manner †."

There

* *Acoſta's* words are,——*y ſymbolo y la confeſſion general*; which Purchas has tranſlated,—*and ſymbol or general confeſſion of our faith.* This is wrong: by *la confeſſion general* is meant a general confeſſion of ſins, a formulary very different from the *creed.*

† Una de los de nueſtra Compania de Jeſus, hombre muy platico y dieſtro, junto en la provincia de Mexico a los Ancianos de Tuſcuco, y de Tulla, y de Mexico, y confirio mucho con ollos, y le monſtraron ſus Librerias, y ſus Hiſtorias, y Kalendarios, coſa mucho de Ver. Porque tenian ſus figuras, y Hieroglyficas con que pintauam los coſas en eſta forma, que los coſas que tenian figuras, las ponian con ſus proprias Ymagines, y para las coſas que no auia Ymagen propria tenian otros caracteres ſignificatiuos de acquello,

y con

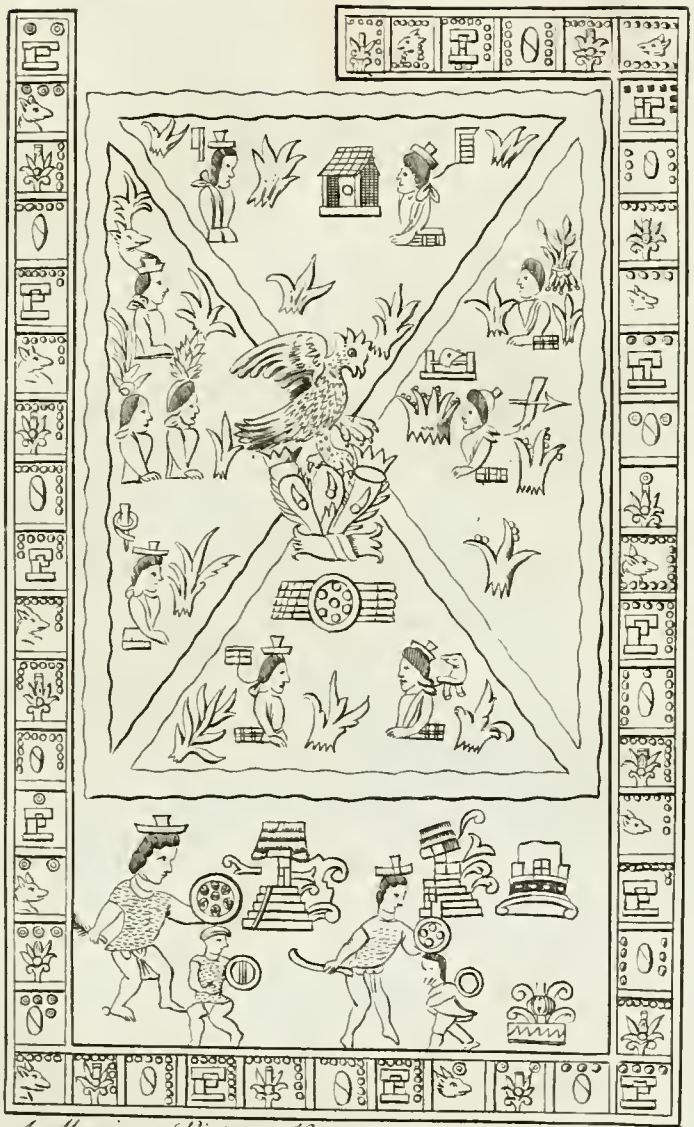
There is yet extant a very curious ſpecimen of this American picture-writing, made by a Mexican author: and deciphered by him in that language, after the Spaniards had taught him letters; the explanation was afterwards tranſlated into Spaniſh, and, from thence, into Engliſh. Purchas has given us this work engraved, and the explanations annexed. The manner of its coming into his hands is curious*. It is in three parts; the firſt is a hiſtory of the Mexican empire; the ſecond, a tribute roll of the ſeveral tributes which each conquered town or province paid into the royal treaſury; and the third, a digeſt of their civil law, the largeſt branch of which was, *de jure patrio*.

y con eſte modo figurauam quanto queriam—e yo he viſto para ſatisfazerme en eſta parte, las Oraciones del Pater Noſter, y Ave Maria, y Symbolo, y la Confeſſion general, en el modo dicho de Indios.——Para ſignificar Aquella palabra, *Yo pecador me confieſſo*, pintan un Indio hincado de rodillas a los pies de un Religioſo; como que ſe confieſſa; y luego para aquella, *A Dios todo poderoſo*, pintan tres caras con ſus coronas, al modo de la Trinidad; y *a la glorioſa Virgen Maria*, pintan un roſtro de nueſtra Senora, y medio cuerpo con un Nino; y *a San Pedro y a San Pablo*, dos cabeças con coronas, y unas llaues, y una eſpada.—Por la miſma forma de pinturas y caracteres vi en el Piru eſcrite la confeſſion que de todos ſus pecados un Indio traya para confeſſarſe. Pintando cada uno de los diez mandamientos por cierto modo.—lib. vi. cap. 7.

* "Reader, I here preſent thee with the choiceſt of my jewels, &c.——a politic, "ethic, eccleſiaſtic, oeconomic hiſtory, with juſt diſtinction of time.—The Spaniſh go- "vernor having, with ſome difficulty, obtained the book of the Indians, with Mexican "interpretations of the pictures (but ten days before the departure of the ſhips) com- "mitted the ſame to one ſkilful in the Mexican language, to be interpreted; who in "a very plain ſtyle, and verbatim, performed the ſame. This hiſtory thus written, "ſent to Charles V. emperor, was, together with the ſhip that carried it, taken by "French men of war; from whom Andrew Thevet the French king's geographer "obtained the ſame. After whoſe death maſter Hakluyt (then chaplaine to the Engliſh "embaſſadour in France) bought the ſame for twenty French crowns; and procured "maſter Michael Locke, in Sir Walter Raleigh's name, to tranſlate it. It ſeems that "none were willing to be at the coſt of cutting the pictures, and ſo it remained "amongſt his papers till his death: whereby (according to his laſt will in that kind) "I became poſſeſſour thereof, and have obtained, with much earneſtneſs, the "cutting thereof for the preſs." Purchas's Pilgr. 3d part, p. 1065, 1066. See plate I.

This

facing p. 390. vol II. *PLATE. I.*

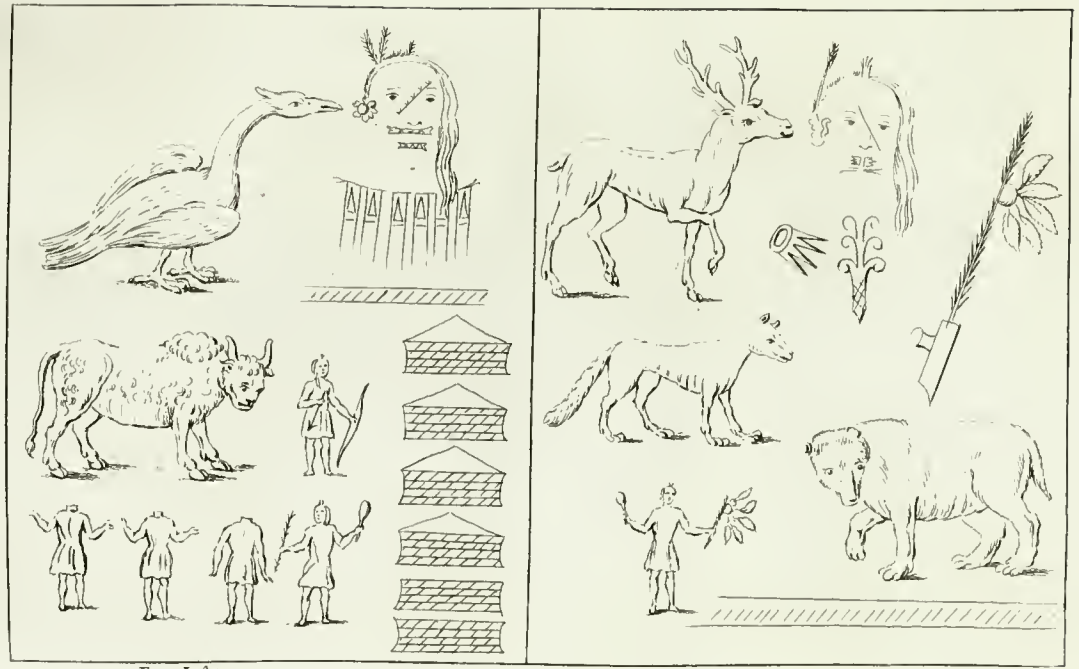


A Mexican Picture Hystory of the 51 years Reign of their Monarch Tenuch. From Purchas.

J. Mynde sc.

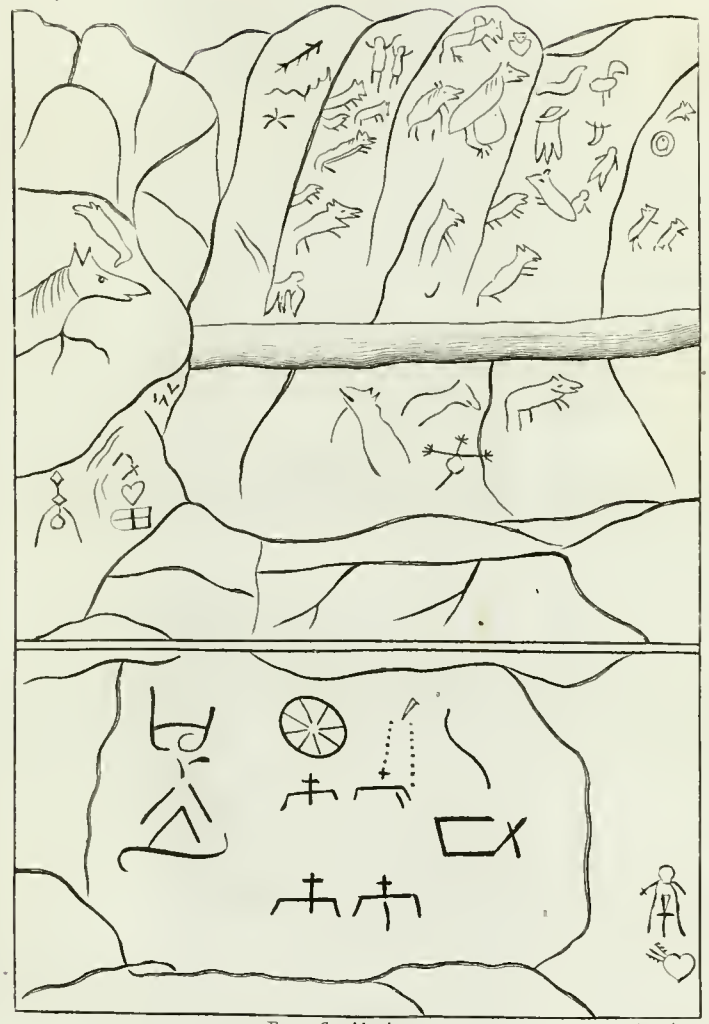
facing p. 391. Vol II.

PLATE II.



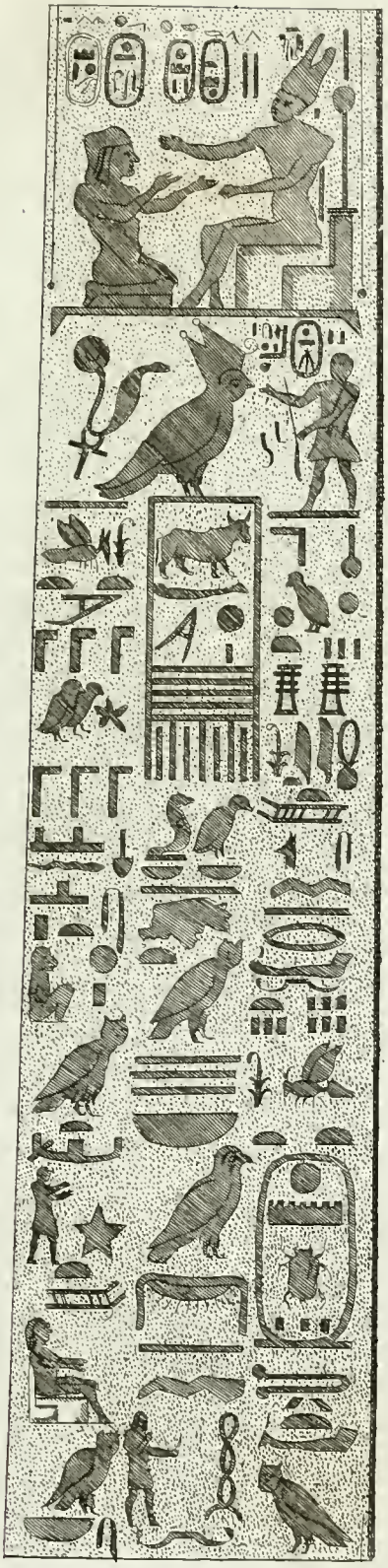
From Lafiteau.

J. Mynde fc.



From Strahlenberg.

Myrtle sc.



Part of the North Side of the Ramesseum Obelisk. From Belzoni.

J. Myatt fc.

This was the firſt, and moſt ſimple way of recording their conceptions *; obvious to every one, and common not only to the North as well as South Americans, but to all mankind †.

II.

But the inconveniencies attending the too great bulk of the volume in writings of this kind would ſoon ſet the more ingenious and better civilized people upon contriving methods to abridge their characters: and of all the improvements of this kind, that which was invented by the EGYPTIANS, and called HIEROGLYPHICS, was by far the moſt celebrated. By this contrivance, that writing, which amongſt the Mexicans was only a ſimple painting, became in Egypt a pictured character ‡.

This abridgment was of three kinds; and, as appears from the more or leſs art employed in the contrivance of each, made by due degrees; and at three different periods.

1. The firſt way was, *To make the principal circumſtance in the ſubject ſtand for the whole.* Thus when they would deſcribe a battle, or two armies in array, they painted (as we learn from that admirable fragment of antiquity, the hieroglyphics of Horapollo)

* Quant aux caracteres, ils n'en avoient point: et ils y ſuppleoient par des eſpeces d'hieroglyphes. Charlevoix of the Northern Americans, vol. V. p. 292. Lafateau gives us a ſpecimen of theſe hieroglyphics. [See plate II.]

† The ſame kind of characters Stahlenberg found upon rocks in Siberia in the province of Permia, and near the river Jeneſei. Of which he has given a drawing. [See plate III.] The author De vet. lit. Hunn. Scyth. p. 15. ſeems to admire this natural expreſſion of things, as ſome uncommon ſtretch of invention. "Miratus ego ſæpe fui "caupones idiotas (nempe in Hungaria) iſtis, quibus aliquid credere hujuſmodi ficto cha-"racteré inter debitores non adſcribere tantum, ſed longioris etiam temporis inter-"vallo poſt, non ſecus, quam ſi alphabethario ſcribendi genere adnotati fuiſſent, pro-"mere, debitamque ſummam & rationes indicare potuiſſe; ita ſi debitor miles eſt, rudi "quadam linea frameam aut pugionem pingebant; ſi faber, malleum aut ſecurim: ſi "auriga, flagrum, atque ſic porro."

‡ See plate IV.

two hands, one holding a ſhield, and the other a bow *; when a tumult, or popular inſurrection,—*an armed man caſting arrows* †; when a ſiege, —a *ſcaling ladder* ‡. This was of the utmoſt ſimplicity; and, conſequently, we muſt ſuppoſe it the earlieſt way of turning painting into an hieroglyphic; that is, making it a picture-character. And this is what we ſhall hereafter diſtinguiſh by the name of the CURIOLOGIC HIEROGLYPHIC.

2 The ſecond, and more artful method of contraction, was by putting the inſtrument of the thing, whether real or metaphorical, for the thing itſelf. Thus an *eye*, eminently placed, was deſigned to repreſent God's omniſcience §; an *eye and ſceptre*, to repreſent a monarch ||; a *ſword*, their cruel tyrant Ochus **: and a *ſhip and pilot*, the governor of the univerſe ††. And this is what we ſhall call the TROPICAL HIEROGLYPHIC.

3. Their third, and ſtill more artificial method of abridging picture writing, was, *by making one thing to ſtand for, or repreſent another, where any quaint reſemblance or analogy, in the repreſentative, could be collected from their obſervations of nature, or their traditional ſuperſtitions.* And this was their SYMBOLIC HIEROGLYPHIC.

Sometimes it was founded in their obſervations on the form, or on the real or imaginary natures and qualities, of Beings. Thus the univerſe was deſigned by a *ſerpent in a circle*, whoſe variegated ſpots ſignified the ſtars ‡‡; and the ſun-riſe by the *two eyes of the crocodile*, becauſe they ſeem to emerge from its head §§; a widow who never admits a ſecond mate, by a *black pigeon* ||||; one dead of a fever, contracted by the over great ſolar heat, by a *blind ſcarabæus* ***; a client flying for relief to his patron, and finding none,

* Horapoll. Hierogl. lib. ii. cap. 5. Ed. Corn. De Pauw, Traj. ad Rhen. 1727. 4to.

† Id. l. ii. c. 12. ‡ Id. l. ii. c. 28.

§ Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v. || Plutarch. If. & Oſir. ** Id. ib.

†† Jamblichus. See note [P], at the end of this Book.

‡‡ Horap. Hierogl. l. i. c. 2. §§ L. i. c. 68.

|||| L. ii. c. 32. *** L. ii. c. 41.

by

by a *ſparrow and owl* *; a king inexorable, and eſtranged from his people, by an *eagle* †; a man who expoſes his children through poverty, by an *hawk* ‡; a wife who hates her huſband, or children who injure their mother, by a *viper* §; one initiated into the myſteries, and ſo under the obligation of ſecrecy, by a *graſhopper* ‖, which was thought to have no mouth.

Sometimes again, this kind of hieroglyphic was derived from the popular ſuperſtition. Thus he who had borne his misfortunes with courage, and had at length ſurmounted them, was ſignified by the *hyæna* **, becauſe the ſkin of that animal, uſed as a defence in battle, was ſuppoſed to make the wearer fearleſs and invulnerable.

But it is not from analogy alone (the force of which will be ſeen more fully as we proceed), nor yet from the nature of the thing only (which in theſe enquiries is indeed the ſafeſt guide), that we conclude the hieroglyphics now deſcribed to be an improvement of an earlier picture-writing uſed by the Egyptians, and reſembling that of the Americans. Ancient hiſtory records the fact. We are told, in that exquiſite fragment of Sanchoniatho, preſerved by Euſebius, that "the God Taautus, having imitated Ouranus's art "of picture writing ††, drew the portraits of the Gods Cronus, "Dagon, and the reſt, and delineated the ſacred characters which "formed the elements of this kind of writing ‡‡: for Cronus, par-"ticularly, he imagined theſe ſymbols of royalty, four eyes, two "before, and two behind; of which, two were cloſed in ſlumber;

* L. ii. c. 51. † L. ii. c. 56. ‡ L. ii. c. 99.
§ L. ii. c. 59 & 60. ‖ L. ii. c. 55. ** L. ii. c. 72.

†† The original is, Πρὸ δὲ τούτων Θεὸς Τάαυτος μιμησάμενος τὸν Οὐρανὸν, which Vigerus thus tranſlates, *Taautus vero Deas cum jam ante cœli imaginem effinxiſſet*; and Cumberland, *But before theſe things the god Taautus having formerly imitated or repreſented Ouranus:*—This is wrong, μιμησάμενος τὸν Οὐρανὸν ſignifies here, imitating the art, or practice, or example of Ouranus; not painting his figure. So Plutarch. de Fort. Alex. Ἡρακλία ΜΙΜΟΥΜΑΙ καὶ Περσέα ζηλῶ.

‡‡ See note [Q], at the end of this Book.

" and on his ſhoulders four wings, two ſtretched out, as in the " act of flight, and two contracted, as in repoſe. The firſt ſymbol " ſignified that Cronus watched though he repoſed, and repoſed " though he watched; the ſecond ſymbol of the wings ſignified, " in like manner, that even when ſtationed he flew about, and " when flying, he yet remained ſtationed. To each of the other " gods he gave two wings on their ſhoulders *, as the Satellites of " Cronus in his excurſions; who had likewiſe two wings on his " head, to denote the two principles of the mind, *reaſon* and *paſ-* "*ſion* †." Here we ſee that Ouranus practiſed a kind of picture-writing, which Taautus afterwards improved: Taautus, or Thoth, was the Egyptian Mercury; on which name and family all the inventions of the various kinds of writing were very liberally beſtowed: this, here mentioned, as the improvement of Taautus, being the very hieroglyphics above deſcribed: and that, as before practiſed by Ouranus, the ſame with the ſimple American paintings.

Such then was the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic ‡; and this the ſecond mode of invention for recording mens actions and conceptions; not, as hath been hitherto thought, a device of choice for ſecrecy, but an expedient of neceſſity, for popular uſe.

III.

But the obſcurity which attended the ſcantineſs of hieroglyphic characters, joined to the enormous bulk of picture volumes, ſet men

* Conformably to this account, the Etruſcans and Greeks occaſionally gave wings to the Images of all their Deities.

† Περὶ δὲ τούτων θεος Τάαυτ@ μεμηνσάμεν@ τὸν Οὐρανὸν, τῶν θεῶν ὄψιν, Κρόνῳ τε καὶ Δαγῶν@, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν διέδωκεν τὰς ἱερὰς τῶν στοιχείων χαρακτῆρας· ἐπενόησε δὲ καὶ τῷ Κρόνῳ παράσημα βασιλείας, ὄμματα τέσσαρα ἐκ τῶν ἐμπροσθίων καὶ τῶν ὀπισθίων μερῶν· δύο δὲ ἡσυχῇ μύοντα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτερὰ τέσσαρα· δύο μὲν ὡς ἱπτάμενα, δύο δὲ ὡς ὑφειμένα. τὸ δὲ σύμβολον ἦν, ἐπειδὴ Κρόν@ κοιμώμεν@ ἔβλεπε, καὶ ἐγρηγορὼς ἐκοιμᾶτο· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πτερῶν ὁμοίως, ὅτι ἀναπαυόμεν@ ἵπτατο, καὶ ἱπτάμεν@ ἀνεπαύετο· τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς θεοῖς, δύο ἑκάστῳ πτερώματα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, ὡς ὅτι δὴ συνίπτατο τῷ Κρόνῳ. καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, πτερὰ δύο· ἓν ἐπὶ τῷ ἡγεμονικωτάτῳ νῷ, καὶ ἓν ἐπὶ τῆς αἰσθήσεως. Præp. Evang. l. i. c. 10.

‡ See note [R], at the end of this Book.

upon

facing p.395 Vol. II.

PLATE. V.

A Specimen of the more modern Chinese *Characters taken from their more* ancient *The first row* modern *the second* Antient correspondent to the first.
From Kircher's China Illustrata.

J Mynde sc.

upon contriving a third change in this kind of writing: of which the CHINESE have given us a famous example.

We have juſt obſerved, that the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic was an improvement on a yet more ancient manner, reſembling the rude picture-writing of the Mexicans; and that it joined contracted and arbitrarily inſtituted marks to images. The CHINESE writing at length went ſtill further; it threw out the images, and retained only the marks; which they increaſed to a prodigious number. In this writing, every diſtinct idea has its proper mark; and is, like every real character, whether formed by *analogy* or *inſtitution*, common to divers neighbouring nations, of different languages *. The ſhapes and figures of ſeveral of theſe marks, however now diſguiſed, do yet betray their original to be from picture and images; as the reader may perceive, by caſting his eye on the ſpecimen given us by Kircher †: for, that it is only a more con-

* —pero lo que ſe eſcrive en elia, en todas las lenguas ſe entiende, porque aunque las Provincias no ſe entienden de palabra unaes a otras, mas por eſcrito ſi, porque las letras o figuras ſon unas miſmas para todos, y ſignifican lo miſmo, mas no tinen el miſmo nombre ni prolacion, porque como he dicho ſon para denotar coſas y no palabras, aſſi como en el exemplo de los numeros de guariſmo que puſe, ſe puede facilmente entender. De aqui tambien procede, que ſiendo los Japones y Chinas, Naciones y lenguas tam differentes leen y entendien los unos las eſcrituras de los otros; y ſi hablas ſen lo que leen, o eſcriven, poco ni mucho no ſe entenderian. Eſtas pues ſon las letras y libros que uſan los Chinos tan afamados en el mundo, &c. Acoſta, lib. vi. cap. 5.

Les Caracteres de la Cochinchine, du Tongking, du Japon ſont les mêmes que ceux de la Chine, & ſignifient les mêmes choſes, ſans toutefois que ces Peuples en parlant, s'expriment de la même ſorte. Ainſi quoique les langues ſoint très-differentes, & qu'ils ne puiſſent pas s'entendre les uns les autres en parlant; ils s'entendent fort bien en s'ecrivant, & tous leurs Livres ſont communs. Ces Caracteres ſont en cela comme des Chiffres d' arithmetique: pluſieurs Nations s'en ſervent: on leur donne differens noms; mais ils ſignifient par tout la même choſe—l'on compte juſqu'à quatre vingt mille de ces Caracteres. Du Halde, Deſcr. de l'Empire de la Chine, tom. ii. p. 226. fol. ed.

† China Illuſtrata, p. 227. & Oedipi Ægyptiaci Theatrum Hieroglyphicum, 12. See plate V.

tracted and refined hieroglyphic, we have the concurrent teſtimony of the beſt writers on the arts and manners of this famous people; who inform us how their preſent writing was deduced, through an earlier hieroglyphic, from the firſt ſimple way of painting the human conceptions *.

But

* Primò ſiquidem ex omnibus rebus mundialibus primos *Sinas* characteres ſuos conſtruxiſſe, tum ex Chronicis ipſorum patet, tum ipſa characterum forma ſat ſuperque demonſtrat; ſiquidem non ſecus ac *Ægyptii* ex animalibus, volucribus, reptilibus, piſcibus, herbis, arborumque ramis, funiculis, filis, punctis, circulis, ſimilibuſque characteres ſuos, aliâ tamen & aliâ ratione diſpoſitos formabant. Poſteriores verò *Sinæ* rerum experientia doctiores, cum magnam in tanta animalium plantarumque congerie confuſionem viderent, characteres hujuſmodi variè figuratos, certis punctorum linearumque ductibus æmulati, in breviorem methodum concinnârunt, quâ & in hunc uſque diem utuntur.—Porro litteras *Sinæ* nulla ratione in Alphabeti morem, uti cæteris nationibus conſuetum eſt, diſpoſitas, neque voces ex literis & ſyllabis compoſitas habent, ſed ſinguli characteres ſingulis vocibus & nominibus reſpondent; adeoque tot characteribus opus habent, quot res ſunt, quas per conceptum mentis exponere volunt. Kircheri China Illuſtrata, p. 226.

Au lieu d'Alphabet ils ſe ſont ſervis au commencement de leur Monarchie, de *Hieroglyphes*. Ils en peint au lieu d'ecrire; & par les images naturelles des choſes qu'ils formoient ſur le papier ils tâchoient d'exprimer & de communiquer aux autres leurs idées. Ainſi pour écrire un oiſeau, ils en peignoient la figure; & pour ſignifier un foreſt, ils repreſentoient pluſieurs arbres; un cercle vouloit dire le Soleil, & un croiſſant la Lune. Cette maniere d'ecrire eſtoit non ſeulement imparfaite, mais encore très incommode.—Ainſi les Chinois changerent peu à peu leur ecriture, & compoſerent des figures plus ſimples, quoique moins naturelles, &c.—*Le Comte, Nouv. Memoires ſur l' Etat Preſent de la Chine*, Tome prem. p. 256. Amſt. 1698. 12m°.

Des le commencement de leur Monarchie, ils communiquoient leurs idées, en formant ſur la papier les images naturelles des choſes qu'ils vouloient exprimer: ils peignoient, par exemple, un oiſeau, des montagnes, des arbres, des lignes ondoyantes, pour exprimer des oiſeaux, des montagnes, un forêt, & des rivieres. Cette maniere d'expliquer ſa penſée étoit fort imparfaite, & demandoit pluſieurs volumes pour exprimer aſſez peu des choſes. D'ailleurs il y avoit une infinité d'objets, qui ne pouvoient être repreſentez par la peinture.—C'eſt pourquoi inſenſiblement ils changerent leur ancienne maniere d'ecrire: ils compoſerent des figures plus ſimples, & en inventerent pluſieurs autres, pour exprimer les objets, qui ne tombent point ſous les ſens. Mais ces caracteres plus modernes ne laiſſent pas d'être encore de vrais Hieroglifes. Premierement parce qu'ils ſont compoſez de lettres ſimples, qui retiennent la même ſignification des

caracteres

But it may be worth our while to conſider more particularly, the origine and introduction of theſe ARBITRARY MARKS; the laſt advance of hieroglyphics towards *alphabetic writing*. We may obſerve that ſubſtances, and all viſible objects, were at firſt very naturally expreſſed by the images of the things themſelves; as moral modes and other ideal conceptions of the mind were more aptly repreſented by marks of arbitrary inſtitution: for it required variety of knowledge, and quickneſs of fancy, to deſign theſe latter ideas by analogic or ſymbolic figures; which therefore can be ſuppoſed no other than an after-thought of a people more than ordinary ingenious, as the Egyptians, and who, aiming to ſet a price upon their ingenuity, made their meaning myſterious and profound.

We ſhall ſee preſently, that as all nations, in their ruder ſtate, had hieroglyphic images or analogic or ſymbolic figures for marking things; ſo had they likewiſe ſimple characters or notes of arbitrary inſtitution, for *mental conceptions*. But, commonly, that ſort only which they moſt cultivated, or for which they were principally famous, happened to be tranſmitted to poſterity. Thus the Mexicans are remembered for their hieroglyphic paintings only; and the Peruvians for their knotted cords. But we are not therefore to conclude that the Mexican writing had no arbitrary

caracteres primitifs: Autrefois, par exemple, ils repreſentoient ainſi le Soleil par un cercle ⊖ & l'appelloient *Gé*; ils le repreſentent maintenant, par cette figure ☰, qu'ils nomment pareillement *Gé*. Secondement, parce que l'inſtitution des hommes a attaché à ces figures la même idée, que ces premiers Symboles preſentoient naturellement, & qu'il n'y a aucune lettre Chinoiſe qui n'ait ſa propre ſignification, lorſqu'on la joint avec d'autres. *Tſai*, par exemple, qui veut dire, *malheur*, *calamité*, eſt compoſé de la lettre *mien*, qui ſignifie *maiſon*, & de la lettre *ho*, qui ſignifie *feu*, parce que le plus grand malheur eſt devoir ſa maiſon en feu. On peut juger par ce ſeul exemple, que les caracteres Chinois n'êtant pas des lettres ſimples, comme les nôtres, qui ſeparement ne ſignifient rien, & n'ont de ſens que quand elles ſont jointes enſemble; ce ſont autant de Hieroglifes, qui forment des images, & qui expriment les penſées. Du Halde, tom. ii. p. 227.

marks,

marks *, or that the Peruvians had no hieroglyphic paintings †. Real characters of both kinds had, at different periods, been cultivated in China, if we may credit the concurrent relations of the Miſſionaries. In ancient Egypt indeed, where hieroglyphic figures were ſo ſucceſsfully cultivated as to give that general name to real characters, the uſe of marks by inſtitution is more obſcurely noticed. And for this, a reaſon will be aſſigned. Martinus Martinius, in his hiſtory of China, tells us ‡, they had two ſorts of characters; the one, marks by inſtitution, which had been ſubſtituted inſtead of knotted cords, once in uſe amongſt them (as in Peru), but much more intricate than the Peruvian knots: their other characters were figures reſembling the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and repreſenting the *things* they were deſigned to expreſs. Now as the Chineſe improved in arts and empire, it is natural to ſuppoſe they would much increaſe their marks by inſtitution. The growing number of theſe characters, the ſciences to which they were applied, and their commodious and expeditious uſe, would tempt them even to change their analogic figures into marks by inſtitution, till their whole writing became of this ſort. It is now ſuch: and that the change was produced in the manner here repreſented, we may collect from the words and ſcheme of Martinius on the other ſide §.

But to all this it may be ſaid, How then came it to paſs, that Egypt, which had the ſame imperial fortune in a long flouriſhing

* Joſeph Acoſta (as we ſee above) expreſſly ſays, that "the Mexicans repreſented "thoſe things, which had bodily ſhape, by their proper figures, and *thoſe which had* "*none, by other ſignificative characters:*"—las coſas que tenian figuras las ponian con ſus proprias ymagines; y para las coſas que no avia ymagen propria tenian otros caracteres ſignificativos de aquello.—

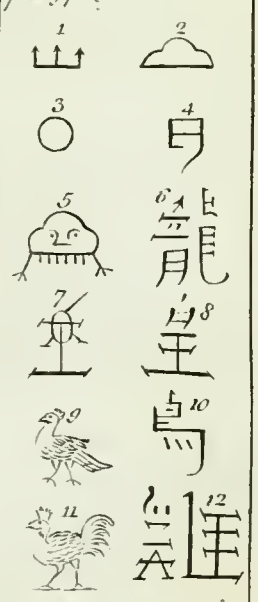
† The ſame Acoſta ſays expreſſly, that, beſides their *quippos* or ſtrings variouſly knotted and coloured, they had paintings like the Mexicans. l. vi. c. 8.

‡ Idem imperator [Fo-hi] Sinicos characteres reperit, quos loco nodorum adhibuit, ſed ipſis nodis intricatiores. Sin. hiſt. l. i.

§ See plate VI.

dominion,

facing p. 398. vol. II.



From Martinus Martinius.

PLATE VI

Hæc litera, 1. quæ montem significat, olim ita, 2. pingebatur. Sic solem eo modo exprimebant, quo Mathematicis hodie circulo medioque puncto, 3. describitur; nunc ista forma 4. effingunt. Diuvnis hæc 5. olim figura erat; hodie ita, 6. formatur. Regis litera, seu nomen sceptrum cum oculo, 7. referebat; nunc ita, 8. pingunt. Volucrem, gallinam, vel gallum, sua hoc est, nativa specie, 9. 11. repræsentabant; nunc his ductibus, 10. 12. explicantur. Habeo penes me librum literis Sinicis ad sex diversos modos conscriptum, opus antiquissimum & rarum, Sinis ob vetustatem varietatemque magno semper in pretio habitum. In eo libro antiquæ literæ formam utcunque referunt earum, quas Romæ in obeliscis sæpe me videre memini.

J. Munde sc.

dominion, ſhould be ſo far from changing their analogic figures into arbitrary marks, that their arbitrary marks were almoſt loſt and abſorbed in analogic figures? For ſuch arbitrary marks they had, as we may collect from their monuments, where we find them intermixed with proper hieroglyphics; and from Apuleius, where we ſee them deſcribed in his account of the ſacred book or ritual of the myſteries of Iſis. "De opertis adyti profert quoſdam libros, "litteris ignorabilibus prænotatos: partim FIGURIS CUJUSCEMODI "ANIMALIUM, concepti ſermonis compendioſa verba ſuggerentes; "partim NODOSIS, ET IN MODUM ROTÆ TORTUOSIS, capreola-"timque condenſis apicibus, a curioſitate profanorum lectione mu-"nita:" the very ſame ſpecies of writing with that of the Chineſe, deſcribed by Martinius, and almoſt in the ſame words: "Fohius "characteres reperit, quos loco nodorum adhibuit; ſed ipſis nodis "intricatiores."

Now this oppoſite progreſs in the iſſue of hieroglyphic writing, in Egypt and China, may, I think, be eaſily accounted for by the different genius of the two people. The Egyptians were extremely inventive; and, what is often a conſequence of that humour (though here other things contributed to promote it), much given to ſecrecy and myſterious conveyance: while the Chineſe are known to be the leaſt inventive people upon earth; and not much given to myſtery. This difference in the genius of the two nations would make all the difference in the progreſs of hieroglyphic writing amongſt them. I have obſerved that the eaſieſt, and moſt natural expreſſion of the abſtract conceptions of the mind, was by arbitrary marks: but yet the moſt ingenious way of repreſenting them was by analogic or ſymbolic figures; as omniſcience, by an *eye*; ingratitude, by a *viper*; impudence, by the *river-horſe*. Now the Egyptians, who were of a lively imagination, and ſtudious of natural knowledge, though at firſt, like the Chineſe, they expreſſed mental ideas by arbitrary marks, yet, as they improved their inventive faculties by uſe, they fell naturally into this method

of

of expreſſing them by analogic or ſymbolic figures; and their love of myſtery diſpoſed them to cultivate it: for theſe figures neceſſarily make the Character myſterious, as implying in the Inventor, and requiring in the Uſer, a knowledge of phyſics; whereas arbitrary marks lie open to all, as requiring no knowledge but that of the inſtitution. Hence we have a plain reaſon how it happened, that the Egyptian Hieroglyphics, from very early times, conſiſted principally of ſymbolic and analogic marks, and that thoſe Chineſe Hieroglyphics were turned altogether into marks; by inſtitution. For as the Egyptians had ſoon learnt to expreſs abſtract ideas by analogic ſigns, ſo the Chineſe were at laſt drawn to expreſs even material things by arbitrary marks.

In a word, the Chineſe method of thus conducting hieroglyphic writing through all its changes and improvements, from a picture to a ſimple mark, was the occaſion that the Miſſionaries, who conſidered the hiſtory of their *writing* only by parts, have given us ſuch different accounts of it. Sometimes they repreſent it like the Mexican pictures; ſometimes like the knotted cords of the Peruvians; ſometimes as approaching to the characters found upon the Egyptian obeliſques; and ſometimes again as of the nature of the Arabic marks for numbers. But each man ſpeaks only of the monuments of which he himſelf had got information; and theſe differed according to their age and place. He, whoſe attention was taken up with the moſt ancient only of the Chineſe monuments, did not heſitate to pronounce them hieroglyphics, like the Egyptian; becauſe he ſaw them to be analogic or ſymbolic ſigns, like the Egyptian; he who conſidered only the characters of later uſe denied them to be like the Egyptian, becauſe he found them to be only marks by inſtitution.

Theſe imperfect accounts have miſled the learned into ſeveral miſtakes concerning the general nature and uſe of Hieroglyphics themſelves. Some ſuppoſing it of their nature to be *obvious marks* of inſtitution; and others, that it required a very *comprehenſive knowledge* of phyſics to be able to compoſe them.

Mr.

Mr. Freret, ſpeaking of the Chineſe characters, ſays, " Selon eux " [les Chinois] ces anciens caractéres etoient tous fondés ſur des " raiſons philoſophiques. Ils exprimoient la nature des choſes qu'ils " ſignifioient: ou du moins la determinoient en déſignant les rap- " ports de ces mêmes choſes avec d'autres mieux connues *." But he doubts whether entire credit is to be given to their accounts; for he obſerves that " La conſtruction d'une pareille langue de- " mande une parfaite connoiſſance de la nature et de l'ordre des " idées qu'il faut exprimer, c'eſt à-dire, *une bonne metaphyſique*, et, " peut-être même *une ſyſteme complet de philoſophie*.—Les Chinois " n'ont jamais eu rien de pareil." He concludes therefore, that the Chineſe hieroglyphics " n'ont jamais eu qu'en rapport d'INSTI- " TUTION avec les choſes qu'elles ſignifient." This is ſtrange reaſoning. To know whether the ancient Chineſe characters were founded on philoſophic relations, does not depend on their having a true ſyſtem of phyſics and metaphyſics, but on their having a ſyſtem ſimply, whether true or falſe, to which to adapt thoſe Characters: Thus, that part of the Egyptian phyſics which taught, that the viper tore its way through its mother's entrails, and that the ſkin of the hyæna preſerved the wearer invulnerable, ſerved full as well for hieroglyphical uſes, as the ſoundeſt part of their aſtronomy, which placed the ſun in the center of its ſyſtem.

Again, others have denied the Chineſe characters to be properly Hieroglyphics, becauſe they are arbitrary marks and not analogical. P. Parennin ſays, " Les caracteres Chinois ne ſont hieroglyphes " qu'improprement.——Ce ſont des ſignes *arbitraires* qui nous " donnent l'idée d'une choſe, non par aucun rapport qu'ils aient " avec la choſe ſignifiée, mais parce qu'on a voulu par tel ſigne " ſignifier telle choſe.—En eſt-il de même des hieroglyphes Egyp- " tiens?" P. Gaubil ſays,—" On voit l'importance d'une hiſtoire " critique ſur l'origine et les changemens arrivés à pluſieurs carac-

* Mem. de l'Acad. tom. vi. p. 609.

" téres Chinois qui ſont certainement hieroglyphes. D'un autre " côté, il y a des caractéres Chinois, qui *certainement ne ſont pas hie-* " *roglyphes*. Une hiſtoire de ceux-ci ſeroit auſſi importante." Theſe Fathers, we ſee, ſuppoſe it eſſential to hieroglyphic characters, that they be analogic or ſymbolic ſigns; and finding the more modern Chineſe writing to be chiefly compoſed of arbitrary marks, or ſigns by inſtitution, they concluded that the Chineſe characters were not properly Hieroglyphics. Whereas, what truly denotes a writing to be hieroglyphical is, that its marks are ſigns for THINGS; what denotes a writing not to be hieroglyphical, is that its marks are ſigns for WORDS. Whether the marks be formed by *analogy* or *inſtitution* makes no alteration in the nature of the *writing*. If they be ſigns for *things*, they can be nothing but hieroglyphics; if they be ſigns for *words*, they may be, and I ſuppoſe always are, alphabetic characters; but never can be hieroglyphics. However, it is but juſtice to theſe learned Fathers to obſerve, that one of them, from whom the others might have profited, appears to have a much clearer conception of this matter.—" *La nature des hiero-* " *glyphes* (ſays he) n'eſt pas d'étre des figures naturelles des choſes " qu'ils ſignifient, mais ſeulement de les repreſenter ou naturelle- " ment, ou par l'inſtitution des hommes. Or tous les lettres Chi- " noiſes, ou ſont des figures naturelles, comme les anciennes, du " ſoleil, de la lune, ou autres ſemblables, ou ſont des figures deſ- " tinées pour ſignifier quelque choſe, comme ſont toutes celles " qui ſignifient des choſes qui n'ont aucune figure; comme l'ame, " la beauté, les vertus, les vices, et toutes les actions des hommes " et des animaux *."

On the whole, therefore, we ſee that, before the inſtitution of letters to expreſs SOUNDS, all characters denoted only THINGS; 1. By *repreſentation*. 2. By *analogy* or *ſymbols*. 3. By *arbitrary inſtitution*. Amongſt the Mexicans, the firſt method was principally in uſe: The Egyptians chiefly cultivated the ſe-

* P. Magaillans, Relat. de la Chine.

cond:

cond: And the Chineſe, in courſe of time, reduced almoſt all their characters to the third. But the empires of China and Egypt long flouriſhing in their different periods, had time and inclination to cultivate all the three ſpecies of hieroglyphic writing: only with this difference; the Egyptians beginning, like the Mexicans, with a picture, and being ingenious and much given to myſtery, cultivated a ſpecies of hieroglyphics moſt abounding in ſigns by analogy, or ſymbols; whereas the Chineſe, who ſet out like the Peruvians with a knotted cord *, and were leſs inventive, and without a ſecret worſhip, cultivated that ſpecies which moſt abounds in marks of arbitrary inſtitution †.

In a word, all the barbarous nations upon earth, before the invention or introduction of letters, made uſe of Hieroglyphics, or ſigns for things, to record their meaning: the more groſs, by *repreſentation*; the more ſubtile and civilized, by *analogy* and *inſtitution*.

THUS we have brought down the general hiſtory of writing, by a gradual and eaſy deſcent, from a PICTURE to a LETTER; for Chineſe marks which participate of Egyptian hieroglyphics on the one hand, and of alphabetic letters on the other (juſt as thoſe hieroglyphics partook equally of Mexican pictures and Chineſe characters) are on the very border of letters; an ALPHABET invented to expreſs *ſounds* inſtead of *things* being only a compendium of that large volume of arbitrary marks.

Some alphabets, as the Ethiopic and Coptic ‡, have taken in hieroglyphic figures to compoſe their letters; which appears both from their ſhapes and names. The ancient Egyptian did the ſame,

* Les premiers inventeurs de l'écriture Chinoiſe, en s'attachant à des ſignes, qui n'ont qu'un rapport d'inſtitution avec les choſes ſignifiées, ont ſuivi le génie de la nation Chinoiſe; qui même avant Fo-hi, c'eſt à dire, dans la plus profonde antiquité, ſe ſervoit de cordelettes nouées en guiſe d'écriture. Mem. de l'Acad. tom. vi. Freret.

† See note [S] at the end of this Book.

‡ See note [T], at the end of this Book.

as a learned French writer hath ſhewn in a very ingenious and convincing manner *. But this is ſeen even from the names which expreſs letters and literary-writing in the ancient languages: thus the Greek words ΣΗΜΕΙΑ and ΣΗΜΑΤΑ ſignify as well the images of natural things as artificial marks or characters; and ΓΡΑΦΩ is both to paint and to write. The not attending to this natural and eaſy progreſs of hieroglyphic images from pictures to alphabetic etters, made ſome amongſt the ancients, as Plato and Tully, when ſtruck with the wonderful artifice of an ALPHABET, conclude that it was no human invention, but a gift of the immortal Gods.

Here then we ſee the firſt beginnings of Hieroglyphics amongſt the Mexicans, and the end of them amongſt the Chineſe; yet we never find them employed in either of theſe places for *myſtery* or concealment: what there was of this practice, therefore, in the middle ſtage of their cultivation amongſt the Egyptians, we muſt needs conclude had ſome private or peculiar cauſe, unrelated to their general nature.

But the courſe of the Mexican empire was too ſhort to improve picture into an hieroglyphic; and the Chineſe, which, in its long duration, hath brought this picture down, through hieroglyphics, to a ſimple mark, or character, hath not yet (from the poverty of its inventive genius †, and its averſion to foreign commerce) been able to find out an abridgment of thoſe marks, by letters; it was the old and well eſtabliſhed monarchy of Egypt, ſo propitious to arts and civil policy, which carried the PICTURE, through all the ſtages of its improvement, quite down to LETTERS, the invention of this ingenious people ‡.

* See note [U], at the end of this Book.

† See note [X], at the end of this Book.

‡ Primi per *figuras animalium* ÆGYPTII ſenſus mentis effingebant; et antiquiſſima monumenta memoriæ humanæ impreſſa ſaxis cernuntur, et *litterarum* ſemet inventores perhibent; inde Phoenicas, quia mari præpollebant intuliſſe Græciæ, gloriamque adeptos, tanquam repererint, quæ acceperant. Taciti An. l. xi. c. 14.

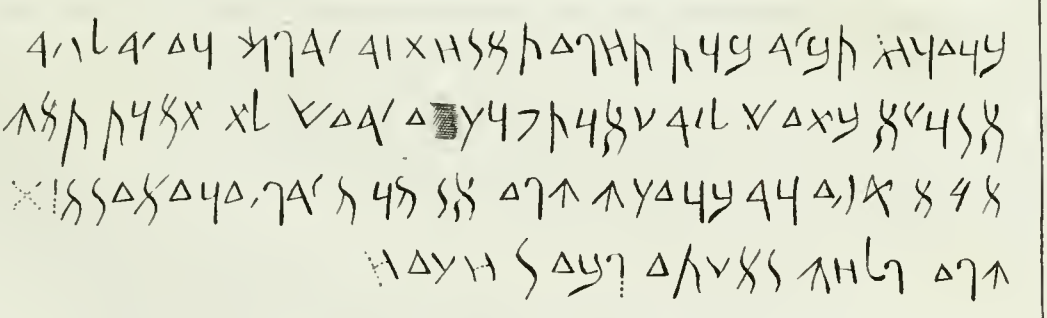
Now

N°I.

Hieroglyphics.	Letters.	Hieroglyphics.	Letters.
1.		12.	
2.		13	
3.		14.	
4.		15.	
5.		16.	
6.		17.	
7.		18.	
8.		19.	
9.		20.	
10.		21.	
11.		22	

From M. the Count Caylus J. Myndes.

N° II. PLATE VII.



N° III.

Hieroglyphics.	Letters.	Hieroglyphics.	Letters.
1.		5.	
2.		6.	
3.		7.	
4.			

Now ſuch a general concurrence in the method of recording the thoughts, can never be ſuppoſed the effect of chance, imitation, or partial purpoſes; but muſt needs be eſteemed the uniform voice of nature, ſpeaking to the firſt rude conceptions of mankind: for the reader may be pleaſed to obſerve, that not only the Chineſe of the Eaſt, the Mexicans of the Weſt, and the Egyptians of the South, but the Scythians likewiſe of the North (not to ſpeak of thoſe intermediate inhabitants of the earth, the Indians, Phœnicians, Ethiopians, Etruſcans, &c.) all uſed the ſame way of writing by picture and hieroglyphic *.

But to ſhew ſtill clearer, that it was nature and neceſſity, not choice and artifice, which gave birth and continuance to theſe ſeveral ſpecieſes of hieroglyphic writing, we ſhall now take a view of the riſe and progreſs of its ſiſter-art, the art of SPEECH; and having ſet them together and compared them, we ſhall ſee with pleaſure, how great a luſtre they mutually reflect upon one another; for, as St. Auſtin elegantly expreſſes it, *Signa ſint* VERBA VISIBILIA; *verba*, SIGNA AUDIBILIA.

I. LANGUAGE, as appears from the nature of the thing, from the records of hiſtory, and from the remains of the moſt ancient languages yet remaining, was at firſt extremely rude, narrow, and equivocal †: ſo that men would be perpetually at a loſs, on any new conception, or uncommon accident, to explain themſelves intelligibly to one another; the art of inlarging language by a ſcientific analogy being a late invention: this would neceſſarily ſet them upon ſupplying the deficiencies of ſpeech by apt and ſignificant SIGNS ‡. Accordingly, in the firſt ages of the world, mutual

* See note [Y], at the end of this Book.

† See note [Z], at the end of this Book.

‡ If this be true, it muſt be the caſe at all times, and in all places, where language remains within thoſe narrow bounds. Thus Lafateau, ſpeaking of the ſavages of North America, obſerves, *Ils parlent autant du* GESTE *que de la voix.*—Mœurs des Sauvages vol. I. p. 482. 4to edit.

converſe

converſe was upheld by a mixed diſcourſe of words and ACTIONS; hence came the eaſtern phraſe of *the voice of the ſign* *; and uſe and cuſtom, as in moſt other affairs of life, improving what had ariſen out of neceſſity, into ornament, this practice ſubſiſted long after the neceſſity was over; eſpecially amongſt the eaſtern people, whoſe natural temperament inclined them to a mode of converſation, which ſo well exerciſed their vivacity, by motion; and ſo much gratified it, by a perpetual repreſentation of material images. Of this we have innumerable inſtances in holy Scripture: as where the falſe prophet puſhed with horns of iron, to denote the entire overthrow of the Syrians †; where Jeremiah, by God's direction, hides the linen girdle in a hole of the rock near Euphrates ‡; where he breaks a potter's veſſel in ſight of the people §, puts on bonds and yokes ||, and caſts a book into Euphrates **; where Ezekiel, by the ſame appointment, delineates the ſiege of Jeruſalem on a tile ††; weighs the hair of his beard in balances ‡‡; carries out his houſhold-ſtuff §§; and joins together the two ſticks for Judah and Iſrael ||||. By theſe actions the prophets inſtructed the people in the will of God, and converſed with them in ſigns: but where God teaches the prophet, and, in compliance to the cuſtom of that time, condeſcends to the ſame mode of inſtruction, then the ſignificative action is generally changed into a viſion, either natural or extraordinary: as where the prophet Jeremiah is bid to regard the rod of the almond-tree, and the ſeething pot ***; the work on the potter's wheel †††, and the baſkets of good and bad figs ‡‡‡; and the prophet Ezekiel, the ideal ſcene of the reſurrection of dry bones §§§.

* Exod. iv. 8. And not for the reaſon given by Le Clerc on the place, idcoque *vox* iis [prodigiis] tribuitur, cùm eorum operâ Deus, non minus ac voce, ſuum hunc prophetam eſſe ſignificaret.

† 1 Kings xxii. 11.
‡ Chap. xiii.
§ Chap. xix.
|| Chap. xxvii.
** Chap. li.
†† Chap. iv.
‡‡ Chap. v.
§§ Chap. xii.
|||| Chap. xxxvii. 16.
*** Chap. i.
††† Chap. xviii.
‡‡‡ Chap. xxiv.
§§§ Chap. xxxvii. 2.

The

The ſignificative action, I ſay, was, in this caſe, generally changed into a viſion; but not always. For as ſometimes, where the inſtruction was for the people, the ſignificative action was, perhaps, in *viſion:* ſo, ſometimes again, though the information was only for the prophet, God would ſet him upon a real expreſſive action, whoſe obvious meaning conveyed the intelligence propoſed or ſought. Of this, we ſhall give, at the expence of infidelity, a very illuſtrious inſtance *. The excellent Maimonides, not attending to this primitive mode of information, is much ſcandalized at ſeveral of theſe actions, unbecoming as he ſuppoſed, the dignity of the prophetic office; and is therefore for reſolving them in general into ſupernatural viſions, impreſſed on the imagination of the prophet †; and this, becauſe ſome few of them may, perhaps, admit of ſuch an interpretation. In which he is followed by Chriſtian writers ‡, much to the diſcredit, as I conceive, of Revelation; and to the triumph of libertiniſm and infidelity §; the actions of the prophets being delivered as realities; and theſe writers repreſenting them as *mean, abſurd*, and fanatical, *and expoſing the prophet to contempt* ||. But what is it they gain by this expedient? The charge of abſurdity and fanaticiſm will follow the prophet in his viſions,

* See the caſe of Abraham, b. vi. ſect 5.

† More Nevochim, P. ii. cap. xlvi. which chapter he thus intitles, *Quòd opera ea, quæ prophetæ dicunt ſe feciſſe, non fuerint facta reverà & externè, ſed tantum in viſione prophetæ*; and then goes on:—Scias ergo, quemadmodum in ſomnio accidit, ut homini videatur, ac ſi in hanc vel illam regionem profectus eſſet, uxorem in ea duxiſſet, ac ad tempus aliquod ibi habitâſſet, filium, quem N. appellârit, & qui talis aut talis fuerit, ex ea ſuſcepiſſet; ita ſe quoque rem habere in illis parabolis prophetarum, quas vident aut faciunt in viſione prophetiæ. Quicquid enim docent parabolæ illæ de actione aliquâ & rebus, quas propheta facit, de menſura & ſpatio temporis inter unam & alteram actionem, de profectione ex uno loco in alium: illud omne non eſt niſi in viſione prophetica, nequaquam verò ſunt actiones veræ & in tenſus incurrentes, licet quædam partes præcise & abſolutè commemorentur in libris prophetarum.

‡ Vid. *Joannis Smith, Theol Cantab. Diſſertationem de Prophetia & Prophetis ex tranſl. Joannis Clerici*, cap. vi. and his late followers.

§ See note [AA], at the end of this Book.

|| See note [BB], at the end of this Book.

when

when they have removed it from his waking actions: for if theſe actions were abſurd and fanatical in the real repreſentation, they muſt needs be ſo in the imaginary; the ſame turn of mind operating both aſleep and awake *. The judicious reader therefore cannot but obſerve that the reaſonable and true defence of the prophetic writings is what is here offered: where we ſhew, that information by action was, at this time, and place, a very familiar mode of converſation. This once ſeen, all charge of abſurdity, and ſuſpicion of fanaticiſm, vaniſh of themſelves: the *abſurdity* of an action conſiſts in its being extravagant and inſignificative; but uſe and a fixed application made theſe in queſtion both ſober and pertinent: the *fanaticiſm* of an action conſiſts in a fondneſs for unuſual actions and foreign modes of ſpeech; but thoſe in queſtion were idiomatic and familiar. To illuſtrate this laſt obſervation by a domeſtic example: when the ſacred writers talk of being *born after the ſpirit*, of being *fed with the ſincere milk of the word*, of *putting their tears into a bottle*, of *bearing teſtimony againſt lying vanities*, of *taking the veil from mens hearts*, and of *building up one another*; they ſpeak the common, yet proper and pertinent phraſeology of their country; and not the leaſt imputation of fanaticiſm can ſtick upon theſe original expreſſions. But when we ſee our own countrymen reprobate their native idiom, and affect to employ only ſcripture phraſes in their whole converſation, as if ſome inherent ſanctity reſided in the Eaſtern modes of expreſſion, we cannot chuſe but ſuſpect ſuch men far gone in the deluſions of a heated imagination. The ſame may be ſaid of ſignificative actions †.

* Prophetic dreams and viſions were ſo very lively (ſays a learned writer) and affected the imagination with ſuch force, that *the prophet himſelf could not at the time diſtinguiſh ſuch viſions from realities. Something of this kind we experience in our dreams and reveries.*"—See Diſſ. on Balaam, p. 193.

† See Clem. Walker's ſtory of the fanatic ſoldier with his five lights. Hiſt. Indep. part II. p. 152.

But

But it is not only in ſacred ſtory that we meet with the mode of *ſpeaking by action*. Profane antiquity is full of theſe examples; and it is not unlikely but, in the courſe of our enquiry, we ſhall have occaſion to produce ſome of them: the early Oracles in particular frequently employed it, as we learn from an old ſaying of Heraclitus: *That the king whoſe Oracle is at Delphi, neither ſpeaks nor keeps ſilent, but reveals by* SIGNS *.

Now this way of expreſſing the thoughts by ACTION perfectly coincided with that, of recording them by PICTURE. There is a remarkable caſe in ancient ſtory, which ſhews the relation between *ſpeaking by action* and *writing by picture*, ſo ſtrongly, that we ſhall need no other proof of the ſimilar nature of theſe two forms. It is told by Clemens Alexandrinus: *They ſay, that Idanthura, a king of the Scythians (as Pherecydes Syrius relates the ſtory), when ready to oppoſe Darius, who had paſſed the Iſter, ſent the Perſian a ſymbol inſtead of letters, namely, a mouſe, a frog, a bird, a dart, and a plow* †. Thus this meſſage being to ſupply both ſpeech and writing, the purport of it was, we ſee, expreſſed by a compoſition of *action* and *picture*.

II. As ſpeech became more cultivated, this rude manner of ſpeaking by action was ſmoothed and poliſhed into an APOLOGUE or *fable*; where the ſpeaker, to inforce his purpoſe, by a ſuitable impreſſion, told a familiar tale of his own invention, accompanied with ſuch circumſtances as made his deſign evident and perſuaſive: for language was yet too narrow, and the minds of men too undiſciplined, to ſupport only abſtract reaſoning and a direct addreſs.

* Οὔτε λέγει, ὅτε κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ σημαίνει. Plut. περὶ τῦ μὴ χρᾶν ἔμμετρα, p. 992. which being a leſs preciſe and more equivocal mode of information excellently well fitted the trade of oracles. The Lacedemonians [ſee Herodotus in Thalia] preferred it to ſpeech for another reaſon, viz. to hinder their being miſled by the illuſions of oratory.

† Φασὶ γῶν κ) Ἰδάνθυραν τῶν Σκυθῶν βασιλέα, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Φερεκύδης ὁ Σύριος, Δαρείῳ διαβάντι τὸν Ἴστρον πόλεμον ἀπειλοῦντα πέμψαι σύμβολον ἀντὶ τῶν γραμμάτων, μῦν, βάτραχον, ὄρνιθα, ὀϊστὸν, ἄροτρον. Strom. lib. v. p. 567.

We have a noble example of this form of inſtruction in the ſpeech of Jotham to the men of Shechem; in which he upbraids their folly, and foretells their ruin, in chuſing Abimelech for their king. As this is not only the oldeſt, but the moſt beautiful * apologue of antiquity, I ſhall need no excuſe for tranſcribing it: "The "trees went forth on a time to anoint a king over them, and they "ſaid unto the olive-tree, Reign thou over us. But the olive-tree "ſaid unto them, Should I leave my fatneſs, wherewith, by me, "they honour God and man, and go to be promoted over the "trees? And the trees ſaid to the fig-tree, Come thou, and "reign over us. But the fig-tree ſaid unto them, Should I for-"ſake my ſweetneſs, and my good fruit, and go to be pro-"moted over the trees? Then ſaid the trees unto the vine, Come "thou, and reign over us. And the vine ſaid unto them, Should "I leave my wine, *which cheareth God and man*, and go to be "promoted over the trees? Then ſaid all the trees unto the bram-"ble, Come thou, and reign over us And the bramble ſaid unto "the trees, If in truth ye anoint me king over you, then come "and put your truſt in my ſhadow: and if not, let fire come out "of the bramble, and devour the cedars of Lebanon †."

How nearly the *apologue* and *inſtruction by action* are related, may be ſeen in the account of Jeremiah's adventure with the Rechabites ‡; an inſtruction partaking of the joint nature of *action* and *apologue*.

This was the birth of the FABLE; a kind of ſpeech which correſponds, in all reſpects, to *writing by hieroglyphics*, each being the ſymbol of ſomething elſe underſtood. And, as it ſometimes happened, when an Hieroglyphic became famous, it loſt its particular ſignification, and aſſumed a general one; as the *Caduceus*, for inſtance, which was, at firſt, painted only to denote the pacific office of Hermes, became, in time, to be the common ſymbol of league and amity: ſo it was with the Apologue; of which, when any

* See note [CC], at the end of this Book.

† See note [DD], at the end of this Book. ‡ C. xxxv.

one

one became celebrated for the art and beauty of its compoſition, or for ſome extraordinary efficacy in its application, it was ſoon converted and worn into a PROVERB. We have a fine inſtance of this in the meſſage of Jehoaſh to Amaziah, "Saying, *The thiſtle that* "*was in Lebanon, ſent to the cedar that was in Lebanon, ſaying,* "*Give thy daughter to my ſon to wife: and there paſſed by a wild* "*beaſt that was in Lebanon, and trode down the thiſtle.* Thou haſt "indeed ſmitten Edom, and thine heart hath lifted thee up: glory "of this, and tarry at home: for why ſhouldeſt thou meddle to "thy hurt, that thou ſhouldeſt fall, even thou and Judah with "thee * ?" Where we ſee plainly that this ſatyric apologue of the thiſtle and cedar was now become a proverb: of a like kind is that of the prophet; *Howl, fir-tree, for the cedar is fallen* †; to denote the danger of the lower people, when their ſuperiors cannot withſtand the civil tempeſt.

III. But as ſpeech improved into an art, the Apologue was contracted into a SIMILE, in which men conſulted cloſeneſs as well as brevity; for here the ſubject itſelf being ſtill kept in ſight, there was no need, as in the Apologue, of a formal application: and how eaſily the Apologue ſlid into the *Similitude*, we may ſee by the following paſſage of Jeremiah, which, being ſomething between both theſe forms of ſpeech, communicates of either's nature: *The Lord called thy name a green olive-tree, fair and of goodly fruit: with the noiſe of a great tumult he hath kindled fire upon it, and the branches of it are broken* ‡, *&c.* This way of ſpeaking by Simile, we may conceive to anſwer to the *Chineſe marks* or characters in writing.

Again, as from ſuch *marks* proceeded the abbreviated method of *alphabetic letters*, ſo from the Simile, to make language ſtill more expedite and elegant, came the METAPHOR; which is indeed but a Simile in little: for men ſo converſant in *matter* ſtill wanted ſen-

* 2 Kings xiv. 9, 10. † Zech. xi. 2. ‡ Jerem. xi. 16.

ſible images to convey abſtract ideas. The ſteps by which the *Simile* was contracted into the *Metaphor*, may be eaſily traced by a careful peruſal of the prophetic writings; there being no mode of ſpeech more common than that compounded of both; where the *Simile* is juſt about to be forſaken, and the *Metaphor* to be received. In this manner are God's judgements denounced againſt the king of Aſſyria: "Therefore thus ſaith the Lord God, becauſe thou haſt lifted up "thyſelf in height, and he hath ſhot up his top amongſt the thick "boughs, and his heart is lifted up in his height; I have therefore "delivered him into the hand of the mighty one of the heathen: "—and ſtrangers, the terrible of the nations, have cut him off, "and have left him: upon the mountains and in all the valleys "his branches are fallen, and his boughs are broken by all the "rivers of the land, and all the people of the earth are gone down "from his ſhadow, and have left him. Upon his ruin ſhall all the "fowls of heaven remain, and all the beaſts of the field ſhall be "upon his branches. To the end that none of all the trees by the "waters exalt themſelves for their height, neither ſhoot up their "top amongſt the thick boughs*." Quintilian conſidering this matter in an inverted order, yet makes an obſervation, where he ſpeaks of *metaphors*, much to our purpoſe.—Continuus [uſus] vero in allegoriam & ænigmata exit †. That is, As the allegory may, by degrees, be contracted into a Metaphor, ſo the Metaphor, by beating long upon it, may be drawn back again into an allegory.

As the *Simile* ſlid into a *Metaphor*, ſo the metaphor often ſoftened into a ſimple EPITHET, which ſoon diſcharged all the colouring of the figure. This is obſervable in the words *decrepit* ‡, *capricious*, and a great many others, when applied either to the body or mind. Which being firſt uſed in *ſimile*, then in *metaphor*, at length, by frequent uſe in *epithet*, loſt the very memory of their original §.

* Ezek. xxxi. 10, & ſeq. † L. viii. c. 6.

‡ DECREPITUS. Comparatio vitæ noſtræ cum lucerna nota fuit Latinis, ut patet ex decrepitorum ſenum nuncupatione. Prim. Scal. p. 48.

§ See note [EE], at the end of this Book.

Thus

Thus we ſee the common foundation of all theſe various modes of WRITING and SPEAKING, was a PICTURE or IMAGE, preſented to the *imagination* through the eyes and ears; which being the ſimpleſt and moſt univerſal of all kinds of information (the firſt reaching thoſe who could not decypher the arbitrary characters of an alphabet; and the latter inſtructing thoſe who were yet ſtrangers to abſtract terms), we muſt needs conclude to be the natural inventions of rude neceſſity.

And here it may not be amiſs to repeat an obſervation made before, that the primitive and more ſimple way of expreſſion, whether in *writing* or *ſpeaking*, did not always ſtraight grow into diſuſe on the invention of a more improved manner. Thus we ſee in Scripture, the way of *ſpeaking* by action was ſtill uſed after the introduction of the Apologue; and the Apologue, after that of the Simile and Metaphor. And ſo again in *writing*; the firſt and ſimpleſt hieroglyphics continued to be uſed in Egypt (as we ſhall ſee) long after the refinement of them into thoſe more artful ones called *ſymbolical*; and theſe, after that further improvement into characters or *marks* reſembling the Chineſe, and even after the invention of *letters*.

But how, as in theſe ſeveral modes of ſpeech, ſo in the ſeveral forms of writing, men made a virtue of neceſſity, and turned that into ornament and myſtery, which had its birth in poverty, and was brought up in ſimplicity and plainneſs, is to be our next enquiry.

II.

It is now, I ſuppoſe, apparent, that the hitherto received opinion, that the Egyptians invented hieroglyphics to *conceal* their knowledge, and render it myſterious, is altogether without foundation. However, as it is very certain they did, at length, *employ* hieroglyphic writing to ſuch a purpoſe, it will be proper to examine how this came about; How one of the ſimpleſt and plaineſt means of inſtruction came to be converted into one of the moſt artificial and abſtruſe.

To

To ſupport what we have to ſay on this head with proper authority, it will be neceſſary to produce two important paſſages from Porphyry and Clemens Alexandrinus, concerning the ſeveral natures and kinds of Egyptian writing. On theſe, we ſhall regulate our diſcourſe; which will, in its turn, contribute to illuſtrate theſe paſſages, hitherto, as we conceive, very imperfectly underſtood.

But it will be proper firſt of all to give the reader a general idea of the ſeveral natures and kinds of Egyptian writing, according to the order of time in which each was invented and improved; and for the truth, as well as perfect intelligence of the account, refer him to the whole of the diſcourſe.

Egyptian writing was of four kinds: the firſt, HIEROGLYPHIC, and this twofold: the more rude, called *curiologic*; and the more artificial, called *tropical:* the ſecond, SYMBOLIC; and this likewiſe was twofold; the more ſimple, and the more myſterious; that *tropical*, this *allegorical.* Theſe two kinds of writing, namely the hieroglyphic and ſymbolic (which went under the generic term of *hieroglyphics*, diſtinguiſhed into *proper*, and *ſymbolic* hieroglyphics), were not compoſed of the letters of an alphabet, but of marks or characters which ſtood for THINGS, not words. The third EPISTOLIC, ſo called, as we ſhall ſee, from its being firſt applied to *civil* matters: and the fourth and laſt, HIEROGRAMMATIC, from its being uſed only in *religious*. Theſe two laſt kinds of writing, namely, the epiſtolic and hierogrammatic, expreſſed WORDS, and were formed by the letters of an alphabet.

We come now to the paſſages in queſtion. Porphyry, ſpeaking of Pythagoras, tells us: That *he ſojourned with the prieſts in Egypt, and learnt the wiſdom and the language of the country, together with their three ſorts of letters, the* EPISTOLIC, *the* HIEROGLYPHIC, *and the* SYMBOLIC; *of which the* HIEROGLYPHIC *expreſſed the meaning of the writer, by an imitation or picture of the thing intended to be expreſſed; and the* SYMBOLIC, *by allegorical enigmas* *. Clemens is

* See note [FF], at the end of this Book.

larger

larger and more explicit :—*Now thoſe who are inſtructed in the Egyptian wiſdom, learn firſt of all the method of their ſeveral ſorts of letters ; the firſt of which is called* EPISTOLIC ; *the ſecond* SACERDOTAL, *as being uſed by the ſacred ſcribes ; the laſt, with which they conclude their inſtructions,* HIEROGLYPHICAL. *Of theſe different methods, the one is in the plain and common way of writing by the firſt elements of words, or letters of an alphabet ; the other by* SYMBOLS. *Of the ſymbolic way of writing, which is of three kinds ; the firſt is that plain and common one of imitating the figure of the thing repreſented ; the ſecond is by tropical marks ; and the third, in a contrary way, of allegorizing by Enigmas. Of the firſt ſort, namely, by a plain and direct imitation of the figure, let this ſtand for an inſtance :—to ſignify the ſun, they made a circle ; the moon, a half circle. The ſecond, or tropical way of writing, is by changing and transferring the object with juſtneſs and propriety* : this they do, ſometimes by a ſimple change, ſometimes by a complex multifarious transformation ; thus they leave engraven † on ſtones and pillars the praiſes of their kings, under the cover of theologic fables. Of the third ſort, by enigmas, take this example : the oblique courſe of the ſtars occaſioned their repreſenting them by the bodies of ſerpents ; but the ſun they likened to a ſcarabæus, becauſe this inſect makes a round ball of beaſt's dung, and rolls it circularly, with its face oppoſed to that luminary* ‡.

Thus theſe two ancient Greeks : but both of them being in the general miſtake concerning the original of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, it is no wonder their accounts ſhould be inaccurate and confuſed. The firſt miſtake common to both, and the natural conſequence of that falſe principle, is making the EPISTOLARY writing firſt, in order of time §, which was indeed the laſt. For that this was their ſentiment appears from Clemens's calling hieroglyphic writing ὑςάτην καὶ τελευταίαν, the laſt and moſt perfect kind.

* See note [GG], at the end of this Book.

† See note [HH], at the end of this Book.

‡ See note [II], at the end of this Book.

§ See note [KK], at the end of this Book.

The

The ſecond common miſtake is their counting but three ſorts of writing, when, indeed, there were four; as is diſcoverable even from their own reckoning: Porphyry naming *epiſtolic*, *hieroglyphic*, and *ſymbolic*; Clemens, *epiſtolic*, *ſacerdotal*, and *hieroglyphical*; the Firſt leaving out *ſacerdotal*, which the Second ſupplies; and the Second *ſymbolic*, which the Firſt ſupplies. Their other miſtakes are peculiar to each: Clemens errs moſt in enumerating the ſeveral ſorts; and Porphyry in explaining their ſeveral natures.

This latter writer names the three ſorts, *epiſtolic*, *hieroglyphic*, and *ſymbolic*; and this was not much amiſs, becauſe the fourth, the *hierogrammatic*, or *ſacerdotal*, not differing from the *epiſtolic* in its nature, but only in its uſe, he comprized it, we may ſuppoſe, under the *generic* term of *epiſtolic:* but when he comes to explain the nature of the *ſymbolic*, which is performed two ways, *tropically* and *allegorically*, he quite omits the firſt, and inſiſts only on the latter.

Clemens, on the other hand, gives us theſe three kinds, the *epiſtolic*, the *ſacerdotal* or hierogrammatical, and the *hieroglyphical*. Here *epiſtolic* is uſed as a ſpecific term, and *hieroglyphical* as a *generic*; juſt contrary to Porphyry, who, in his enumeration, employs them the other way: but then, as to their nature, Clemens ſays, the *epiſtolic and ſacerdotal were by letters of an alphabet, and the hieroglyphic by ſymbols:* the firſt part of the explanation is exact. We have obſerved that Porphyry judiciouſly omits to explain epiſtolary writing, as ſuppoſing it to be well known: but Clemens, who adds to epiſtolary, *ſacerdotal*, a way of writing, though like the epiſtolary, by an alphabet, yet being confined to the uſe of the prieſts, not ſo well known, he with equal judgement explains their nature: but the latter part of his account, where he ſays hieroglyphic writing was by ſymbols, making ſymbolic, which is a ſpecific term, to be equivalent to hieroglyphical, which he uſes generically, is an unlucky blunder; of which this is the conſequence, that proceeding to divide *ſymbolic*, as a generic term, into three ſorts,

ſorts, *curiologic*, *tropical*, and *allegorical*; he falls into a direct contradiction: τῆς δὲ Συμβολικῆς, ſays he, ἡ μὲν κυριολογεῖται κατὰ μίμησιν, *the firſt kind of ſymbolic writing is by a plain and ſimple imitation of the figure of the thing intended to be repreſented*; which is directly contrary to the very nature of a ſymbol; a ſymbol being the repreſentation of one thing by the figure of another. For inſtance, it was the bull Apis, and not the picture or image of Oſiris, that was the *ſymbol* of Oſiris: Clemens therefore, we conceive, ſhould have ſaid—*hieroglyphics* were written *curiologically* and *ſymbolically*; that the *curiologic hieroglyphics* were by *imitation*; the *ſymbolic*, by *converſion*; and that, of this *converſion*, there were two kinds, the *tropical* and *allegorical*; and then all had anſwered to his foregoing diviſion. For the reſt, He explains the nature of *curiologic* and *ſymbolic hieroglyphics* with ſufficient exactneſs; ſave that the firſt inſtance he gives of *allegoric ſymbols* ſeems to belong to the *tropical*.

Thus we ſee how theſe writers contribute to the correcting one another's miſtakes. What is neceſſary for the further clearing up their accounts, which, obſcure as they are, are the beſt that antiquity will afford us, ſhall be occaſionally conſidered as we go along.

Let us next enquire how HIEROGLYPHICS came to be employed for the *vehicle of myſtery*.

I. The Egyptians, in the beginnings of their monarchy, wrote like all other infant nations, in a kind of univerſal character by picture; of which rude original eſſays, we have yet ſome traces remaining amongſt the *hieroglyphics of Horapollo*; who tells us, that the ancient Egyptians painted a *man's two feet in water* to ſignify a *fuller* *, and *ſmoke aſcending upwards* to denote *fire* †. But to render this rude invention leſs incommodious, they ſoon deviſed the more artful way of putting one ſingle figure for the mark or repreſentative of ſeveral things; and thus made their picture an HIEROGLYPHIC.

* Horap. l. i. c. 65. † L. ii. c. 16.

This was the firſt improvement of that rude and barbarous way of recording mens ideas; and was practiſed in a twofold manner; the one more ſimple, by putting the principal part for the whole; the other more artificial, by putting one thing, of reſembling qualities, for another. The firſt ſpecies was the CURIOLOGIC HIEROGLYPHIC; the ſecond, the TROPICAL HIEROGLYPHIC; the latter of which was a gradual improvement on the former; as appears both from the nature of the thing, and from the records of antiquity. Thus the *moon* was ſometimes repreſented by a *half circle*, ſometimes by a *cynocephalus* *: The overflowings of the Nile, ſometimes by a ſpreading *water in heaven and earth*, ſometimes by a *lion* †; (a hieroglyphic, we may ſuppoſe, invented after they had learnt a little aſtronomy): a *judge*, ſometimes by a *man without hands, holding down his eyes* ‡, to denote the duty of being unmoved by intereſt or pity: ſometimes by a *dog near a royal robe* §; for they had a ſuperſtition that a dog, of all animals, was only privileged to ſee the gods; and it was an old cuſtom for their judges to behold and examine their kings naked: now in all theſe inſtances we ſee the firſt hieroglyphic is *curiological*; the ſecond, *tropical*.

The Egyptians therefore, employed, as we ſay, the *proper hieroglyphics* to record, openly and plainly, their laws, policies, public morals, and hiſtory; and in a word, all kinds of civil matters.

1. This is ſeen from thoſe remaining monuments of old Egyptian wiſdom, the OBELISKS ||. That very ancient one of Rameſſes, now ſtanding before the pontific palace in Rome, and firſt erected to adorn the city of Heliopolis, is full of hieroglyphic characters; theſe Hermapion tranſlated into Greek; and part of his tranſlation is preſerved in Ammianus Marcellinus. By which it appears, that the writings on this obeliſk contained only a panegyric on Rameſſes, and a hiſtory of his conqueſts. But this was not the ſubject of one

* L. i. c. 14. † L. i. c. 21.

‡ Plutarch. If. & Oſir.—Diod. Sic. lib. i. § Horap. l. i. c. 40.

|| See note [LL], at the end of this Book.

only,

only, but of all the obeliſks in general *. We have ſeen already, and ſhall ſee further, what Clemens Alexandrinus hath obſerved to this purpoſe. Diodorus ſaith, that *Seſoſtris erected two obeliſks of very durable ſtone, each twenty cubits high; on which he engraved the number of his forces, the particulars of his revenue, and a catalogue of the nations he had conquered* †. At Thebes, Strabo telleth us, there were *certain obeliſks with inſcriptions recording the riches and power of their kings, and the extenſiveneſs of their dominion, ſtretching into Scythia, Bactria, India, and the country now called Ionia; together with the multitude of their tributes, and the number of the ſoldiery, which conſiſted of a million of men* ‡: And Proclus aſſureth us, *That the Egyptians recorded all ſingular events, memorable actions and new inventions on columns, or ſtone pillars* §. Tacitus is more particular than the reſt: for ſpeaking of Germanicus's voyage into Egypt, and his curioſity in examining its antiquities, he ſaith: *Mox viſit veterum Thebarum magna veſtigia; & manebant ſtructis molibus litteræ Ægyptiæ, priorum opulentiam complexæ: juſſuſque è ſenioribus ſacerdotum patrium ſermonem interpretari, referebat habitaſſe quondam ſeptingenta millia ætate militari: atque eo cum exercitu regem Rhamſen Libya, Æthiopia, Mediſque & Perſis, & Bactriano, ac Scythia potitum. Quaſque terras Syri Armeniique & contigui Cappadoces colunt, inde Bythynum, hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuiſſe. Legebantur & indicta gentibus tributa, pondus argenti & auri, numerus armorum equorumque, & dona templis ebur*

* O Ægypte, Ægypte, Religionum tuarum ſolæ ſupererunt fabulæ, & æque incredibiles Poſteris ſuis; ſolaque ſupererunt verba LAPIDIBUS inciſa, TUA FACTA NARRANTIBUS. Apuleius, Elmenh. ed. p. 90.

† δύο δὲ λιθίνους Ὀβελίσκους ἐκ τοῦ σκληροῦ λίθου, πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέγραψε τότε μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν προσόδων, καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν καταπολεμηθέντων ἐθνῶν. lib. i. p. 37. S. E.

‡. —ἐν δὲ ταῖς θήκαις ἐπί τινων ὀβελίσκων ἀναγραφαὶ δηλοῦσαι τὸν πλῆθος τῶν τότε βασιλέων, καὶ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν, ὡς μέχρι Σκυθῶν, καὶ Βακτρίων, καὶ Ἰνδῶν, καὶ τῆς νῦν Ἰωνίας διαπεισασαν· καὶ φόρων πλῆθος, καὶ στρατιᾶς περὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδας. l. xvii.

§ Αἰγυπτίους δὲ ἴστε καὶ τὰ γεγονότα διὰ τῆς μνήμης ἀεὶ νέα ποιεῖσθαι· ἡ δὲ μνήμη, διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας· αὕτη δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν στηλῶν, ἐν αἷς ἀπεγράφοντο τὰ παράδοξα, καὶ τὰ θαυμαστοῦ ἄξια τῶν πραγμάτων, εἴτε ἐν πράξεσιν, εἴτε ἐν εὑρέσεσιν. Procl. in Timæum, l. i. p. 31. f.

atque odores, quaſque copias frumenti & omnium utenſilium quæque natio penderet, haud minus magnifica, quam nunc, vi Parthorum, aut potentia Romana, jubentur *. But to obviate at once all the cavils of Kircher againſt this concurrent teſtimony, I obſerve, in the laſt place, that it receives the fulleſt confirmation from that excellent treatiſe of Horapollo, which conſiſts chiefly of the ancient and proper hieroglyphics; all of them relating to civil life, and altogether unfit for the abſtruſe ſpeculations of philoſophy and theology.

2. This is further ſeen from that celebrated inſcription on the temple of Minerva at Saïs, ſo much ſpoken of by the Ancients; where an infant, an old man, a hawk, a fiſh, and a river-horſe, expreſſed this moral ſentence, *All you who come into the world, and go out of it, know this, that the Gods hate impudence.* The excellent Stillingfleet, who was in the common opinion that the Egyptians invented hieroglyphics to *ſecrete* their profound wiſdom, and that this inſcription at Saïs was part of that wiſdom, pronounces ſentence from hence, on all their myſtic learning in general:—"Certainly (ſays he) this kind of learning deſerves the higheſt form amongſt the *difficiles nugæ*; and all theſe hieroglyphics put together will make but one good one, and ſhould be for—*labour loſt* †." But there might be much knowledge in their myſtic learning, whatever becomes of the hieroglyphical inſcription at Saïs; which was indeed no part of that learning, but a plain and public admonition in the proper hieroglyphic; ſo far from being a *difficult trifle*, to be ſecreted, that it was a very plain and important truth to be read and underſtood by the people; as appears from the place where it was engraved, the veſtibule of a public temple.

And here Kircher's viſionary labours on this ſubject might have been pitied, had he diſcovered in any of his voluminous writings on the Hieroglyphics, the leaſt regard to truth or probability. This learned perſon had collected a fact from Antiquity, which the

* Annal. lib. ii. † Orig. Sacr. l. ii. c. ii. p. 79.

notoriety

notoriety of it will not ſuffer us to call in queſtion, namely, that *the old Egyptians committed their profound and ſecret wiſdom to the ſeal of hieroglyphics*. Egyptian wiſdom was a matter of moment. But the learned Jeſuit did not duly conſider, whether any of the vehicles of that wiſdom were yet in being; much leſs did he reflect that the ſame Antiquity which tells us they had much profound wiſdom, tells us likewiſe, that it was all collected in their ſacerdotal * books, books long ſince loſt; and that the ancient monuments of ſtone ſtill remaining, were records of another nature. However, inflamed with the glory of a Diſcoverer, he launches out in ſearch of this unknown World; guided by ſome of the lateſt Greek writings, in conjunction with the earlieſt Egyptian hieroglyphics. The Greek writings indeed pretended (though very impudently †) to ancient Egyptian wiſdom; but theſe hieroglyphics conſtantly diſclaimed it ‡: By this direction he ſteered at large: and it is pleaſant to ſee him labouring through half a dozen folios with the writings of late Greek Platoniſts, and the forged books of Hermes, which contain a philoſophy, not Egyptian, to explain and illuſtrate old monuments, not philoſophical. While Hermapion, Diodorus, Strabo, Proclus, Tacitus, and Pliny, are carefully avoided as falſe lights, which would drive him upon rocks and ſhallows.—But to proceed.

II. Thus far went the two ſpecies, of the *proper* Hieroglyphic; which, in its laſt ſtage of the tropical, touched upon SYMBOLS (of which we are now to ſpeak) they having this in common, that each *repreſented one thing by another*; in this they differed, that the *tropical Hieroglyphic* was employed to divulge; the *tropical Symbol*, to ſecrete: for all the ſeveral modes of writing by THINGS

* See Clem. Alex. Strom. l. vi. † Vol. i. b. iii. § 4.

‡ Thus in one place he expreſſes himſelf:—Plerique ferè Herodotum, Diodorum, Plinium ſecuti, *Obeliſcos* non niſi hiſtoricas regum veterum commemorationes continere opinati ſunt; quod tamen falſum eſſe, ex dictis *luce meridiana clarius patet*. p. 269, 270. of his Oedip. Ægypt. tom. iii.

having

having had their progreſſive ſtate, from leſs to more perfection, they eaſily fell into one another; ſo that there was but little difference between the *proper* Hieroglyphic in its laſt ſtate, and the *ſymbolic* in its firſt. For this method of contriving *tropical hieroglyphics*, by ſimilar properties, would of itſelf produce refinement and nice enquiry into the more hidden and abſtruſe qualities of things; which meeting at the ſame time with a temper now much turned to ſpeculation * on matters of theology and philoſophy, would as naturally introduce a new ſpecies of zoographic writing, called by the ancients SYMBOLIC, and employed for SECRESY †; which the high ſpeculations, conveyed in it, required; and for which it was well fitted by the ænigmatic quaintneſs of its repreſentations.

As the proper Hieroglyphics were of two kinds, *curiological* and *tropical*, ſo were SYMBOLS; the more natural, ſimply TROPICAL; the more artificial, ENIGMATICAL.

1. TROPICAL ſymbols were made by employing the leſs known properties of things. The quality was ſometimes uſed for the ſake of a fanciful reſemblance; as a *cat* ſtood for the *moon*, becauſe they obſerved the pupil of her eye to be filled and enlarged at the full moon, and to be contracted and diminiſhed during its decreaſe ‡; ſometimes it was founded on the natural hiſtory of an animal; as a *ſerpent* repreſented the *divine nature*, on account of its great vigour and ſpirit, its long age and revireſence §. How eaſily the *tropical hieroglyphic* fell into the *tropical ſymbol*, we may ſee by the following inſtances: *eternity* was ſometimes expreſſed by the ſun and moon, ſometimes by the baſiliſk ‖; *Egypt*, ſometimes by the

* Τάυθ', ὃν Αἰγύπτιοι Θὼθ προσαγορέυουσι, σοφία διενεγκὼν παρὰ τοῖς Φοίνιξι, πρῶτος τὰ κατὰ τὴν θεοσέβειαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν χυδαίων ἀπειρίας, εἰς ἐπιστημονικὴν ἐμπειρίαν διέταξεν. Sanch. apud Euſeb. Pr. Evang. lib. i. cap. 10.

† See note [MM], at the end of this Book.

‡ αἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν αὐτῆ κόραι πληροῦσθαι μὲν καὶ πλαλύνεσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἐν παντελήνῳ, λεπύνεσθαι δὲ καὶ μαραυγεῖν ἐν ταῖς μειώσεσι τῆ ἄρκυ. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ.

§ Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. i. cap. 10. ‖ Horap. l. i. c. 1.

crocodile,

crocodile, ſometimes by a burning cenſer with a heart upon it *: where the ſimplicity of the firſt repreſentation and the abſtruſeneſs of the latter, in each inſtance, ſhew, that the one was a *tropical hieroglyphic* employed for communication; the other a *tropical ſymbol* contrived for ſecrecy.

2. ENIGMATIC ſymbols were formed by the myſterious aſſemblage of different things, as in the *Caduceus*; or of the parts of different animals, as in a *ſerpent with a hawk's head* †; or of things and animals together, as in a ſerpent with a hawk's head *in a circle* ‡: the change of the *tropical* into the *enigmatic* ſymbol is ſeen in this, To ſignify the ſun, they ſometimes § painted a *hawk*, and this was *tropical*; ſometimes a *ſcarabæus with a round ball in its claws*, and this, as we ſee in Clemens, was of the *enigmatic* kind. Thus at length, though by inſenſible degrees, theſe characters, called *enigmatic ſymbols*, became immenſely diſtant from thoſe called *curiologic hieroglyphics*: to conceive this, the reader need only caſt his eye on two the moſt celebrated of the Egyptian hieroglyphics employed to denote the *univerſal Nature*; namely the *Diana Multimammia* ||; *and the winged globe with a ſerpent iſſuing from it* **; the firſt is in the very ſimpleſt ſtyle, of a *curiologic hieroglyphic*; the other myſterious aſſemblage, is an *enigmatic ſymbol*: but, under the firſt figure, we muſt obſerve that the *univerſal Nature* was conſidered *phyſically*; under the latter, *metaphyſically*; agreeably to the different genius of the times in which each was invented.

But this was not all: the Egyptian Hieroglyphic, in paſſing from an inſtrument of open communication, to a vehicle of ſecrecy, ſuffered another and more remarkable change. We have obſerved before, that the early Egyptian hieroglyphics reſembled, in this, the Mexican, that what things had bodily form were generally

* Lib. i. c. 22.
† Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. i. cap. 10.
‡ Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. i. cap. 10.
§ Horap. l. i. c. 6.
|| See note [NN], at the end of this Book.
** See the Bembine table.

repreſented

repreſented by figures; what had not by marks or characters. Which we find verified in the moſt ancient of the Egyptian Obeliſks yet remaining. The reader need but caſt his eye into Kircher, to ſee how exactly their hieroglyphics in this point reſembled the *American*, publiſhed by Purchas, not only in their uſe, which as Purchas * and Diodorus † ſay, were to record the number of their troops, the particulars of their revenue, and the names of their conquered towns and provinces; but likewiſe in their forms and figures. But when now every thing was directed to ſecrecy and myſtery, *modes* as well as *ſubſtances* were painted by *images* ‡. Thus *openneſs* was expreſſed by a hare §, *deſtruction* by a mouſe ||, *uncleanneſs* by a wild goat **, *impudence* by a fly ††, *knowledge* by an ant ‡‡, *averſion* by a wolf §§, *anger* by a cynocephalus ||||, *&c.* And to make the matter ſtill more myſterious, one animal was made to repreſent many and very contrary moral modes; thus the *hawk* ſignified ſublimity, humility, victory, excellence ***, *&c.* On the contrary, and for the ſame reaſon, one thing was repreſented by many and various hieroglyphics; ſometimes for an addition, out of choice, to confound the vulgar; ſometimes for a change, out of neceſſity, when a hieroglyphic by long or frequent uſe was become vulgar or common.

Now the ancient Greeks, though they ſaw this to be a different ſpecies of writing from the proper hieroglyphic, and accordingly, as we find by Porphyry, diſtinguiſhed them into two kinds, *hieroglyphical* and *ſymbolical*, yet confounding their original, in ſuppoſing both invented out of choice, have not accurately diſtinguiſhed either their different natures or uſes: they took it for granted that the *hieroglyphic*, as well as *ſymbol*, was a myſterious repreſentation; and, what was worſe, a repreſentation of ſpeculative notions in

* See p. 390. † See p. 419. ‡ See p. 395.
§ Horap. l. i. c. 26. || c. 50. ** c. 49.
†† c. 51. ‡‡ c. 52. §§ l. ii. c. 22. |||| l. i. c. 14.
*** l. i. c. 6.

philoſophy

philoſophy and theology; whereas it was uſed only in public and open writings, to regiſter their civil policy and hiſtory: Theſe miſtakes involved the whole hiſtory of hieroglyphic writing in infinite confuſion.

But it is now time to ſpeak of an alteration, which this change of the ſubject and manner of expreſſion made in the DELINEATION of hieroglyphic figures. Hitherto the animal or thing repreſenting was drawn out graphically; but when the ſtudy of philoſophy (which had occaſioned *ſymbolic* writing) had inclined their learned to write much, and variouſly; that exact manner of delineation would be as well too tedious as too voluminous: by degrees, therefore, they perfected another character, which we may call the *running hand* of hieroglyphics, reſembling the Chineſe writing, which being at firſt formed only by the outlines of each figure *, became at length a kind of marks. One natural effect which this running-hand would, in time, produce, we muſt not omit to mention; it was, that the uſe would take off the attention from the *ſymbol*, and fix it on the *thing ſignified*; by which means the ſtudy of ſymbolic writing would be much abbreviated, the reader or decypherer having then little to do, but to remember the power of the ſymbolic mark; whereas before, the properties of the thing or animal employed as a ſymbol were to be learnt: in a word, this, together with their other *marks* by *inſtitution*, to deſign mental ideas, would reduce the characters to the preſent ſtate of the *Chineſe*. And theſe were properly what the ancients call HIEROGRAPHICAL †; uſed afterwards on ſubjects which had employed the ancient hieroglyphic, as we may ſee by what follows: Dr. Robert Huntington, in his *Account of the porphyry pillars in Egypt* ‡, tells us, there are yet ſome ancient monuments remaining of this kind of writing:——"The Franks (ſays he) call theſe pillars

* See note [OO], at the end of this Book.

† See note [PP], at the end of this Book.

‡ Philoſ Tranſ. N° clxi. p. 624.

" *Aguglia's*, and the Engliſh, in particular, *Cleopatra's needles*; but " the inhabitants content themſelves with the general name of pil- " lars. They have no baſes or pedeſtals above ground; and if they " ever had any, they muſt needs be very deep in the earth. The " hieroglyphic characters, wherewith they are engraven, are pro- " bably the aboriginal Egyptian letters, long become obſolete, and " they reſemble the Chineſe characters, each whereof repreſents a " word, or rather an entire ſentence; beſides, they ſeem to be " written the ſame way, namely from top to bottom." Apuleius *, ſpeaking of his initiation into the myſteries of Iſis, deſcribes the ſacred book or ritual (which we find was written partly in *ſymbolic*, and partly in theſe *hierographic* characters of arbitrary inſtitution, reſembling the Chineſe) in this manner: " He [the Hierophant] " drew out certain books from the ſecret repoſitories of the Sanc- " tuary, written in unknown characters, which contained the " words of the ſacred Formula, compendiouſly expreſſed, partly " by FIGURES of animals, and partly by certain MARKS *or notes*, " *intricately knotted, revolving in the manner of a wheel*, and crouded " together and curled inward like the tendrils of a vine †, ſo as " to hide the meaning from the curioſity of the prophane ‡." The characters here deſcribed may be ſeen in almoſt every compartment of the *Bembine-table*, between the larger human figures; and likewiſe on ſeveral of the *obeliſks*, where they are diſpoſed in the ſame manner. As we find theſe characters mixed with the *ſymbolic*, in the ritual of Apuleius; ſo in the *Bembine-table* we find them mixed both with the *proper hieroglyphic* and the *ſymbolic*.

* Metamorphoſis, lib. ii.

† For a ſpecimen of the marks thus deſcribed, ſee plate IX. fig. 1.

‡ *De opertis adyti profert quoſdam libros, litteris ignorabilibus prænotatos: partim figuris cujuſcemodi animalium, concepti ſermonis compendioſa verba ſuggerentes*; PARTIM NODOSIS, ET IN MODUM ROTÆ TORTUOSIS, CAPREOLATIMQUE CONDENSIS APICIBUS, *a curioſitate profanorum lectione munita.*

III. And

III. And now this contracted manner of hieroglyphic writing, called *hierographical*, will lead us, by an eaſy ſtep, to the *third* ſpecies, called by Porphyry and Clemens the EPISTOLIC: For now we are come to one of thoſe links of the chain which ſerved to connect *hieroglyphic marks* and *alphabetic letters*; the firſt of which contained *curiologic* or *ſymbolic* ſigns of things; the other compriſed ſigns of words by *arbitrary inſtitution*. For thoſe hieroglyphic marks which were SIGNS OF THINGS BY ARBITRARY INSTITUTION, partook of the proper hieroglyphics in being *ſigns for things*, and of alphabetic letters in being *ſigns by inſtitution*. And the contrivance of employing theſe arbitrary marks to deſign all the primitive ſounds of the human voice was inventing an *alphabet*. This was what the Egyptians called their EPISTOLIC writing. And, this, let me obſerve, the ancients agree, was invented by the SECRETARY OF AN EGYPTIAN KING. A circumſtance which will much conduce to the diſcovery of the cauſe of its original.

Now, as it is evident that every kind of hieroglyphic writing, when employed in public buſineſs to convey the royal commands to leaders of armies and diſtant governors, muſt be unavoidably attended with the inconveniencies of imperfect and obſcure information, it was natural for our *Secretary* to ſet himſelf upon contriving a remedy: and this he found in the invention of the letters of an alphabet; ſerving to expreſs *words*, not *things*; whereby all the inconveniencies of imperfect information, ſo fatal in nice conjunctures, were avoided, and the writer's mind delivered with the utmoſt clearneſs and preciſion: which too had this further advantage, that as the Government would endeavour to keep their invention to themſelves, LETTERS OF STATE were, for ſome time, conveyed with the ſecurity of our modern cyphers *: and thus, being at firſt appropriated to the uſe of the cabinet, literary writ-

* It was an ancient cuſtom, as Diodorus tells us, for the kings of Egypt to read all the letters of ſtate, themſelves.—ἔνθεν μὲν γὰρ ἐγεθέντα λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἔδει πρῶτον τὰς παραληχθεῖν ἀπεσταλμένας ἐπιστολὰς, ἵνα δύναται πάντα καλὰ τρόπον χρηματίζειν καὶ πράττειν εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα τῶν καλὰ τὴν βασιλείαν συντελουμένων. p. 44.

ing naturally acquired the name of EPISTOLARY *; which if you will not allow, no reaſonable account, I think, can be given of its title.

That this was, indeed, the fact, appears from Plato's account of Theuth's INVENTIONS. He tells us that when Theuth came to conſult his maſter, king Thamus, about communicating his diſcoveries to the people, παρὰ τοῦτον ἐλθὼν ὁ Θευθ τὰς τέχνας ἐπέδειξε, ᾗ ἔφη δεῖν διαδοθῆναι τοῖς ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις, the king declared particularly againſt communicating the invention of LETTERS. But the reaſon he gives for the prohibition, we ſee, was not the principal and more immediate (as it rarely is amongſt Politicians), but only a ſecondary, and more remote; namely, a regard to the intereſts of hieroglyphic learning: for the King tells his *Secretary*, that, if this ſecret ſhould be divulged, men's attention would be called away from THINGS, to which hieroglyphics, and the manner of explaining them, neceſſarily attached it, and be placed in exterior and arbitrary SIGNS, which would prove the greateſt hindrance to the progreſs of knowledge †. What is ſtill more pleaſant, and in the true genius of politics, even the reaſon given was thought fit to be diſguiſed: for though there might be ſome truth in this; yet, without doubt, the chief concern of the Egyptian Prieſts was to continue themſelves uſeful; which they would be, while ſcience lay concealed in *hieroglyphics*.

Thus the reader finds, that the very contrary to the common opinion is the true; that it was the *firſt-literary writing*, not the *firſt hieroglyphical*, which was invented for *ſecrecy*. In the courſe of time, indeed, they naturally changed their uſe; *letters* became common, and *hieroglyphics* hidden and myſterious.

But now it may be ſaid, that though the progreſs from a *Picture* to a ſimple *Mark* hath been traced out, ſtep by ſtep, and may

* See note [QQ], at the end of this Book.

† Τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν μαθόντων λήθην μὲν ἐν ψυχαῖς παρέξει, μνήμης ἀμελετησίᾳ; ἅτε διὰ πίστιν γραφῆς ἔξωθεν ὑπ' ἀλλοτρίων τύπων ἐκ ἔνδοθεν αὐτοὺς ὑφ' αὑτῶν ἀναμιμνησκομένους. οὐκ ἄρα μνήμης, ἀλλ' ὑπομνήσεως φαρμακὸν εὗρες, σοφίας δὲ τοῖς μαθηταῖς δόξαν ἐκ ἀλήθειαν πορίζεις. Phæd.

be

be eaſily followed, till we come to that untried ground where ART takes the lead of nature, the point where *real* characters end, and the *literary* begin; yet here, art ſeeing a precipice before her, which ſeems to divide the two characters to as great a diſtance as at firſt ſetting out, ſhe takes ſo immenſe a leap as hath been thought to exceed all human efforts: which made Tully ſay, Summæ ſapientiæ fuiſſe ſonos vocis *, qui infiniti videbantur, paucis literarum notis terminare †; and many of the ancients to believe that LITERARY WRITING was an invention of the Gods.

However, if we would but reflect a little on the nature of ſound, and its unheeded connexion with the objects of ſight, we ſhould be able to conceive how the chaſm cloſed, and how the paſſage from a *real* to a *literary* character was begun and ſmoothed out.

While the picture, or image of the thing repreſented, continued to be objected to the ſight of the reader, it could raiſe no idea but of the thing itſelf. But when the *picture* loſt its form, by being contracted into a *mark* or *note*, the view of this mark or note would, in courſe of time, as naturally raiſe, in the mind, the *ſound* expreſſing the idea of the thing, as the idea itſelf. How this extenſion, from the idea to the ſound, in the uſe of the real character firſt aroſe, will be eaſily conceived by thoſe who reflect on the numerous tribe of words in all languages, which is formed on the ſound emitted by the thing or animal ‡.

Yet the uſe to which this new connexion might be applied, would never be thought of till the nature of human ſounds had been well ſtudied.

* See note [RR], at the end of this Book.

† Tuſc. i. 25.

‡ For example, (to uſe the words of St. Auſtin) when we ſay in Latin, æris *tinnitum*, equorum *hinnitum*, ovium *balatum*, tubarum *clangorem*, *ſtridorem* catenarum, perſpicis hæc verba ita ſonare, ut res quæ his verbis ſignificantur. This claſs of words the Greeks deſigned by the name of Ὀνομα τὸ ποιὸν.

But

But when men had once obſerved (and this they could not but obſerve early and eaſily, by the brute and inarticulate ſounds which they were perpetually hearing emitted) how ſmall the number is of primitive ſounds, and how infinite the words are which may be formed by varied combinations of thoſe ſimple ſounds, it would naturally and eaſily occur to them, that a very few of thoſe *marks*, which had before caſually excited the ſenſation of thoſe ſimple ſounds, might be ſelected and formed into what has been ſince called an alphabet, to expreſs them all: And then, their old accuſtomed way of combining primitive ſounds into words, would as naturally and eaſily direct them to a like combination of what were now become the ſimple marks of ſound; from whence would ariſe LITERARY WRITING.

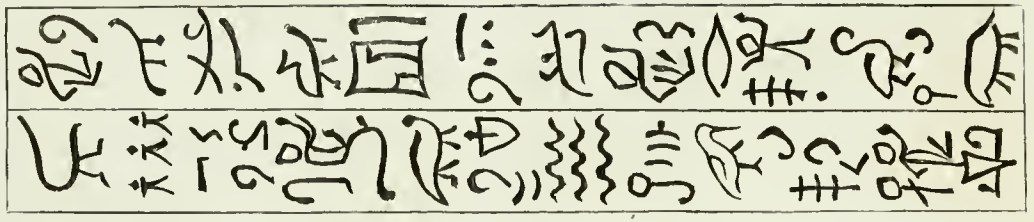
In the early language of men, the ſimple, primitive ſounds would be uſed, whether out of choice or neceſſity, as ſignificative words or terms, to denote the moſt obvious of thoſe things with which they perpetually converſed. Theſe ſounds, without arbitrary inſtitution, would incite the idea of the thing, ſometimes, as its *audible image*,, ſometimes, as its *natural repreſentative*. Therefore the old *marks* for things, to which words of this original belonged, would certainly be firſt thought of for the figures of thoſe *alphabetic* letters by the ingenious inventer of this wonderful contrivance. And, in fact, this which appears ſo natural has been found to be actually the caſe: the moſt early *alphabets* being framed from the outlines of thoſe figures in the real characters, which, by uſe, in their *hieroglyphic* ſtate, had arrived at the facility of exciting, in the mind, the SOUND as well as THING *.

IV. But this *political* alphabet, as at firſt it was, ſoon occaſioned the invention of another called SACRED: for the prieſts having a ſhare in the Government, muſt have an early communication of the ſecret; and being now immerged in deep philoſophy, they would naturally employ, in their hidden doctrines, a method ſo

* Plate VIII.

well

Part of one side of the Florentine Obelisk From Kircher.



facing p. 430. vol. II. PLATE VIII.

J. Mynde sc.

well adapted to convey abſtract ſpeculations with exactneſs and preciſion. But the various uſes of an Alphabet in civil buſineſs not permitting it to continue long a ſecret, when it ceaſed to be ſo, they would as naturally invent another alphabetic character for their *ſacred* uſe: which from that appropriation was called HIEROGRAMMATICAL.

That the Egyptian prieſts had ſuch a *ſacred alphabetic character*, we are informed by Herodotus:—"The Greeks (ſays he) write "their letters, and make their computations with counters, from "the left to the right; the Egyptians, on the contrary, from the "right to the left.—"They uſe two ſorts of letters, one of which "they called *ſacred*, the other *popular* *." Diodorus is yet more expreſs; "the PRIESTS (ſay he) taught their ſons two ſorts of let-"ters, the one called *ſacred*, the other, the common and *popular* †." Clemens Alexandrinus goes ſtill farther, and deſcribes the very books in which this *ſacred alphabet* was principally employed: And as the place, where he explains this matter, is very curious, and contributes to the farther illuſtration of the ſubject, I ſhall conſider it more at large. It hath been ſhewn that Clemens, in the paſſage quoted above, underſtood what he called the *ſacerdotal*, ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΗΝ, to be an *alphabetic* character. Now the ſame writer ſpeaking in another place ‡ of the forty-two books of Hermes, which contained all the civil and religious ſcience of the Egyptians, informs us, that ten of theſe books were called *ſacerdotal*, and were the particular ſtudy of the chief prieſt,—*προφάτης τῷ ἱερῷ τὰ* ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΑ *καλούμενα ι βιβλία ἐκμανθάνει.* Theſe ten, therefore, were written in a *ſacred alphabetic character*; though, as we learn from him in the ſame place, all the various kinds of *ſacred characters* were employed in

* Γράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογίζονται ψήφοισι, Ἕλληνες μὲν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ, ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τα ἀριστερά.—διφασίοισι δὲ γράμμασι χρέωνται· καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν, ἱρὰ, τὰ δὲ, δημοτικὰ καλεῦται. lib. ii. cap. 36.

† Παιδεύουσι δὲ τὰς υἱὰς αὐτῶν Ἱερεῖς γράμματα διττὰ, τά τε ἱερὰ καλούμενα, καὶ τὰ κοινότερα ἔχοντα τὴν μάθησιν. p. 51.

‡ Strom. lib. vi. p. 633, 634. Edit. Colon. 1688.

the

the compoſition of theſe forty-two books; for ſome were written in hieroglyphics; as he tells us, where he ſpeaks of the ſacred ſcribe, whoſe buſineſs it was to ſtudy thoſe called *hieroglyphical*,—τᾶτον τά τε ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΑ καλέμενα· And, what is very remarkable, we find the ſubject of theſe to be of a popular and civil nature, ſuch as coſmography, geography, the ſimple elements of aſtronomy, the chorography of Egypt, the deſcription of the Nile *, &c. conformable to what has been laid down concerning the uſe and application of the moſt early hieroglyphics. Others again of theſe books were written in *ſymbols*, pa ticularly thoſe two which the chanter had in care:—ὁ ᾠδὸς ἕν τι τῶν τῆς μεσικῆς ἐπιφερόμεν ΣΥΜΒΟΛΩΝ· τᾶτον φασὶ δύο βίβλες ἀνειληφέναι δεῖν ἐκ τᾶ Ἑρμᾶ. Here then we have all the three ſpecies of ſacred writing, the *hieroglyphic*, the *ſymbolic*, and the *hierogrammatic* or *ſacerdotal*; the laſt of which, as we hold, was by letters of an *alphabet*.

But an ALPHABET for ſecrecy, and conſequently different from the vulgar, was a thing in uſe amongſt the prieſthood of almoſt all nations. Philo Biblius, in Euſebius, ſpeaking of Sanchoniatho's hiſtory, tells us, that the author compoſed it by the aſſiſtance of certain records which he found in the temples written in AMMONEAN LETTERS †, not underſtood by the people: theſe Ammonean letters Bochart explains to be ſuch as the prieſts uſed in ſacred matters ‡. Diogenes Laertius informs us, from Thraſyllus, that Democritus wrote two books, the one of the *ſacred letters of the*

* —περί τε τῆς κοσμογραφίας, καὶ γεωγραφίας, τῆς τάξεως τᾶ ἡλίε καὶ τῆς σελήνης, καὶ περὶ τᾶν ἐπλανωμένων· χωρογραφίαν τε τῆς Αἰγύπτε, καὶ τῆς τᾶ Νείλε διαγραφῆς. Ibid.

† —ὁ δὲ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδύτων εἰρεθεῖσιν ἀποκρύφοις Ἀμμωνέων γράμμασι συγκειμένοις, ἃ δὴ ἐκ ἦν πᾶσι γνώριμα.——Præp. Evang. lib. i. cap. 9.

‡ Ammoneorum, i. e. *Ammanim*—Abenezra in Levit. xxvi. 30. *Templa facta ad cultum Solis.* Quod veriſſimum; Sol enim Hebræis eſt *amma*, unde *amman* templum Solis, quem ſolum Cœli Dominum crediderunt priſci Phœnices. Sanchoniathon, τᾶτον γὰρ (τὸν ἥλιον) θεὸν ἐνόμιζον μόνον οὐρανᾶ κύριον. Itaque hic præcipue cultus. Tamen, creſcente ſuperſtitione, crediderim nomen *Ammanim* etiam ad alia delubra pertinuiſſe. Itaque *literæ Ammoncorum* ſeu *Ammanim* ſunt literæ templorum, literæ in ſacris receptæ. Geogr. Sacr. par. ii. lib. ii. cap. 17.

Babylonians,

Babylonians, the other of the *ſacred letters of the city Meroë* * : and concerning theſe laſt, Heliodorus ſaith, that the Ethiopians had two ſorts of letters, the one called *regal*, the other *vulgar*; and that the regal reſembled the *ſacerdotal* characters of the Egyptians †. Theodoret, ſpeaking of the Grecian temples in general, ſays that they had certain forms of letters for their own uſe, called *ſacerdotal* ‡; and Fourmont, and others, ſuppoſe that this general cuſtom prevailed among the Hebrews alſo §. Which opinion, a paſſage in Irenæus ſeems to ſupport ||.

And now we ſhall know how to deal with a ſtrange paſſage ** of Manetho in Euſebius. This hiſtorian aſſures his reader, "that "he took his information from pillars in the land of Seriad, in- "ſcribed by Thoyth the firſt Hermes, with *hierographic letters* "in the *ſacred dialect*; and tranſlated, after the flood, out of the "ſacred dialect, into the Greek tongue, with HIEROGLYPHIC "*letters*, and depoſited in volumes by Agathodæmon, the ſecond "Hermes, father of Tat, in the Adyta of the Egyptian temples." The original is in theſe words: Ἐκ τῶν Μανεθῶ τὸ Σεβεννύτα, ὃς ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ εἰδώλων, χρηματίσας ἐκ τῶν τῇ Σηριαδικῇ γῇ κειμένων στηλῶν ἱερᾶ, φησὶ, διαλέκτῳ καὶ ἱερογραφικοῖς γράμμασι κεχαρακτηρισμένων ὑπὸ Θωὺθ τοῦ πρώτου Ἑρμοῦ καὶ ἑρμηνευθεισῶν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν γράμμασιν ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΟΙΣ καὶ ἀποτεθεισῶν ἐν βίβλοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγαθοδαίμονος τοῦ δευτέρου Ἑρμοῦ, πατρὸς

* See note [SS], at the end of this Book.

† Ἐπελεγόμην τὴν ταινίαν γράμμασιν Αἰθιοπικοῖς, ἃ δημοτικοῖς, ἀλλὰ βασιλικοῖς ἐστιγμένην, ἃ δὴ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΟΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΣ ὁμοιοῦσθαι. lib. iv.

‡ Ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ναοῖς ἴδιοί τινες ἦσαν χαρακτῆρες γραμμάτων, οἷς ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΟΥΣ προσηγόρευον. In Geneſ. Qu. 61.

§ Cette coûtume de la plûpart des nations Orientales, d'avoir des Caracteres Sacres, & des Caracteres Profanes ou d'un uſage plus vulgaire, étoit auſſi chez les HEBREUX. Reflex. Crit. vol. i. p. 36.

|| Antiquæ et primæ Hebræorum literæ, quæ SACERDOTALES nuncupatæ, decem quidem fuere numero. Adver. Hær. l. ii. c. 41.

** See Stillingfleet's Orig. Sacr. book i. chap. ii. § 11. and Mr. Shuckford's Connections, vol. i. ed. 2. p. 247.

δὲ τᾷ Τὰτ ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις τῶν ἱερῶν Αἰγυπτίων *. Stillingfleet objects, with reaſon, to the abſurdity of tranſlating into the Greek tongue with hieroglyphic characters: and the author of the *Connections* well ſeeing that by γράμμασιν ἱερογλυφικοῖς muſt be underſtood an alphabetic character, ſays the words ſhould not be tranſlated *hieroglyphics*, but *ſacred letters* †: he might as well have ſaid *Gothic letters*, ἱερογλυφικὰ being always uſed by the Ancients to denote characters for *things*, in oppoſition to alphabetic letters, or characters, compoſing *words*. It is certain the text is corrupt; as may be ſeen, 1. From the word γράμμασιν (which in ſtrict propriety ſignifies the *letters of an alphabet*) its being joined to ἱερογλυφικοῖς, which denotes a ſpecies of *marks* for things. 2. From the mention of a *ſacred dialect*, ἱερὰ διάλεκτος (of which more hereafter); for if theſe records were written in a *ſacred dialect*, it is plain the character employed muſt be *alphabetic*; and ſo indeed it is expreſſed to be in the words ἱερογραφικοῖς γράμμασι, which immediately follow; and if, out of this dialect, it were tranſlated into another, muſt not alphabetic characters be ſtill employed? And now we ſee not only that the preſent reading is wrong, but are led, by this laſt obſervation, to the right; the paſſage being without all queſtion to be read thus:—μετὰ τὸν καλακλυσμὸν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν γράμμασιν ΙΕΡΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΙΣ καὶ ἀποτεθεισῶν ἐν βίβλοις, &c.—γράμμασιν ΙΕΡΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΙΣ, in ſpeaking of the tranſlation, being the very words juſt before employed in ſpeaking of the original; and with great propriety: for ἱερογραφικὰ was uſed by the ancients as a generic term, to ſignify as well *ſacred letters* compoſing *words*, as *ſacred marks* ſtanding for *things*; ἱερογλυφικὰ not ſo, but denoting only *marks for things:* ſo that the plain and ſenſible meaning of the paſſage is, that a work, written by the firſt Hermes, in the *ſacred dialect*, and *ſacred letters*, was tranſlated, by the ſecond Hermes, into the *Greek dialect*; the original *ſacred letters* being ſtill

* Euſeb. Chron. ed. Scal. Amſt. 1658, p 6.

† Connection of the Sacred and Profane Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 274, and vol. ii. p. 294.

employed.

employed. And the reaſon is evident; the Greek tranſlation was for the uſe of the Egyptians: but ſuch would be ſooneſt invited to the ſtudy of a foreign dialect when written in their own letters: a common inducement for tranſlators into a foreign language, to preſerve the original character. Beſides, this verſion was not for the Egyptians in general, but for the prieſts only; and therefore their peculiar character was preſerved.

We now begin to ſee that the whole extravagance in this account, which made it rejected by the Critics with ſo much contempt, is only in the high antiquity given to the fact; and this, the very circumſtance of the fact refutes: for it not only tells us of *ſacred alphabetic letters*, which we have ſhewn to be of late uſe amongſt the Egyptians, but likewiſe of a *ſacred dialect*, which certainly was ſtill later: And, if I be not much miſtaken, a paſſage in Herodotus will lead us to the time when this tranſlation was made. The hiſtorian tells us, that when Pſammitichus, by the aſſiſtance of the Ionians and Carians, had ſubdued all Egypt, he placed theſe Greek adventurers on both ſides the Nile; where he aſſigned them lands and habitations, and ſent among them Egyptian youths to be inſtructed in the Greek language; from whence ſprung the State-interpreters for that tongue *: Thus far the hiſtorian; from whoſe account of Pſammitichus's project it appears, that his purpoſe was to eſtabliſh a conſtant intercourſe with the Grecian nations. The youth picked out for interpreters were, without queſtion, of the prieſthood, all letters and learning reſiding in that order; which had likewiſe a great ſhare in the public adminiſtration. And now the prieſthood having the Greek tongue amongſt them,

* —Τοῖσι δὲ Ἴωσι καὶ τοῖσι Καρσὶ, τοῖσι συλλαβοῦσαμένοισι αὐτὸν, ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος δίδωσι χώρους οἰκῆσαι ἀντίους ἀλλήλων, τὸ Νείλου τὸ μέσον ἔχοντας.—καὶ δὴ καὶ παῖδας παρέβαλε αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίους, τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἐκμαθόντων τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν, οἱ νῦν Ἑρμηνέες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γεγόνασι. Euterp. l. ii. c. 154. Hence it appears that the learned Dr. Prideaux was miſtaken when he ſaid—*But the worſt of it is, the ancient Egyptians did not ſpeak Greek; the Ptolemys firſt brought that language amongſt them*——Connection, part ii. lib. i. p. 12.

which its uſe in public affairs would make them diligently cultivate; Where was the wonder that, about this time, ſome of theſe interpreters, Ἑρμηνέες, ſhould employ themſelves in tranſlating the *ſacred* Egyptian records into the Grecian language?

But then as to the preciſe time of the invention of Egyptian Letters, it can never be ſo much as gueſſed at; becauſe *hieroglyphics* continued to be in uſe long after that time; particularly on their public Monuments, where we find no appearance of alphabetic characters. However, that *letters* were very early, we have ſhewn above, as well from other circumſtances, as from this, the giving the invention of them to the Gods *.

Thoſe who are for deriving all civil improvements from the line of *Abraham*, of courſe, beſtow upon it the invention of an Alphabet. But as this fancy is only amongſt the looſe ends of an hypotheſis, without any foundation in Scripture, theſe critics differ much about the time. Some ſuppoſe *letters* to have been in uſe amongſt the Patriarchs; and, by them, tranſmitted to the Egyptians; but there are ſuch ſtrong objections to this opinion (to mention no other than the Patriarch's ſending verbal meſſages where it was more natural as well as more expedient to ſend them written), that others have thought proper to bring down the time to that of Moses †: when God, they ſay, taught him the uſe of *alphabetic* letters, in the exemplar of the two tables written, as the text aſſures us, *with the Finger of GOD*. But how, from words, which at moſt only imply that the Ten Commandments were miraculouſly engraved as well as dictated, it can be concluded that letters were then firſt invented, I have not logic enough to find out. A common reader would be apt to infer from it, that letters were now well known to the Iſraelites, as God had thought fit to deliver the firſt elements of their religion in that kind of writing; I ſay, he would be thus apt to infer, though Moses had never ſpoken

* See p. 404. of this volume.

† See note [TT], at the end of this Book.

of

of them on other occaſions (which he hath done) as of things in familiar uſe *: But if GOD was indeed the revealer of the artifice, how happened it that the hiſtory of ſo important a circumſtance was not recorded? for, as we ſhall ſee preſently, the *Memory* of it would have been one of the ſtrongeſt barriers to idolatry.

However, though I think it next to certain that MOSES brought letters, with the reſt of his learning, from Egypt, yet I could be eaſily perſuaded to believe that he both enlarged the alphabet, and altered the ſhapes of the letters †. 1. The Hebrew alphabet, which he employed in the compoſition of the Pentateuch, is conſiderably fuller than that which Cadmus brought into Greece. Cadmus was of Thebes in Egypt; he ſojourned in Syria, and went from thence into Greece: His country ſhews that his letters were Egyptian; and this, their difference in number from the Hebrew, ſufficiently confirms; Cadmus having only ſixteen, and the Hebrews two and twenty. 2. That MOSES likewiſe altered the ſhape of the Egyptian letters I think probable; all hieroglyphic writing was abſolutely forbidden by the ſecond commandment, and with a view worthy the divine wiſdom; hieroglyphics being, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, the great ſource of their idolatries and ſuperſtitions. But now alphabetic letters (which henceforth could be only uſed amongſt the Hebrews) being taken by the Egyptians ‡ from their hieroglyphic figures, retained, as was natural, much of the ſhapes of thoſe characters: to cut off therefore all occaſion of danger from ſymbolic images, MOSES, as I ſuppoſe, altered the ſhapes of the Egyptian letters, and reduced them into ſomething like thoſe ſimple forms in which we now find them. Thoſe who in much later ages converted the northern Pagans to the Chriſtian Faith obſerved the ſame caution. For the characters of the nor-

* See note [UU], at the end of this Book.

† See note [XX], at the end of this Book.

‡ See p. 394, of this volume.

them

thern alphabet, called RUNIC, having been abuſed to magical ſuperſtition, were then changed to the *Roman*.——Tantas in his *Runis* (ſays Sheringham) latere virtutes Gothi ante fidem ſuſceptam rati ſunt, ut ſive hoſtium caput diris ſacrandum, ſive peſtis morbique amoliendi, ſive aliud opus ſuſcipiendum ſe incantationibus *Runiſque* muniebant—Poſt fidem vero ſuſceptam *Runæ*, qui incantationibus præſtigiiſque magicis in tantum adhibitæ fuerint, adeo faſtidiri cœperunt, ut multi libri, multaque antiqua monumenta exinde præpoſtero zelo dejecta atque deleta ſunt: unde hiſtoria Getica magnum detrimentum clademque accepit. Tandem vero, teſte Loccenio, Sigfridi epiſcopi Britannici opera (Papa etiam Romano ſuam operam præſtante) eò res devenit ut *Runæ* in Sueciâ A. DML. penitus abolerentur; & characteres Latini ſubſtituerentur *.

This account will reconcile the differing ſyſtems of Marſham and Renaudot; one of whom contends †, that the letters which Cadmus brought into Greece were Egyptian: the other, that they were Phenician ‡; and both of them appeal to the authority of Herodotus; who ſays plainly, "that the *alphabet brought by Cadmus into Greece was Egyptian*; and yet, ſpeaking of the three moſt ancient inſcriptions in Greece, he ſays, *they were in Phenician characters*, which very much reſembled the Ionic:" for if what has been here ſuppoſed be allowed, then the alphabet which Cadmus carried with him was doubtleſs of Moſes's invention, as to the *form*, but Egyptian, as to the *power*. It may be juſt worth obſerving, that Renaudot's diſcourſe is full of paralogiſms, which this ſolution detects.

3. To this let me add another conſideration. The vowel-points (as ſeems now to be generally agreed on) were added ſince the Jews ceaſed to be a nation. The Hebrew language was originally, and ſo continued to be for a long time, written without them. Now if God firſt taught Moſes an alphabet, can we believe that

* De Ang. gent. orig. p. 292, 293.

† Can. Chron.

‡ Sur l'origine des lettres Grecques.

the

the vowels would have been thus generally omitted? But ſuppoſe Moſes learnt his alphabet of the Egyptians, and only made it fuller, and altered the form of the letters, we may eaſily give a good account of the omiſſion. The Egyptian alphabet, as we obſerved, was invented for preciſion, and uſed for ſecrecy. Both ends were anſwered by an alphabet with hardly any vowels.

Thus we ſee that the form of alphabetic characters was a matter of much importance to the Hebrews, as to the integrity of their religion. If therefore GOD was the immediate author of them, it is difficult to ſuppoſe that Moſes could omit to record the hiſtory of their invention; ſuch a hiſtory being the beſt ſanction to recommend their uſe; and the beſt ſecurity againſt a return to the idolatrous practice of hieroglyphic-writing; to which this people, ſo fond of Egyptian manners, were violently inclined.

But we have not yet done with Manetho; The laſt circumſtance opening the way to another diſcovery of great importance in the Egyptian antiquities: for by this paſſage we find they had not only *ſacred characters and letters*, but a *ſacred* DIALECT or *language* alſo; for what he here calls ἱερὰ διάλεκτος, in another place (where he interprets a certain Word in this language) he calls ἱερὰ γλῶσσα *. It might perhaps be imagined that this *ſacred dialect* was only the more ancient Egyptian language; which being now grown into diſuſe, was preſerved amongſt the prieſthood: But if we conſider the ſmall and ſlow change to which the Eaſtern languages were ſubject; eſpecially that of a people who admitted ſo little of foreign manners, we can ſcarce believe this to have been the caſe. Beſides, the *ſacred dialect* was uſed for ſecrecy (being known only to the prieſts) which could never be the condition of a national language, how obſolete ſoever we may ſuppoſe it to be grown. All this conſidered, I take the *ſacred dialect* to have been a language of their

* Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ σύμπαν αὐτῶν ἔθνος ΥΚΣΩΣ, τοῦτο δέ ἐστι βασιλεῖς ποιμένες· τὸ γὰρ ΥΚ κατ' ΙΕΡΑΝ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΝ βασιλέα σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ ΣΩΣ ποιμὴν ἐστι καὶ ποιμένες κατὰ τὴν ΚΟΙΝΗΝ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΟΝ, καὶ ἔτι συντιθέμενον γίναται ΥΚΣΩΣ. Apud Joſeph. cont. Ap. lib. i. cap. 14.

own

own framing: and one of their lateſt expedients for keeping their ſcience to themſelves. We have ſhewn how, for the ſake of exactneſs, as they grew more ſpeculative, they invented an alphabet to expreſs their conceptions by marks for *words*, inſtead of marks for *things*: But the ſimple myſtery of a peculiar alphabet, employed in a common tongue, would be ſoon detected; they therefore, as now it appears, invented a peculiar language for the uſe of their alphabet; and thus, under a double cover, effectually ſecured their hidden ſcience. The way of framing the *ſacred dialect*, I ſuppoſe, to be this: They called things by the names of their hieroglyphical repreſentatives: Thus Yk in the Egyptian tongue ſignifying a ſerpent; and a ſerpent, in their hieroglyphics, denoting a king *, Yk, as Manetho informs us above, ſignified a king in the *ſacred dialect*: And in this manner, their hieroglyphics became a ſufficient fund for a new language.

On the whole then it appears that the Egyptian prieſts had theſe three methods of ſecreting their recorded knowledge; by HIEROGLYPHIC SYMBOLS, by a SACERDOTAL ALPHABET, and by a SACRED DIALECT. In explaining their ſeveral natures, and diſtinguiſhing them from the *proper hieroglyphic*, I have endeavoured to diſembroil a ſubject which ſeems to have perplexed even the Ancients themſelves; who, in their accounts of the Egyptian literature, perpetually confound the ſeveral ſpecies of *ſacred writing* with one another. What greatly contributed to this confuſion, I preſume, was the ſacerdotal practice of promiſcuouſly uſing, in one and the ſame book or literary monument, the ſeveral various ſpecies of *ſacred writing*; that is to ſay, the *proper hieroglyphic*, the *ſymbolic*, and the *hierogrammatic*; as was done in compoſing the Bembine table, and the myſtic ritual deſcribed by Apuleius.

Thus we find how it happened that that which had its origin in *neceſſity*, came, in time, to be employed for *ſecrecy*, and was at length improved into an *ornament*. But now, in the inceſſant

* Horapollo, lib. i. cap. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64.

revolutions

revolutions of things, this imagery, which was at firſt invented for open communication, and was from thence converted into myſtery, at length reſumed its primitive uſe; and, in the flouriſhing ages of Greece and Rome, was employed in their monuments and medals as the ſhorteſt and plaineſt method of conveying mens' conceits; and a SYMBOL, which, in Egypt, was pregnant with profound wiſdom, was in thoſe places the vocabulary of the people.

To illuſtrate theſe ſeveral changes and revolutions, we ſhall once again take up our inſtance from LANGUAGE (which ſtill, in all its minuter alterations and improvements, ran parallel with WRITING): and ſhew, how the original expedient, to communicate our thoughts in converſe, the rude effort of *neceſſity*, came in time, like the firſt hieroglyphics, to be turned into *myſtery*, and afterwards improved into the arts of *eloquence* and perſuaſion.

I. It hath been already ſhewn, in the fable of Jotham, how the *Apologue* correſponded to the *proper Egyptian hieroglyphic*; and was invented only to preſent a ſenſible image to the unimproved conception of the hearer.

As the change of the object, which the fable introduced, made it exactly anſwer to the *tropical* hieroglyphic; ſo that ſort of PROSOPOPOEIA, which the fable much employed, repreſenting a multitude under the image of one, made it equally correſpond with the *curiological* hieroglyphic.

II. But now, in after-times, either when men began to affect myſtery, or their ſubject to require ſecrecy, they gradually changed the *Apologue* or fable, by quaint and far-fetched alluſions, into a PARABLE, on ſet purpoſe to throw obſcurity over the information; juſt as the *tropical hieroglyphic* was turned into the *tropical ſymbol*. We find innumerable inſtances of this mode of ſpeech in Scripture: Thus GOD by the prophet Ezekiel:—"Son of man, utter a PARA-"BLE unto the rebellious houſe, and ſay unto them, Thus ſaith "the LORD GOD, Set on a pot, ſet it on, and alſo pour water into "it: gather the pieces thereof into it, even every good piece, the

" thigh and the ſhoulder, fill it with the choice bones. Take the " choice of the flock, and burn alſo the bones under it, and make " it boil well, and let them ſeeth the bones of it therein *."

And in this manner was the *Parable* employed both amongſt the Orientaliſts and Greeks: and thus the Jews underſtood it, as appears by the complaint of the prophet: " Ah, LORD! they ſay of " me, Doth he not ſpeak PARABLES †?" and by this denunciation of our LORD himſelf; " Unto you it is given to know the *myſteries* " of the kingdom of GOD; but to others in PARABLES; that ſeeing " they might not ſee, and hearing they might not underſtand ‡." And thus that great maſter of Grecian eloquence, Demetrius Phalereus, explains it: " The allegory is uſed (ſays he) as a covering " and diſguiſe to the diſcourſe §."

III. We have obſerved, that the *Symbol*, the more it receded from the proper Hieroglyphic, the more it became obſcure; till it divided itſelf, at length, into two ſorts, the *tropical* and the *enigmatical*: Juſt ſo again it was with the *Parable*, which (anſwering to the *tropical ſymbol*) grew more and more myſterious, till it became a RIDDLE; and this again exactly correſponded to the *enigmatical* Hieroglyphic.

This, in ſacred Scripture, is called a DARK SAYING κατ' ἐξοχήν. For the nature of God's diſpenſation required enigmas; and the genius of thoſe times made them natural. The prophet Ezekiel will furniſh us with an example:—" And the word of the LORD " (ſays he) came unto me, ſaying, Son of man, put forth a RID- " DLE, and ſpeak a *Parable* unto the houſe of Iſrael; and ſay, " Thus ſaith the LORD GOD, A great eagle with great wings, long " winged, full of feathers, which had divers colours, came unto " Lebanon, and took the higheſt branch of the cedar; he cropt off " the top of his young twigs, and carried it into a land of traf-

* Ezek. xxiv. 3, & ſeq. † Ezek. xx. 49. ‡ Luke viii. 10.

§ —ὥσπερ συγκαλύμματι τῷ λόγῳ, τῇ ἀλληγορίᾳ κέχρηται. De Eloc. ſect. 100.

" fic,

" ſic *, &c." In the interpretation of theſe *Riddles* conſiſted much of the old Eaſtern Wiſdom, according to the obſervation of the Wiſe-man: " A man of underſtanding (ſays he) ſhall attain unto " wiſe counſels; to underſtand a Proverb and the interpretation; " the words of the Wiſe and their DARK SAYINGS †." It was the cuſtom too, as we learn from Scripture ‡ (and it laſted long, as we learn from Joſephus §), for the Sages of thoſe times to ſend or offer RIDDLES to each other, for a trial of ſagacity, to the expoſition of which, rewards and penalties were annexed ||; ſo that the preſent of a *riddle* was ſometimes only a ſtratagem for a booty: hence, the *underſtanding dark ſentences* became proverbial amongſt the Hebrews to ſignify the arts of fraud and deceit; as may be collected from the character given by Daniel of Antiochus Epiphanes: " And " in the latter time of their kingdom, when the tranſgreſſors are " come to the full, a king of fierce countenance and UNDERSTAND- " ING DARK SENTENCES ſhall ſtand up **."

The myſterious cover to this kind of wiſdom made it (as always ſuch a cover will) the moſt high-priſed accompliſhment: ſo when the Pſalmiſt would raiſe and engage the attention of his audience, he begins his ſong in this manner: " Hear, all ye people; give " ear, all ye inhabitants of the world: both low and high, rich " and poor together. My mouth ſhall ſpeak of wiſdom, and the " meditation of my heart ſhall be of underſtanding. I WILL IN- " CLINE MINE EAR TO A PARABLE; I WILL OPEN MY DARK SAY- " ING UPON THE HARP ††." For as a great Critic in ſacred and

* Chap. xvii. ver. 2, & ſeq.

† Prov. i. 5, 6.

‡ Judges xiv. 12, 13, 14.

§ — καὶ Σοφίσματα δὲ καὶ λόγους ΑΙΝΙΓΜΑΤΩΔΕΙΣ διεπέμψατο πρὸς τὸν Σολομῶνα ὁ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς, παρακαλῶν ὅπως αὐτῷ τούτους σαφηνίσῃ, καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ζητουμένων ἀπαλλάξῃ· τὸν δὲ, δεινὸν ὄντα καὶ συνετὸν οὐδὲν τούτων παρῆλθεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα νικήσας τῷ λογισμῷ, καὶ μαθὼν αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐφώτισε. Antiq. Jud. lib. viii. cap. 5.

|| Διὸς—τὸν δὲ τυραννοῦντα Ἱεροσολύμων Σολομῶνα πέμψαι, φησὶ, πρὸς τὸν Ἔραμον ΑΙΝΙΓΜΑΤΑ, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀξιοῦντα· τὸν δὲ, μὴ δυνηθέντα διακρῖναι, τῷ λύσαντι χρήματα ἀποτίνειν.— Id. ib.

** Chap. viii. ver. 23.

†† Pſal. xlix. 4.

profane learning rightly obſerves upon the place: *Pſalmi hujus auctor, quo auditores attentos reddat, his promittit ſe de rebus maximis, & in quibus ſumma ſapientia poſita ſit, dicturum; & in carmine hoc componendo artem quam potuit maximam adhibuit, ut materia dignum redderet* *.

And as, in the improved art of WRITING by *Symbols*, the Egyptians (as well to give it the air of learning and elegance, as to cloud it with a variegated obſcurity) ſtudied all the ſingular *properties of beings*, and their *relations*, in order to fit them for repreſentatives of other things; ſo in the art of SPEAKING, men ſoon began to adorn thoſe modes of information juſt now mentioned with *tropes and figures*; till at length Poſterity began to doubt about the original of *figurative expreſſion*; even as they had doubted about the original of *hieroglyphic painting*: whereas, in truth, the firſt, like the latter, owed its birth to mere want and ruſticity; that is, a want of words, and ruſticity of conception. To give an inſtance of the firſt want, in the PLEONASM; of the latter, in the METAPHOR: for Eaſtern ſpeech abounds with theſe *figures*; they conſtitute its pride and beauty; and to excel in them, conſiſts the art of their orators and poets.

1. The *Pleonaſm* evidently aroſe from the narrowneſs of a ſimple language: the Hebrew, in which this figure abounds, is the ſcantieſt of all the learned languages of the Eaſt: *Amant* (ſays Grotius) *Hebræi verborum copiam; itaque rem eandem multis verbis exprimunt* †. He does not tell us the reaſon; but it is ſeen above, and appears to be the true: for when the ſpeaker's phraſe comes not up to his ideas (as in a ſcanty language it often will not), he naturally endeavours to explain himſelf by a repetition of the thought in other words; as he whoſe body is ſtraitened in room is never relieved but by a continual change of poſture. We may obſerve this to happen frequently in common converſation; where the conception of the

* Pſalmorum Liber in Verſiculos metrice diviſus, &c. Ed. Hare, Epiſc. Ciceſt. p. 265.

† In Hab. ii. 1.

ſpeaker

ſpeaker is ſtronger than his expreſſion. The moſt ſcanty language therefore will be always fulleſt of repetitions, which is the only *copia* in *that* which Grotius ſpeaks of.

2. The *Metaphor* aroſe as evidently from ruſticity of conception, as the *pleonaſm* from the want of words. The firſt ſimple ages, uncultivated, and immerged in ſenſe, could expreſs their rude conceptions of abſtract Ideas, and the reflex operations of the mind, only by material images; which, ſo applied, became *metaphors*. This, and not the warmth of a florid and improved fancy, as is commonly ſuppoſed, was the true original of figurative expreſſion. We ſee it even at this day in the ſtyle of the American ſavages, though of the coldeſt and moſt phlegmatic complexions, ſuch as the Iroquois of the Northern continent; of whom a learned miſſionary ſays: "They affect a lively cloſe expreſſion, like the Lacedemo-"nians; yet for all that their ſtyle is *figurative*, and wholly *meta-*"*phorical**." Their phlegm could only make their ſtyle conciſe, not take away the figures; and the conjunction of theſe different characters in it, ſhews plainly that *metaphors* were from neceſſity, not choice. The very ſame character, in other words, Diodorus gives of the ſtyle of the ancient Gauls: *In converſation*, ſays he, *they uſe the utmoſt brevity, attended with a highly figurative obſcurity: their ſpeech abounds with a licentious kind of Synecdoche, which leaves much to the hearer to unriddle and divine; and alſo with hyperboles* †.

But we need not theſe far-fetched examples. He who will only reflect on what is ſo common as generally to eſcape reflection, may obſerve, that the common people are always moſt given to ſpeak in figures. Cicero obſerved this long ago, where encouraging the uſe of *metaphors*, even in the ſimpler ſtyle, he ſays,—Tranſlatione fortaſſe crebrior, qua frequentiſſime ſermo omnis utitur non modo urbanorum, ſed etiam *ruſticorum*. Siquidem eſt eorum, *gemmare vites, ſitive agros, lætas eſſe ſegetes, luxurioſa frumenta*. Nihil

* See note [YY], at the end of this Book.

† See note [ZZ], at the end of this Book.

horum

horum parum audacter, ſed aut ſimile eſt illi, unde transferas: aut, ſi res ſuum nullum habet nomen, *docendi cauſa ſumptum, aut ludendi videtur* *. Hence too, the people's delight in that other figure of ſpeech, Proverbs, a paſſion not ſtronger in our own times then in thoſe of Ariſtotle; who obſerves οἱ ΑΓΡΟΙΚΟΙ μάλιϛα ΓΝΩΜΟΤΥΠΟΙ εἰσί. And the groſs images under which proverbial truths in all languages are conveyed, ſhew they only delighted in their own inventions: for, to the People, it is certain, we are altogether indebted for this ſpecies of inſtruction.

It is true, when groſs conception met with a warm imagination which delighted in painting ſtrong and lively images, and was improved by exerciſe and uſe, figurative expreſſion would be ſoon adorned with all the flouriſhes of wit. For wit conſiſts in uſing ſtrong *metaphoric images* in uncommon yet apt alluſions: juſt as ancient Egyptian wisdom did in *hieroglyphic ſymbols* fancifully analogized. Plato perhaps had ſomething of this in his thoughts (if he had not, he had hardly any thing ſo good) when he obſerved to Alcibiades, that the *People was an excellent maſter of language* †.

Thus we ſee it has ever been the way of men, both in *Speech* and *Writing*, as well as in Clothes and Habitations, to turn their wants and neceſſities into parade and ornament ‡.

IV. In the firſt parallel between *Speech* and *Writing*, we have compared *metaphors* to the *letters of an alphabet*; and how well the parallel runs may be further ſeen from hence: The Egyptians had, as has been ſhewn, two ſorts of alphabetic letters, the one *popular*, the other *ſacerdotal*; ſo had the Ancients in general two ſorts of *metaphors*; one *open* and *intelligible*, another *hidden* and *myſterious*. The prophetic writings are full of this latter ſort. To inſtance only in the famous prediction of Balaam: *There ſhall come a* star *out of Jacob, and a ſceptre ſhall riſe out of Iſrael* §. This

* Orator. cap. xxiv.

† See note [AAA], at the end of this Book.

‡ See note [BBB], at the end of this Book.

§ Numb. xxiv. 17.

prophecy

prophecy may poſſibly in ſome ſenſe relate to David; but, without queſtion, it belongs principally to Jeſus: the metaphor of a *ſceptre* was common and popular, to denote a ruler, like David; but the *ſtar*, though it alſo ſignified, in the prophetic writings *, a temporal prince or ruler, yet had a ſecret and hidden meaning likewiſe: a *ſtar* in the Egyptian hieroglyphics denoted GOD †: and how much *hieroglyphic writing* influenced the *eaſtern languages* we ſhall ſee preſently. Thus GOD, in the prophet Amos, reproving the Iſraelites for their idolatry on their firſt coming out of Egypt, ſays: "Ye have born the tabernacle of your *Moloch*, and *Chiun* "your images, THE STAR OF YOUR GOD, which ye made to your-"ſelves ‡." *The ſtar of your* GOD is a ſublime figure to ſignify *the image of your* GOD; for a *ſtar* being employed in hieroglyphics to ſignify GOD, it is uſed here with great elegance, to ſignify the material image of a GOD: the words, *the ſtar of your* GOD, being only a repetition, ſo uſual in the Hebrew tongue, of the preceding, *Chiun your images*. Hence we conclude that the metaphor here uſed by Balaam of a *ſtar* was of that abſtruſe myſterious kind; and is ſo to be underſtood; and conſequently that it related only in the myſterious ſenſe to CHRIST, the eternal ſon of GOD.

We have obſerved how *Symbols*, which came from open *Hieroglyphics*, loſt their myſterious nature, and recovered again their primitive uſe in the flouriſhing ages of Greece and Rome. Juſt ſo again it was with the *Parable*; which coming from the ſimple *Apologue*, often returned to its firſt clearneſs, and became a proverb plain and intelligible to all. "In that day (ſays the prophet "Micah) ſhall one take up a *Parable* againſt you §, &c." "Shall "not all theſe (ſays Habakkuk) take up a *Parable* againſt him, and "a taunting *proverb* againſt him, and ſay ||, &c."

* Dan. viii. 10.

† Ἀστὴρ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις γραφόμενον ΘΕΟΝ σημαίνει. Horapol. Hierog. lib. ii. cap. i.

‡ Chap. v. ver. 25, 26.

§ Chap. ii. ver. 4. || Chap. ii. ver. 6.

Thus

Thus WRITING and LANGUAGE, throughout all their various modes, ran exactly the ſame fortune: invented out of neceſſity, to communicate men's thoughts to one another; they were continued out of choice, for myſtery and ornament; and they ended at laſt as they began, in the way of popular information.

Hitherto we have conſidered the *relation* only as they ſtand in an independent parallel; but as they are only two different ways of communicating the ſame conceptions, they muſt needs have a mighty influence upon one another. To explain this in the manner it deſerves would require a juſt volume; and as a properer place may be found for it, when we come to conſider the objections to the *ſtyle of Scripture*, it will be ſufficient juſt to touch upon it at at preſent.

1. The influence *Language* would have on the firſt kind of writing, which was *hieroglyphical*, is eaſy to conceive. Language, we have ſhewn, was, out of mere neceſſity, highly figurative, and full of material images; ſo that when men firſt thought of recording their conceptions, the writing would be, of courſe, that very picture which was before painted in the fancy, and from thence, delineated in words: Even long after, when figurative ſpeech was continued out of choice, and adorned with all the invention of wit, as amongſt the Greeks and Romans, and that the genius of the ſimpler *hieroglyphic*-writing was again revived for ornament, in EMBLEMS and DEVICES, the poetic habit of perſonalizing every thing, filled their coins, their arches, their altars, &c. with all kinds of imaginary Beings. All the qualities of the mind, all the affections of the body, all the properties of countries, cities, rivers, mountains, became the ſeeds of living things: for,

——" as IMAGINATION bodied forth
" The forms of things unknown, the *artiſt's hand*
" Turn'd them to ſhape, and gave to airy nothing
" A local habitation and a name *."

* Shakeſpear.

2. The

2. The reciprocal influence *hieroglyphic writing* would have on *language* is as evident. The Chineſe, we have ſeen, uſed this kind of writing, as well as the Egyptians; and the character given of their language is entirely correſpondent: "The ſtyle of the *Chineſe*, in their compoſitions, (ſays Du Halde,) "is MYSTE-"RIOUS, *conciſe*, ALLEGORIC, and ſometimes *obſcure*. They *ſay* "*much in few words*. Their expreſſions are lively, animated, and "thick ſown with *bold compariſons*, and *noble metaphors* *." Their ſtyle, we ſee, was *conciſe* and *figurative*; the very character, as we have ſeen, of all the barbarous nations upon earth, both ancient and modern; for Nature is ever uniform. The cold phlegmatic temper of the Chineſe made their ſtyle ſhort and *laconic*; the uſe of hieroglyphics made it *figurative*; and from this mixture it became *obſcure*: but had thoſe remote inhabitants of the Eaſt and Weſt poſſeſſed the warm imagination of the proper Aſiatics, then had their language, like that of the people ſpoken of above, abounded with *pleonaſms* inſtead of *laconiſms*. The old Aſiatic ſtyle, ſo highly figurative, ſeems likewiſe, by what we find of its remains, in the prophetic language of the ſacred writers, to have been evidently faſhioned to the mode of ancient Hieroglyphics, both *curiologic* and *tropical*. Of the firſt kind are the figurative expreſſions of *ſpotted garments*, to denote iniquity; an *intoxicating draught*, to ſignify error and miſery; the *ſword and bow*, a warrior; a *gigantic ſtature*, a mighty leader; *balance*, *weights and meaſures*, a judge or magiſtrate; *arms*, a powerful nation, like the Roman. Of the ſecond kind, which anſwers to the *tropical* hieroglyphic, is the calling empires, kings, and nobles, by the names of the *heavenly luminaries*, the *ſun*, *moon*, *and ſtars*; their temporary diſaſters or entire overthrow, denoted by *eclipſes and extinctions*; the deſtruction of the Nobility, by *ſtars falling from the firmament*; hoſtile invaſions,

* Le Stile des Chinois dans leurs compoſitions eſt *myſterieux*, concis, *allegorique*, & quelquefois obſcur. Ils diſent beaucoup de choſes en peu de paroles. Leurs expreſſions ſont vives, animées & ſemées de comparaiſons hardies, & de metaphores nobles. Deſcr. de l'Empire de la Chine, tom. ii. p. 227. Paris, 1735.

by *thunder and tempeſtuous winds*; and leaders of armies, conquerors, and founders of empire, by *lions*, *bears*, *leopards*, *goats*, or *high trees*. In a word, the prophetic ſtyle ſeems to be a SPEAKING HIEROGLYPHIC.

Theſe obſervations will not only aſſiſt us in the intelligence of the Old and New Teſtament, but likewiſe vindicate their character from the illiterate cavils of modern libertines, who have fooliſhly miſtaken that colouring for the peculiar workmanſhip of the ſpeaker's heated imagination, which was the ſober eſtabliſhed language of their times; a language which GOD and his Son condeſcended to employ, as the propereſt vehicle of the high myſterious ways of Providence, in the revelation of themſelves to mankind.

But to come to a concluſion. We muſt obſerve in the laſt place, that, beſides the many changes which the ancient Egyptian *hieroglyphics* underwent, they at length ſuffered a very perverſe corruption. It hath been already ſeen, how the MYSTERIES, that other grand vehicle of *Egyptian wiſdom*, degenerated into *magic*: juſt ſo it happened with the HIEROGLYPHICS; for their characters being become, in a proper ſenſe, ſacred (as will be explained hereafter), it diſpoſed the more ſuperſtitious to engrave them upon gems, and wear them as amulets or charms. But this abuſe ſeems not to have been much earlier than the eſtabliſhed worſhip of the God Serapis: which happened under the Ptolemys; and was firſt brought to the general knowledge of the world by certain Chriſtian heretics*, and natives of Egypt, who had mingled a number of Pagan ſuperſtitions with their Chriſtianity. Theſe gems, called ABRAXAS, frequently to be met with in the cabinets of the curious, are engraven with all kinds of hieroglyphic characters. For this abuſive original, we have the teſtimony of Rufinus the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian, contemporary with St. Jerome: *Who can reckon up*, ſays he, *the horrid ſuperſtitions practiſed at Canopus? where under pretence of interpreting the* SACERDOTAL LETTERS, *for ſo they call the ancient Egyptian characters, a public ſchool may be almoſt*

* See note [CCC], at the end of this Book.

ſaid

ſaid to be opened for the teaching magical arts *. Hence theſe characters came to be called *Chaldaic*, the Chaldeans being particularly addicted to magic. So Caſſiodorus, ſpeaking of the obeliſks in the Roman circus, which were brought from Egypt, calls the inſcriptions on them *Chaldaica ſigna* †: To the *Abraxas* afterwards ſucceeded TALISMANS ‡: which (mixed, like the other, with the dotages of judicial aſtrology) are held in high reverence to this day, in all Mahometan countries. And here let me obſerve, that from the low date of theſe kinds of charms may be ſeen the impertinence of what Sir John Marſham brings from late Greek and Roman writers, to confront and diſcredit the myſterious elevation of the brazen ſerpent in the wilderneſs §.

But what muſt we think of KIRCHER, who hath miſtaken theſe ſuperſtitions for the ancient Egyptian wiſdom; and ſetting up with this magic, and that other of the *myſteries*, which the later Platoniſts and Pythagoreans had jumbled together, in the production of their fanatic-philoſophy, ſoon ingroſſed, in imagination, all the treaſures of Antiquity ||? However, to be juſt, it muſt be

* —*Canopi quis enumeret ſuperſtitioſa flagitia? Ubi prætextu* SACERDOTALIUM LITERARUM, *ita enim appellant* antiquas Ægyptiorum literas, *Magicæ artis erat penè publica ſchola.* Eccleſ. hiſt. lib. ii. cap. xxvi.

† *Ubi ſacra priſcorum Chaldaicis ſignis, quaſi literis, indicantur.* lib. iii. ep. 51. & lib. iii. ep. 2.

‡ See note [DDD], at the end of this Book.

§ See note [EEE], at the end of this Book.

‖ The following are three of his ſix *Poſtulata* on which he founds his whole interpretation of the Egyptian *hieroglyphics*:—

1. *Hieroglyphica Ægyptiorum doctrina nihil aliud eſt quam arcana de Deo, diviniſque Ideis, Angelis, Dæmonibus, cæteriſque mundanarum poteſtatum claſſibus ordinibuſque ſcientia, ſaxis potiſſimùm inſculpta.*

5. *Hieroglyphica Symbola non tantùm ſublimium erant ſignificativa ſacramentorum; ſed & naturalem quandam efficaciam habere credebantur, tum ad Genios bonos quibuſcum occultam, & in abdita naturæ abyſſo latentem ſympathiam habere putabantur, attrahendos; tum ad contrarios & antitechnos Genios, ob eorundem cum iis antipathiam, coërcendos profligandoſque.*

6. *Hieroglyphica Symbola nihil aliud quàm prophylactica quædam ſigna, omnium malorum averruncativa, ob mirificum catenarum mundialium conſenſum connexionemque, eſſe exiſtimabantur.*

Oedip. Ægypt. tom. iii. p. 4.

owned that he was miſled by the Ancients themſelves; ſome of whom imagined that the very firſt *hieroglyphics* were tainted with this magical pollution, juſt as ſome Moderns would have the firſt *Myſteries* to be corrupted by debauched practices. So Lucan, ſpeaking of the times before alphabetic writing, ſays,

" Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere Biblos
" Noverat, et *ſaxis* tantum, *volucreſque* feræque
" Sculptaque ſervabant MAGICAS animalia LINGUAS."

Here, we ſee, the *abuſe* and the *invention* are made coeval. An extravagant error, which the leaſt attention to the hiſtory of he human mind and the progreſs of its operations might have prevented.

To conclude, I have here preſumed to diſpute an unqueſtioned propoſition, *That the Egyptians invented hieroglyphics for the ſake of ſecrecy*. It will be well if the evidence of the reaſoning may excuſe the ſingularity of the paradox. This is certain, the ſubject hath long remained in obſcurity; and as certain, that I have, ſome how or other, been able to throw a little ſcattered light into the darkeſt corners of it. Whether the common opinion occaſioned the obſcurity, and the notion here advanced has contributed to remove it, is left for the candid reader to determine *.

III.

And now to apply this matter to the proof of our Propoſition; for this long diſcourſe on *Hieroglyphic writing* is particularly given to deduce from its nature, origin, and uſe, an internal argument for the high antiquity of *Egyptian learning*.

Let us ſee then how the evidence ſtands: The true Egyptian learning, which the early Greek Sages brought from thence to adorn their own country, was, by the concurrent teſtimony of theſe writers, all contained in *Hieroglyphics*. They record a ſimple fact; and, in a fact of this nature, they could not be de-

* See note [FFF], at the end of this Book.

ceived;

ceived; though in the cauſes of it they well might; and, as we have ſhewn, indeed were.—But hieroglyphic-writing thus invented, was improved into a contrivance to record their ſecret wiſdom, long before an *Alphabet* was found out; and yet an alphabet was of ſo high and almoſt immemorial antiquity as to paſs for an invention of the Gods: and conſequently to deceive ſome men into an opinion that *Letters* were prior in time to *Hieroglyphics* *.

To this it may be objected, "That, as I pretend *Hieroglyphics* were not invented for ſecrecy, but afterwards turned to that uſe, and even employed in it, long after the invention of alphabetic letters, it might very well be, that this profound learning, which all agree to have been recorded in *Hieroglyphics*, was the product of ages much below the antiquity enquired after."

Now, not to inſiſt upon the Grecian teſtimony, which makes the *learned hieroglyphics* coeval with the firſt race of kings; I reply, and might well reſt the matter on this ſingle argument,—That if at the invention of *letters*, much high-prized learning had not been contained in *Hieroglyphics*, but only plain memorials of civil matters, no plauſible reaſon can be given why the Egyptians did not then diſcontinue a way of writing ſo troubleſome and imperfect. It hath been ſhewn, that in the very early ages of the world, all nations, as well as the Egyptian, uſed to record the ſucceſſion of time and revolutions of State in *hieroglyphic* characters: but, of theſe, none, beſides the Egyptians, continued to write by marks for things, after the invention of *letters*. All others immediately dropt their hieroglyphics on the diſcovery of that more commodious method. The reaſon of which is plain; all others were totally unlearned in thoſe periods of their exiſtence preceding the knowledge of letters; conſequently, as their hieroglyphics were employed in nothing but to record the rude annals of their hiſtory, they had no inducement to continue them: but at this remarkable æra, Egypt was very learned: and hieroglyphics being the repoſi-

* See note [GGG], at the end of this Book.

tories

tories of its learning, theſe monuments would be in high veneration, and that veneration would perpetuate their uſe. There is but one example perhaps in the world, beſides the Egyptian, where a people's learning was *firſt* recorded in *hieroglyphic* characters; and this one example will ſupport our argument: the people I mean are the Chinese; who, as the Miſſionaries aſſure us, bear ſuch eſteem and reverence for their *ancient character*, that, when they find it curiouſly written, they prefer it to the moſt elegant painting, and purchaſe the leaſt ſcrap at an exceſſive price: they will not (we are told) apply the paper even of any common book, on which theſe characters are written, to a profane or vulgar uſe; and their joiners and maſons do not dare to tear a printed leaf which they find paſted to the wall or wainſcot *. Now if at length, theſe people ſhould be prevailed on to uſe the more excellent way of writing with the letters of an alphabet, can any one doubt but that their Mandarins would ſtill continue theſe venerable hieroglyphic characters in their works of Science and Religion? Thus, what we ſee would be the caſe here was without all queſtion the caſe of the Egyptians; Characters become the vehicle of ſuch treaſures of learning muſt be in the higheſt reverence: and, indeed, the name of *Hieroglyphics*, under which they were delivered to the Greeks, ſhews they were in fact thus reverenced †. But that *learning* which was contained in hieroglyphics, and was, of itſelf, ſufficient to perpetuate their uſe, gave birth to a tradition which would effectually ſecure

* Ils preferent même un beau caractere à la plus admirable peinture, & l'on en voit ſouvent qui achetent bien cher une page de vieux caracteres, quand ils ſont bien formez. Ils honorent leurs caracteres juſques dans les livres les plus ordinaires, & ſi par haſard quelques feüilles etoient tombées, ils les ramaſſent avec reſpect: ce ſeroit, ſelon eux, un groſſiereté & une impoliteſſe, d'en faire un uſage profane, de les fouler aux pieds en marchant, de les jetter même avec indifference; ſouvent il arrive, que les menuiſiers & les maçons n'oſent pas dechirer une feüille imprimée, qui ſe trouve collée ſur le mur, ou ſur le bois. Ils craignent de faire une faute. Du Halde, Deſcr. de l'Empire de la Chine, tom. ii. p. 228.

† See p. 391; and ſee note [IIHH], at the end of this Book.

it;

it; and this was, that *the* GODS *themſelves invented hieroglyphic writing.*

On the whole, The argument drawn from their CONTINUED USE ſeems ſo ſure a proof of the high antiquity of Egyptian learning in general, that one might ſafely reſt the whole upon it: But to remove all cavil, I ſhall proceed to other, and, as I think, inconteſtable proofs of the antiquity of that *learning*, and particularly the *theologic:* the one taken from the true original of the art of ONIRO-CRITIC, or *interpretation of dreams*; and the other from the true original of ANIMAL WORSHIP: both of theſe fantaſtic ſuperſtitions being the genuine and peculiar growth of EGYPT.

I. The art of ONIROCRITIC, from whoſe *original* I deduce my firſt proof, made a very conſiderable part of ancient Pagan religion. Artemidorus, who lived about the beginning of the ſecond century, and wrote a treatiſe on *Dreams*, collected from much earlier writers, divides *dreams* into two kinds, the *ſpeculative* and the *allegorical* *; the firſt kind is that which preſents a plain and direct picture of the matter about which the Dream gives information; the ſecond is an oblique intimation of it, by a tropical or ſymbolic image: This latter, which makes up the large farrago of dreams, is the only kind that needs an Interpreter; on which account Macrobius defines a *Dream* to be the notice of ſomething *hid in allegory which wants to be explained* †.

So that the queſtion will be, on what grounds or rules of interpretation the Onirocritics proceeded, when, if a man dreamt of a dragon, the Interpreter aſſured him it ſignified *majeſty*; if of a ſerpent, a *diſeaſe*; a viper, *money*; frogs, *impoſtors*; pigeons and ſtock-doves, *women*: partridges, *impious perſons*; a ſwallow, *ſorrow*, *death*, and *diſaſter*; cats, *adultery*; the ichneumon, *deceitful and*

* Ἔτι τῶν ὀνείρων, οἱ μὲν, εἰσὶ θεωρηματικοί· οἱ δὲ ἀλληγορικοί. καὶ θεωρηματικοὶ μὲν, οἱ τῇ ἑαυτῶν θέα προσεοικότες—Ἀλληγορικοὶ δὲ, οἱ δι' ἄλλων ἄλλα σημαίνοντες.—Artemid. Oneir. lib. i. cap. 2.

† Somnium proprie vocatur, quod tegit figuris & velut ambagibus, non niſi interpretatione intelligendam, ſignificationem rei quæ demonſtratur.—In Somn. Scip. lib. i. cap. 3.

miſchievous

miſchievous men, &c *. for the whole art of ancient *onirocritic* was concerned in theſe remote and myſterious relations. Now the early *Interpreters of dreams* were not juggling impoſtors; but, like the early judicial *Aſtrologers*, more ſuperſtitious than their neighbours; and ſo the firſt who fell into their own deluſions. However, ſuppoſe them to have been as arrant cheats as any of their ſucceſſors, yet at their firſt ſetting up they muſt have had materials proper for their trade; which could never be the wild workings of each man's private fancy. Their Cuſtomers would look to find a known analogy, become venerable by long application to myſterious wiſdom, for the ground-work of their deciphering; and the Decipherers themſelves would as naturally fly to ſome confeſſed authority, to ſupport their pretended Science. But what ground or authority could this be, if not the myſterious learning of *ſymbolic characters?* Here we ſeem to have got a ſolution of the difficulty. The *Egyptian prieſts*, the firſt interpreters of dreams, took their rules for this ſpecies of DIVINATION, from their *ſymbolic* riddling, in which they were ſo deeply read: A ground of interpretation which would give the ſtrongeſt credit to the Art; and equally ſatisfy the Diviner and the Conſulter: for by this time it was generally believed that their Gods had given them *hieroglyphic writing*. So that nothing was more natural than to imagine that theſe Gods, who in their opinion gave *dreams* likewiſe, had employed the ſame mode of expreſſion in both revelations. This, I ſuppoſe, was the true original † of *onirocritic*, or the interpretation of thoſe dreams called allegorical; that is, of dreams in general; for the wildneſs of an unbridled fancy will make almoſt all natural dreams to be of that kind. It is true, the Art being now well eſtabliſhed, every age adorned it with additional ſuperſtitions; ſo that at length the old foundation became quite loſt in theſe new incruſtations.

* Vid. Artemidor.

† See note [III], at the end of this Book.

If

If this account of its original ſtood in need of farther evidence, I might urge the rules of interpretation here given from Artemidorus, and a great many more which might have been given; all of them conformable to the *ſymbolic hieroglyphics* in Horapollo.

Herodotus, in Clio, tells us, how Cyrus, dreaming that young Darius had WINGS on his ſhoulders, which, when ſpread out, ſhaded Aſia and Europe, underſtood this dream by the aſſiſtance of his Interpreters, to ſignify (as we muſt needs conclude) a conſpiracy formed againſt him by that young man. Now Sanchoniatho tells us* that in the moſt ancient *hieroglyphic writing*, a ſupreme governor was deſigned by a man with four WINGS, and his lieutenants or princes under him by a man with two: and that their being *out-ſtretched* ſignified action or deſign †.

But there is one remarkable circumſtance which puts the matter out of all doubt. The technical term uſed by the Onirocritics for the phantaſms ſeen in dreams, was ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ ‡, *elements*. It would be hard to give a good account of the uſe of ſo odd a term on any other ſuppoſition than the derivation of onirocritic from ſymbolic writing. On that ſuppoſition it is eaſy and evident; for ſymbolic marks § were called ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ. Now when they uſed ſymbols to decipher dreams, nothing was more natural than to give the ſame ſignificative images, on the ſtone and in the fancy, the ſame appellation.

The reaſon why the Egyptian prieſts (who, we have ſeen, uſed the Greek tongue very early) called their hieroglyphic and ſymbolic marks Στοιχεῖα, was becauſe, in this way of writing, they employed all kinds of natural entities, to denote their mental conceptions; the proper ſignification of Στοιχεῖα being the firſt elements and principles of things, out of which all beings ariſe, and, of which, they are compounded ||. Hence it came that *alphabetic* letters, which

* See above, p. 394.

† See note [KKK], at the end of this Book.

‡ See note [LLL], at the end of this Book. § See p. 392.

|| See note [MMM], at the end of this Book.

were an improvement on *hieroglyphics* and received their firſt ſhapes from hieroglyphic images, were called Στοιχεῖα.

So much for the *original* of onirocritic. To bring it to the point, we are next to conſider its *antiquity*. Now Scripture leads us to the practice of this art as high up as the age of Joſeph.

Pharaoh had two dreams *; one of *ſeven kine*, the other of *ſeven ears of corn*. We ſee both theſe phantaſms [Στοιχεῖα] were *ſymbols* of Egypt: The *ears* denoting its diſtinguiſhed fertility; the *kine*, its great tutelary patroneſs, Iſis. Pharaoh knew thus much without an Interpreter; and hence aroſe his ſolicitude and anxiety to underſtand the reſt, as a matter that concerned the Public: Accordingly, when Joſeph † comes to decipher theſe dreams, he does not tell the king that the two *ſevens* denoted *ſeven years in Egypt*, but ſimply *ſeven years*: The ſcene of the famine needed no deciphering. Unlike, in this, to the interpretation of Daniel, when Nebuchadnezzar ſaw in a dream *a fair and high tree*; which being the ſymbol of majeſty in general, the prophet explains its particular meaning, "The tree that thou ſaweſt—it is THOU, O "king ‡."

The argument therefore ſtands thus: the *Onirocritics* borrowed their art of deciphering from ſymbolic hieroglyphics.—But this could not be 'till hieroglyphics were become ſacred, by being made the cloudy vehicle of their Theology; becauſe, 'till then, hieroglyphics had neither authority enough to ſupport the credit of thoſe interpretations, nor a perplexity ſufficiently copious to ſupport the myſtery of this application.—But by the time hieroglyphics were become ſacred, Egypt was very learned.—Now they were ſacred in the days of Joſeph, as appears from the uſe of interpreting dreams according to thoſe Symbols.—Therefore *learned Egypt of very high antiquity*.

II. My ſecond argument for this antiquity is deduced from the true original of ANIMAL-WORSHIP; and ſtands thus: We have ob-

* Gen. xli.

† See note [NNN], at the end of this Book.

‡ Dan. iv. 19, 20, 21.

ſerved,

ſerved, that in thoſe improved hieroglyphics, called *Symbols* (in which, it is confeſſed, the ancient Egyptian learning was contained) the leſs obvious properties of animals occaſioned their becoming marks, by analogical adaption, for very different ideas, whether of ſubſtances or modes; which plainly intimates that phyſical knowledge had been long cultivated. Now theſe ſymbols I hold to be the true original of ANIMAL-WORSHIP in Egypt. But animal worſhip was the *eſtabliſhed worſhip* in the time of MOSES, as is evident from the book of *Exodus*: Therefore the Egyptian learning was of this high antiquity *. The only propoſition, in this argument, that needs any proof, is the firſt. The reaſons therefore which induce me to think *ſymbolic writing* to be the ſole origin of *Animal-worſhip* are theſe:

1. This kind of idolatry was peculiar to the *Egyptian* ſuperſtition; and almoſt unknown to all the Caſts of paganiſm, but ſuch as were evidently copied from that original †: MOSES treats it as their diſtinguiſhing ſuperſtition ‡: The Greeks and Romans, though at a loſs for its original, yet ſpeak of it as the peculiar extravagance of *Egypt*: And the moſt intelligent of the moderns conſider it in the very ſame light §.

2. The *Egyptians* not only worſhipped *Animals*, but PLANTS; and, in a word, every kind of being that had qualities remarkably ſingular or efficacious; becauſe all theſe had found their place in

* See note [OOO], at the end of this Book.

† Such as the ſeveral Gentile nations of Paleſtine and India.

‡ Deut. iv. ver. 14—21.

§ The learned Fourmont thus expreſſes himſelf:—*Mais pour parler ſimplement & ſans fard, il faudra bon gré malgré en revenir à ceci, que les Egyptiens etoient, et, s'ils penſoient un peu, devoient ſe croire eux mémes un peuple fort extravagant; on n'apotheoſe point ſans folie les Oignons et les Aſperges: que penſez encore des Dieux Oiſeaux, Poiſſons, Serpens, Crocodiles? mais non-ſeulement ils avoient deifie les animaux; ce qui eſt plus etrange encore, infatuez de la Metempſycoſe, ils s'etoient enthouſiaſmez la deſſus de Myſtagogies incomprehenſibles. Leurs pretres, par un zele qu'on ne connoit pas trop, s'etoient rendus les Predicateurs de ces mêmes folies; & ils en avoient dans leurs conquêtes, ou par des miſſions,* infecté tout l'Inde, toute la Chine, tout le Japon. *Reflex. Crit. ſur les Hiſt. des Anc. Peuples*, tom. i. p. 227.

ſymbolic writing: For, as hath been ſhewn, when Hieroglyphics came to be employed for myſtery, no ſooner was one ſymbol grown common and vulgar, than another was invented of a more recondite meaning: ſo that the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms would be all explored to paint the hiſtories of their Gods.

3. Beſides the adoration of almoſt every thing exiſting, the *Egyptians* worſhipped a thouſand Chimeras of their own creation: Some with human bodies, and the head or feet of brutes; others with brutal bodies, and the heads or feet of men; while others again were a fantaſtic compound of the ſeveral parts of beaſts, birds, and reptiles, terreſtrial and aquatic: For beſides the ſimpler method, in hieroglyphic writing, of expreſſing their hero-gods by an intire plant or animal, there were two others which the more circumſtantial hiſtory of thoſe deities brought in uſe. Thus when the ſubject was only one ſingle quality of a god or hero, the human ſhape was only partially deformed *; as with the head of a dog, hawk, or ram, to denote fidelity, vigilance, or ſtrength; with the feet and thighs of a goat, to repreſent ruſticity, agility, or luſt; and this gave Being to their Anubis, Pan, and Jupiter Ammon: But where the ſubject required a fuller catalogue of the hero's virtues or uſeful qualities, there they employed an aſſemblage of the ſeveral parts of various animals: each of which, in hieroglyphic writing, was ſignificative of a diſtinct property: in which aſſemblage, that animal, more peculiarly repreſentative of the God, was moſt conſpicuous. This will explain the verſe of *Anticlides* in his hymn to the ſun,

Ἥλιος δὲ Νότοιο Ἄναξ ΙΕΡΑΞ ΠΟΛΥΜΟΡΦΕ.

The ſun was generally expreſſed by a *hawk*; but this *ſymbolic hawk*, under various conſiderations, had the various parts of other animals added to it.

* Εἴκασαι παρ' αὐτοῖς τις μέχρι τραχήλου ἀνθρωποειδὴς τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον ὁρᾷ, ἢ λέοντος, ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς ζῴου κεκλημένος· καὶ πάλιν αὖ κεφαλὴ ἀνθρωπίνη, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ζῴων μέχρι μὲν ὑποκείμενα, ἃ δὲ ἐπικείμενα. Porph. de Abſt. l. iv.

4. That

4. That animal which was worſhipped in one city was ſacrificed in another. Thus, though at Memphis they adored the ox, at Mendes the goat, and at Thebes the ram; yet, in one place or other, each of theſe animals was uſed in ſacrifice: but bulls and clean calves were offered up in all places. The reaſon of this can only be that at Memphis the ox was, in hieroglyphic learning, the ſymbol of ſome deity; at Mendes the goat; and at Thebes the ram; but the bull and calf no where: For what elſe can be ſaid for the original of ſo fantaſtical a diverſity in *repreſentative* deities within a kingdom of one national religion?—But farther: the ſame animal was feaſted in one place, with divine honours; in another it was purſued with the direſt execrations. Thus, at Arſinoë, the crocodile was adored; becauſe having no tongue it was made in hieroglyphic writing the ſymbol of the divinity *; elſewhere it was had in horror, as being made in the ſame writing the ſymbol of Typhon †; that is, it was uſed as a *ſacred character* in the hiſtory both of their *natural* and *civil* Theology.

5. Brute-worſhip was, at *firſt*, altogether objective to their hero-gods; of whom animals were but the repreſentatives. This is ſeen from the rank they hold on ancient monuments; from the unvaried worſhip of ſome few of them, as the *Apis*, which ſtill continued to be adored as the repreſentative Oſiris:—and from the expreſs teſtimony of Herodotus; who ſays, that, when the Egyptians addreſſed the ſacred Animal, their devotions were paid to that God to whom the beaſt belonged ‡.

* Plutarch, in general, tells us, that the Egyptians thus conſidered the crocodile; but this author, for private ends, delivering a falſe original of Animal-worſhip, it was not to his purpoſe to tell us it was ſo conſidered in *ſymbolic writing*:—ὁ μὲν δὴ ὁ Κροκόδειλος αἰτίας πιθανῆς ἀμοιρῆσαν ἴσχηκε τιμὴν, ἀλλὰ δι' μίμημα θεῖ λέγεσθαι γεγονέναι, μόνος μὲν ἄγλωσσος ὢν· φωνῆς γὰρ ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἀπροσδεὴς ἐστι—De Iſ. & Oſir.

† The ſubſequent doctrine of the *Metempſychoſis* ſoon made this the foundation of a fable, that the ſoul of *Typhon* had paſſed into a crocodile,—that *Typhon* had aſſumed that figure, &c. See Ælian's Hiſt. of Animals, lib. x. cap. 21.

‡ Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇσι πόλισι ἕκαστοι εὐχὰς τὰς δέ σφι ἀποτελέεσι· εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ τῷ ἂν ᾖ τὸ θηρίον—lib. ii. c. 65.

6. But

6. But to make the matter ſtill plainer, it may be obſerved, that the moſt early brute-worſhip in Egypt was not an adoration of the living animal, but only of its picture or image. This truth Herodotus ſeems to hint at in Euterpe, where he ſays, the Egyptians erected the firſt altars, images, and temples to the gods, and carved the FIGURES OF ANIMALS on ſtones *. Now, were the original of brute-worſhip any other than what is here ſuppoſed, the living animal muſt have been firſt worſhipped, and the image of it would have been only an attendant ſuperſtition. From the SECOND COMMANDMENT, and Moſes's exhortation to obedience, it appears that the Egyptians at the time of the Exodus, worſhipped no living animal, but the picture or image only: "Thou ſhalt have no other "Gods before me. Thou ſhalt not make unto thee any graven "image, or any likeneſs of any thing that is in heaven above or "that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the "earth. Thou ſhalt not bow down thyſelf to them, nor ſerve "them †." Thus ſpeaks the law of the firſt table; by which we not only ſee that brute-worſhip was under an image, but that ſuch image was ſymbolical of Gods different from the animal pictured, and alluded to in the words, *Thou ſhalt have no other Gods before me.* Another thing obſervable in the law is, that not only the making pictures and images for adoration was forbidden, but the ſimple making of them at all. And thus the Jews underſtood it. The conſequence was, that *hieroglyphics* were forbidden: a ſtrong proof of their being the ſource of the idolatry in queſtion. MOSES, in his exhortation to the people, paraphraſes and explains this law: "Take ye, therefore, good heed unto yourſelves (for ye ſaw *no* "*manner of ſimilitude on the day that the LORD ſpake to you in* "Horeb, out of the midſt of the fire) leſt ye corrupt yourſelves "and make you a graven image, the ſimilitude of any figure, the "likeneſs of *male or female*, the likeneſs of any beaſt that is on the

* Βωμούς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς θεοῖσι ἀποπέμψαι σφίας πρώτους, καὶ ζῶα ἐν λίθοισι ἐγλύψαι, c. 4.

† Exod. xx. 3, 4, 5

"earth,

" earth, the likeneſs of any winged fowl that flieth in the air, the " likeneſs of any thing that creepeth on the ground, the likeneſs " of any fiſh that is in the waters beneath the earth *." There are two important concluſions to be drawn from the reaſon of this exhortation, *for you ſaw no manner of ſimilitude, &c.* The firſt is, that the Egyptian brute-worſhip was *ſymbolical*; the other, that MOSES's prime intention was to warn the people againſt repreſenting the GOD of Iſrael under the ſhape of men or animals, in the guiſe of the greater Gods of Egypt. This obſervation will open our way to another circumſtance, which ſhews that the worſhip of the *living animal* was not yet in uſe amongſt the Egyptians; and that is, the idolatrous erection of the *golden calf* †. The people now ſuſpecting they had loſt MOSES, whom they were taught to conſider as the vicegerent, or repreſentative of their GOD, grew impatient for another; and, beſotted with Egyptian ſuperſtitions, choſe for his repreſentative the ſame which the Egyptians uſed for the ſymbol of their great God, Oſiris. Interpreters ſeem to run into two different extremes concerning this matter, ſome conceiving that the Iſraelites worſhipped an Egyptian God under the *golden calf*; though the worſhippers themſelves expreſsly declare the contrary: " Theſe (ſay they) be thy Gods, *O Iſrael*, which brought thee up " out of the land of Egypt ‡." Others ſuppoſe the *calf* was not made in imitation of any Egyptian ſymbol whatſoever, becauſe it was the living Apis that repreſented Oſiris; but we ſee the worſhip of the living animal was not yet introduced. However, in time, and in no long time neither, for it was as early as the Prophets, the Egyptians began to worſhip the *animal itſelf*; which worſhip, as might be well expected, prevailed at length over that of its image. *Colunt effigies multorum animalium, atque ipſa* MAGIS *animalia*, ſays Pomponius Mela § of the Egyptians; and this naturally gave

* Deut. iv. 15, 16, 17, 18.

† See note [PPP], at the end of this Book.

‡ Exod. xxxii. 4.

§ De ſit. orb. lib. i. cap. 6.

birth

birth to new ſuperſtitions; for, as he goes on, *Apis populorum omnium numen eſt. Bos niger, certis maculis inſignis—raro naſcitur*, nec coitu pecoris (*ut aiunt*) ſed divinitus & cœleſti igne conceptus.

Theſe conſiderations are ſufficient to ſhew that *hieroglyphics* were indeed the original of *brute worſhip*: And how eaſy it was for the Egyptians to fall into it from the uſe of this kind of writing, appears from hence. In theſe hieroglyphics was recorded the hiſtory of their greater, and tutelary deities, their kings and lawgivers; repreſented by animals and other creatures. The ſymbol of each God was well known and familiar to his worſhippers, by means of the popular paintings and engravings on their temples and other ſacred monuments *: ſo that the ſymbol preſenting the idea of the God, and that idea exciting ſentiments of religion, it was natural for them, in their addreſſes to any particular deity, to turn towards his repreſentative, mark or ſymbol. This will be eaſily granted if we reflect, that when the Egyptian prieſts began to ſpeculate, and grow myſterious, they feigned a *divine original* for hieroglyphic characters, in order to render them ſtill more auguſt and venerable. This would, of courſe, bring on a *relative* devotion to theſe ſymbolic figures; which, when it came to be paid to the living animal, would ſoon terminate in an *ultimate* worſhip.

But the occaſional propenſity to this ſuperſtition was, without queſtion, forwarded and encouraged by the Prieſthood; for it greatly ſupported the worſhip of the hero-deities, by making their theology more intricate; and by keeping out of ſight, what could not but weaken religious veneration in remote poſterity, the naked truth, that they were only DEAD MEN DEIFIED. And theſe advantages they afterwards improved with notable addreſs; by making

* This account is ſupported by Herodotus, where ſaying that the *Egyptians firſt of all raiſed altars, ſtatues, and temples to the gods*, he immediately adds, and *engraved animals on ſtone*: βωμούς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς θεοῖσι ἀποικμαι σχέας πρώτους, καὶ ΖΩΑ ΕΝ ΛΙΘΟΙΣΙ ΕΓΓΛΥΨΑΙ. l. ii. c. 4.

thoſe

thoſe Symbols as well relative to new conceived imaginary qualities and influences of their firſt *natural gods*, the hoſt of heaven, as to what they properly reſpected, in hieroglyphic writing, their later heroes and tutelary deities; Which trick, invented to keep the Egyptians in their ſuperſtition, ſpread ſo impenetrable an obſcurity over paganiſm, as hindered the moſt ſagacious Philoſophers and knowing Antiquaries of Greece from ever getting a right view of the riſe and progreſs of their own idolatry.

And, if I be not much miſtaken, it was the deſign of theſe Egyptian prieſts to commemorate the advantages of this contrivance in the celebrated fable * of TYPHON'S WAR WITH THE GODS; who, diſtreſſed and terrified by this earth-born giant, fled from his perſecution into EGYPT; and there hid themſelves each under the form of a ſeveral ANIMAL. This adventure is related by Ovid in a very agreeable and artful manner, where he makes one of the impious Pierides ſing it, in their conteſt with the Muſes:

Bella canit ſuperûm: Falſoque in honore gigantes
Ponit, & extenuat magnorum facta deorum;
Emiſſumque ima de ſede Typhoëa terræ
Cœlitibus feciſſe metum; *cunctoſque dediſſe*
Terga fugæ: donec feſſos ÆGYPTIA *tellus*
Ceperit, *& ſeptedim ſcretus in oſtia Nilus.*
Huc quoque terrigenam veniſſe Typhoëa narrat,
Et ſe MENTITIS *ſuperos celaſſe* FIGURIS:
Duxque gregis, *dixit*, *fit Jupiter:* UNDE recurvis
Nunc quoque formatus Libys eſt cum cornibus Ammon.
Delius in corvo, *proles Semeleïa capro*,
Fele ſoror Phœbi, *nivea Saturnia vacca*,
Piſce Venus latuit, *Cyllenius Ibidis alis* †.

* Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 54. Steph. Ed. informs us, that this was an Egyptian fable: as does *Lucian*, in his tract *De ſacrificiis*.

† Metam. lib. v. fab. 5.

Typhon, amongſt the Egyptians, was the exemplar of impiety: ſo that under that name we are to underſtand the *inquiſitive*, which the prieſts always ſurnamed *the impious* (ſuch who in after-times followed the celebrated Euhemerus of Greece); theſe, in a malicious ſearch into the genealogies of their Gods, had ſo near detected their original, and conſequently endangered their worſhip, that the prieſts had nothing left but to perplex and embroil the enquiry, by encouraging the SYMBOLIC worſhip as explained above. Hence this fable (in which they celebrated the ſubtility of their expedient) that Egypt afforded a place of refuge for the Gods; who there lay hid under the *forms of beaſts*. Where we muſt obſerve, that the ſhape each God was ſaid to have aſſumed was that of his ſymbolic mark in hieroglyphic writing *. Indeed Antonius Liberalis † differs from Ovid in the particular transformations; and Lucian ‡, from them both; but this rather confirms than weakens our interpretation; ſince each God, as we have ſeen, was denoted by divers hieroglyphics. We muſt not ſuppoſe, however, that the whole of their diſtreſs came from the quarter of their enemies. More favourable enquirers would be a little troubleſome. And the ſame expedient would keep them at a diſtance likewiſe. The Prieſts ſeem to have hinted at this caſe likewiſe, in the ſimilar ſtory they told Herodotus, "that Hercules was very deſirous to ſee Jupiter, who was by no means conſenting to this interview; at laſt overcome by the hero's importunity, he u l ed his curioſity, by this expedient: he flay'd the carcaſe of a ram; and inveſting himſelf with the ſkin ſeparated with the head from the body, he preſented himſelf under that appearance to the inquirer §." Herodotus himſelf ſeems to hint at ſomething like the explanation of the fable of Typhon given above, where

* See note [QQQ], at the end of this Book.

† Cap. xxviii. ‡ De Sacrif.

§ Θηβαῖοι μέν νυν, καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τούτους οἴων ἀπέχονται, διὰ τάδε λέγουσι τὸν νόμον τόνδε σφε τεθῆναι. Ἡρακλέα θελῆσαι πάντως ἰδέσθαι τὸν Δία, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλειν ὀφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. τέλος δὲ, ἐπεί τε λιπαρέειν τὸν Ἡρακλεα, τὸν Δία μηχανήσασθαι, κριὸν ἐκδείραντα προσχέσθαί τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποταμόντα τοῦ κριοῦ ἐνδύντα τὸ νάκος, οὕτω οἱ ἑωϋτὸν ἐπιδεῖξαι. lib. ii. c. 3.

ſpeaking

ſpeaking of Pan ſoon after, and on the ſame occaſion, he ſays, "The Egyptians repreſent Pan as the Grecians paint him, with "the face and legs of a goat. Not that they imagine this to be "his real form, which is the ſame with that of the other Gods. "But I take no ſatisfaction in recording the reaſon they give for "repreſenting him in this manner *." From theſe two different ways of relating the circumſtance of Jupiter's and Pan's diſguiſes under a brutal form, it appears that the Egyptian prieſts had two accounts concerning it, the exoteric and the eſoteric. Herodotus, in the ſtory of Jupiter, makes no ſcruple to record the firſt; but the other, which concerns Pan's transformation, he did not care to touch upon.

If this explanation of the famous fable of Typhon needed any further ſupport, we might find it in what the Egyptian Theologers continued to deliver down concerning it. Diodorus Siculus, ſpeaking of the difficulty in diſcovering the true original of Egyptian brute-worſhip, ſays, that the prieſts had a profound ſecret concerning it †: A ſtrong preſumption that this here delivered was the ſecret; it being the only one which the Prieſts were much concerned to keep to themſelves; as we ſhall ſee when we come to ſpeak of the *cauſes* aſſigned by the Ancients for brute-worſhip. What the Prieſts thought fit to intruſt to the people concerning this matter, the Sicilian tells us, was this; *That the Gods of the early times being few in number, and ſo forced to yield to the multitude and injuſtice of earth-born men, aſſumed the forms of divers Animals, and by that means eſcaped the cruelty and violence of their enemies; but that, at length, gaining the empire of the world, they conſecrated the ſpecies of thoſe Animals whoſe forms they had aſſumed, in gratitude for that relief which they had received from them in their*

* —τῷ Παιδὶ τῷ γαλμα, κατάπερ Ἕλληνες, αἰγοπρόσωπον καὶ τραγοσκελέα. ὅτι τοιοῦτον νομίζουσιν εἶναί μιν, ἀλλ' ὅμοιον τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι. ὅτεν δὲ εἵνεκα τοιοῦτον γράφουσι αὐτὸν, ἔμοι ἡδιόν ἐστι λέγειν. lib. ii. c. 46.

† Οἱ μὲν Ἰερεῖς αὐτὰ ἀποῤῥήτου τινὸς μέρα περὶ τούτων ἔχουσιν.—— lib. i. p. 54.

diſtreſſes *. The moral of the fable lies too open to need an Interpreter: it can hardly, indeed, be any other than that we have here given. But Diodorus aids us in the diſcovery of that ſecret, which he himſelf appears not to have penetrated, where he ſays that Melampus, who brought the *Myſteries of Proſerpine* from Egypt into Greece, taught them the ſtory of Typhon, and *the whole hiſtory of the diſaſters and ſufferings of the Gods* †. Now we have ſhewn ‡ that one part of the office of the *Hierophant* of the Myſteries was to reveal the true original of Polytheiſm: which inſtruction could not be conveyed more appoſitely, than in the hiſtory of *Typhon*, as here explained. From the whole then, we conclude, that *this* was indeed the *profound ſecret*, which the Egyptian prieſts had concerning it. So that the paſſage of Diodorus, laſt quoted, not only ſupports our interpretation of the *fable of Typhon*, but of the *ſecret of the Myſteries* likewiſe.

Only one thing is worth our notice, that the Prieſts ſhould think fit to give the people this curious origin of brute-worſhip: We have obſerved, that they promoted and encouraged this Brutal-idolatry in order to hide the weakneſs of their Hero-worſhip; but then ſome reaſon was to be given for that more extravagant ſuperſtition: ſo, by a fine contrivance, they made the *circumſtances* of the fable, by which they would commemorate their addreſs in introducing a new ſuperſtition to ſupport the old, a *reaſon* for that introduced ſupport. This was a fetch of policy worthy of an Egyptian prieſthood.

But let us hear what the Ancients in general have to ſay concerning the beginning of *brute-worſhip*. Now the Ancients having generally miſtaken the origin of *Hieroglyphics*, it is no wonder they

* Φασὶ γὰρ τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενομένας θεὰς, ὀλίγας οὔσας καὶ καθισχυομένας ὑπὸ τῦ πλήθους καὶ τῆς ἀνομίας τῶν γηγενῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμοιωθῆναι τισὶ τῶν ζώων, καὶ διὰ τῦ τοιύτου τρόπου διαφυγεῖν τὴν ὠμότητα καὶ βίαν αὐτῶν· ὕστερον δὲ τῶν καλὰ τὸν κόσμον πάντων κρατήσαντας καὶ τοῖς αἰτίοις τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς σωτηρίας χάριν ἀποδιδόντας, ἀφιερῶσαι τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν εἰς ἀφωμοιώθησαν. ——lib. i. p. 54.

† τὸ σύνολον τὴν περὶ τὰ πάθη τῶν θεῶν ἱστορίαν. lib. i.

‡ Vol. I. part 1.

ſhould

ſhould be miſtaken in this likewiſe: and how much they were miſtaken, their diverſity and inconſtancy of opinion plainly ſhew us: And yet, amidſt this diverſity, the cauſe here aſſigned hath eſcaped them; which had otherwiſe, 'tis probable, put an end to all farther conjecture. But as they chanced to fall into variety of wrong opinions, it will be incumbent on me to examine and confute them. What I can at preſent recollect as any way deſerving notice, are the following:

They ſuppoſe brute-worſhip to have ariſen,

1. From the *benefits* men receive of animals.
2. From the doctrine of the *metempſychoſis*.
3. From the uſe of *aſteriſms*.
4. From the notion of GOD's *pervading all things*.
5. From the uſe of Animals as *Symbols* of the divine nature.
6. From the invention of a certain Egyptian king for his private ends of *policy*.

Theſe, I think, are all the opinions of moment. And of theſe, we may obſerve in general, that the fourth and fifth are leaſt wide of the truth, as making brute-worſhip *ſymbolical:* But the defect, common to them all, is that the reaſon aſſigned by each concludes for the univerſality of this worſhip throughout paganiſm; whereas it was in fact peculiar to Egypt; and ſeen and owned to be ſo by theſe very Ancients themſelves.

I. The firſt opinion is that we find in CICERO *, who ſuppoſes the original to be *a grateful ſenſe of benefits received from animals.*

1. This labours under all the defects of an inadequate cauſe, as concluding both too much, and too little: Too much; becauſe, on this ground, brute-worſhip would have been common to all nations; but it was peculiar to the Egyptian and its colonies: Too little; 1. becauſe on this ground none but uſeful animals ſhould have been worſhipped; whereas ſeveral of the moſt uſeleſs and noxious † were

* See note [RRR], at the end of this Book.

† See note [SSS], at the end of this Book.

held

held ſacred. 2. *Plant worſhip* muſt then, in the nature of things, have been prior to, or at leaſt coeval with, that of *brutes*. But it was much later; and, on our theory, we ſee how this came to paſs; the *vegetable* world would not be explored, to find out hieroglyphical analogies, 'till the *animal* had been exhauſted.

II. Neither could *the doctrine of the metempſychoſis*, mentioned by DIODORUS *, be the origin of brute-worſhip: 1. Becauſe that opinion was common to all nations; but brute-worſhip peculiar to Egypt. The doctrine of the *metempſychoſis* flouriſheth, at this day, with greater vigour in India, than, perhaps, it ever did in any place or age of the world; yet it occaſions no worſhip, or religious veneration to thoſe animals which are ſuppoſed the receptacles of departed ſouls. A very exceſſive charity towards them it does indeeed afford. And this is the more remarkable, not only as this people are ſunk into the moſt ſordid ſuperſtitions, but becauſe, having learnt animal-worſhip of Egypt †, if the doctrine of the *metempſychoſis* had any natural tendency to inflame that ſuperſtition, they had by this time been totally devoted to it. 2. Becauſe the hypotheſis which makes *tranſmigration* the origin of brute-worſhip, muſt ſuppoſe brutes to be venerated as the receptable of *human* ſouls become deified: but the ancient Egyptians deified none but *heroic* and *demonic* ſouls: and ſouls of this order were not ſuppoſed ſubject to the common law of the *metempſychoſis* ‡. 3. The intruſion of thoſe ſouls into brutal bodies, according to the law of tranſmigration, was underſtood to be a puniſhment for crimes.

* Diodorus delivers this original, in his account of the ſuperſtitious worſhip of the Apis: Τῆς δὲ τοῦ βοὸς τέτε τιμῆς αἰτίαν ἔνιοι φέρεσι, λέγοντες ὅτι τελευτήσαντος Ὀσίριδος, εἰς τοῦτον ἡ ψυχὴ μετῆλθε, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα διατελεῖ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀεὶ καλὰ τὰς ἀναδείξεις αὐτοῦ μεθιστάμενη πρὸς τὰς μεταγενεστέρας. lib. i. p. 54.

† As appears from hence, that thoſe few animals, which are the objects of their religious worſhip, are ſuch as were formerly moſt reverenced in Egypt; and into ſuch, no ſouls are doomed by the law of tranſmigration; the reaſon of which we ſhall ſee preſently.

‡ The difference between *heroic*, *demonic*, and *human* ſouls, as it was conceived by the moſt early pagans, will be explained hereafter.

Their

Their priſon-houſe therefore could never become the object of adoration; but rather of averſion and abhorrence; as all *ſubterraneous* fire was amongſt the ancient Romans, and as that of *purgatory* is amongſt the modern. 4. Laſtly, the doctrine of the *metempſychoſis* was much later than the firſt practice of brute-worſhip; and evidently invented to remove objections againſt Providence *, when men began to ſpeculate and philoſophiſe. What ſeems to have given birth to this opinion of the origin of brute-worſhip, was the fancy of the later Egyptians, that the ſoul of Oſiris reſided in the Apis. Diodorus himſelf ſupports the conjecture: For, reckoning up the ſeveral opinions concerning the origin of brute-worſhip, when he comes to that of the *metempſychoſis*, he delivers it in a popular relation of the ſoul of Oſiris reſiding in the Apis.

III. The third opinion we find to be favoured by LUCIAN †: which is, that *the Egyptian invention of diſtinguiſhing the Conſtellations, and marking each of them with the name of ſome animal, gave the firſt occaſion to brute-worſhip.* But, 1. the ſame objection lies againſt this ſolution as againſt the two preceding: for this way of diſtinguiſhing the Aſteriſms was in uſe in all nations; but brute-worſhip was confined to Egypt and its colonies. 2. This way of ſolving the difficulty creates a greater: for then nothing will be left in antiquity ‡, to account for ſo extraordinary a cuſtom as the

* See vol. I. book II.

† Οἱ δὲ [Αἰγύπτιοι] καὶ ἄλλα ἐμήσαντο πολλῷ μείζω τουτέων· ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ παντὸς ἠέρος, καὶ ἀστέρων τῶν ἄλλων, ἀπλανέων τε καὶ εὐσταθέων, καὶ οὐδ' ἅμα κινεομένων, δυώδεκα μοίρας ἐτάμοντο ἐν τοῖσι κινεομένοισι, καὶ οἰκεῖα ζῶα ἐόντα, ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐς ἄλλην μορφὴν μεμιμέαται—ἀπὸ τέων δὴ καὶ ἱερὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια πολυειδέα ποιέεται· οὐ γὰρ πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκ τῶν δυώδεκα μοιρέων πασέων ἐμαντεύοντο, ἄλλοι δὲ, ἀλλοίῃσι μοίρῃσιν ἐχρέοντο· καὶ κριὸν μὲν σέβουσιν, ὁκόσοι ἐς κριὸν ἀπέβλεπον· ἰχθύας δὲ οὐ σιτέονται, ὁκόσοι ἰχθύας ἐπεσημήναντο· οὐδὲ τράγον κτείνουσιν, ὅσοι αἰγόκερων ᾔδεσαν—ναὶ μὴν καὶ Ταῦρον ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ ἠερίου Ταύρου σεβίζονται. De Aſtrologia, t. II. p. 363. edit. Reitzii, Amſt. 4to. 1743.

‡ I ſay, in Antiquity: for as to the ſolution of this point by the liberty of imagining, nothing is more eaſy. The French author of the Hiſtory of the Heavens has, by the mere force of imagination, removed all theſe difficulties; not only without any ſupport from Antiquity, but even in defiance of it.

giving

giving to one Conſtellation the form of a ram, to another the form of a ſcorpion, &c. when, in the apparent diſpoſition of thoſe ſtars, there was not ſo much reſemblance to any one part of any one animal as was ſufficient to ſet the fancy on work to make out the reſt. But if, for diſtinction ſake, thoſe things were to have a name which had no ſhape *, why then, as being of ſuch regard from their ſuppoſed influences, were they not rather honoured with the titles of their heroes than of their brutes? Would the polite Egyptian prieſts, who firſt animalized the Aſteriſms, do like Tom Otter in the comedy, bring their *Bulls* and *Bears* to court? would they exalt them into heaven before they had made any conſiderable figure upon earth? The fact is, indeed, juſt otherwiſe. It was brute-worſhip which gave birth to the Aſteriſms. That the conſtellations were firſt named and diſtinguiſhed by the Egyptians is agreed on all hands: that they were much later than the beginning of brute-worſhip is as evident; the confuſed multitude of ſtars not being thus ſorted into bands, till the Egyptian prieſts had made ſome conſiderable progreſs in aſtronomy: But brute-worſhip, we know from Scripture, was prior to the time of Moses. When they began to collect the ſtars into Conſtellations, a name was neceſſary to keep up the combination; and animals, now become the religious ſymbols of their Gods, afforded the apteſt means for that purpoſe: For, 1. it did honour to their heroes: 2. it ſupported their *aſtrology* (which always went along, and was often confounded with, their *aſtronomy*), it being underſtood to imply that their country Gods had now taken up their reſidence in Conſtellations of benignant influence.

IV. Nor is there any better foundation for the fourth opinion; which is that of Porphyry †; who ſuppoſes that *the doctrine of*

* Εἴδια σημαίνειν ἄφαρ δ' ὀνόμαστα γένοιτο
Ἄστρα—*Arat. in Φαινομ.*

† Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ὁρμώμενοι τῆς ἀσκήσεως, καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οἰκειώσεως, ἔγνωσαν, ὡς ὐ δι' ἀνθρώπου μόνου τὸ θεῖον διῆλθεν, ὅτι ψυχὴ ἐν μόνῳ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπὶ γῆς καλεσκήνωσεν, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἡ αὐτὴ διὰ πάντων διῆλθε τῶν ζώων· διὸ εἰς τὴν θεοποιΐαν παρέλαβον πᾶν ζῶον.—De Abſt. lib. iv.

God's

GOD's *pervading all things was the original of brute-worſhip.* But, 1. it proves too much: for according to this notion, every thing would have been the object of divine worſhip amongſt the early Egyptians; but we know many were not. 2. According to this notion, nothing could have been the object of their execration; but we know many were. This notion was never an opinion of the people, but of a few of the learned only: 4. And thoſe, not of the learned of Egypt, but of Greece *. In a word, this pretended original of brute-worſhip was only an invention of their late Philoſophers, to hide the deformities, and to ſupport the credit of declining Paganiſm †.

V. Akin to this, and invented for the ſame end, is what we find in JAMBLICHUS ‡; namely, *That brutes were deified only as the ſymbols of the firſt cauſe, conſidered in all his attributes and relations.* Groundleſs as this fancy is, yet as it is embraced by our beſt philologiſts, ſuch as Cudworth, Voſſius, and Kircher, on the faith of thoſe fanatic and inveterate enemies to Chriſtianity, Porphyry and Jamblichus, I ſhall endeavour to expoſe it as it deſerves. This will be the beſt done by conſidering the riſe and order of the *three great ſpecies of idolatry.* The firſt, in time, was, as we have ſhewn, the worſhip of the *heavenly bodies*; and this continued unmixed till the inſtitution of political Society: Then, another ſpecies aroſe, the deification of *dead kings and lawgivers.* Such was the courſe of idolatry in all places as well as in Egypt: but there, the method of recording the hiſtory of their hero Gods, in improved *hieroglyphics*, gave birth to the third ſpecies of idolatry, *brute-worſhip*; and

* See vol. I. part ii. † See vol. I.

‡ Πρότερον δή σοι βέλομαι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τὸν τρόπον τῆς θεολογίας διερμηνεῦσαι· ἔτοι γὰρ τὴν φύσιν τῷ παντὸς, καὶ τὴν δημιεργίαν τῶν θεῶν μιμέμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν μυστικῶν καὶ ἀποκεκρυμμένων καὶ ἀφανῶν νοήσεων εἰκόνας τινὰς διὰ συμβόλων ἐκφαίνεσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ φύσις τοῖς ἐμφανέσιν εἴδεσι τὰς ἀφανεῖς λόγους διὰ συμβόλων, τρόπον τινὰ, ἀπελυπώσαις· ἡ δὲ τῶν θεῶν δημιεργία, τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν εἰδῶν διὰ τῶν φανερῶν εἰκόνων ὑπογράψαις· εἰδότες ἓν χαίροιλα πάσα τὰ κρείττονα ὁμοιώσει τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων, καὶ βυλόμενοι αὐτὰ ἀγαθῶν ἔτω πληρῶν διὰ τῆς κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν μιμήσεως, εἰκότως καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν προσφορον αὐτοῖς τρόπον τῆς κεκρυμμένης ἐν τοῖς συμβόλοις μυσαγωγίας προτίθεσιν. De Myſt. Ægypt. ſect. 7. c. i.

this was peculiar to Egypt and its colonies. Now as the method uſed by all nations, of ingrafting *hero-worſhip* on *ſtar-worſhip*, occaſioned the Philologiſts to miſtake * the former as ſymbolical of the latter; ſo the method, uſed by the Egyptians (mentioned a little before) of ſupporting brute-worſhip, which was really ſymbolical of their hero Gods, made the ſame writers think it to be originally ſymbolical of ſtar-Gods, and even of the firſt Cauſe. Thus the very learned Voſſius fell into two miſtakes: 1. That hero-worſhip was ſymbolical of ſtar-worſhip: 2. That brute-worſhip was ſymbolical of it likewiſe. The conſequence of which was, that the ſyſtem of phyſical-theology, which was, indeed, one of the laſt ſciences of the Egyptian *ſchool*, was ſuppoſed to be the firſt; and hero-worſhip, which was indeed the firſt religion of the Egyptian *church*, was ſuppoſed to be the laſt. This is no more than ſaying, that (for reaſons given before) the Magiſtrate would very early inſtitute the worſhip of their dead benefactors, and that the Philoſopher could have no occaſion, till many ages afterwards (when men grew inquiſitive or licentious), to hide the ignominy of it, by making thoſe hero Gods only ſhadowy Beings, and no more than emblems of the ſeveral parts of nature †.

Now though the doctrine of this early *phyſical Theology*, as explained by the Greeks, makes very much for the high antiquity of Egyptian learning, the point I am concerned to prove; yet as my only end is truth, in all theſe enquiries, I can, with the ſame pleaſure, confute an error which ſupports my ſyſtem, that I have in detecting thoſe which made againſt it.

The common notion of theſe Philologiſts, we ſee, brings Hero-worſhip, by conſequence, very low; and as ſome of their followers have purſued that conſequence, I ſhall beg leave to examine their reaſonings. The learned author of the *Connections* puſhes the matter very far:—"It does not appear from this table [the *Bembine*] "that the Egyptians worſhipped any idols of human ſhape, at the

* See the firſt volume.

† See note [TTT], at the end of this Book.

"time

Fig. 3.

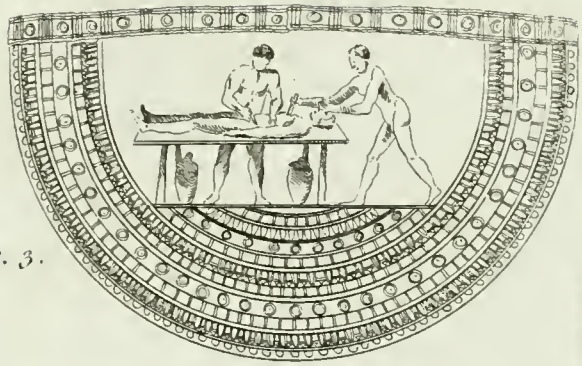


Fig. 2.

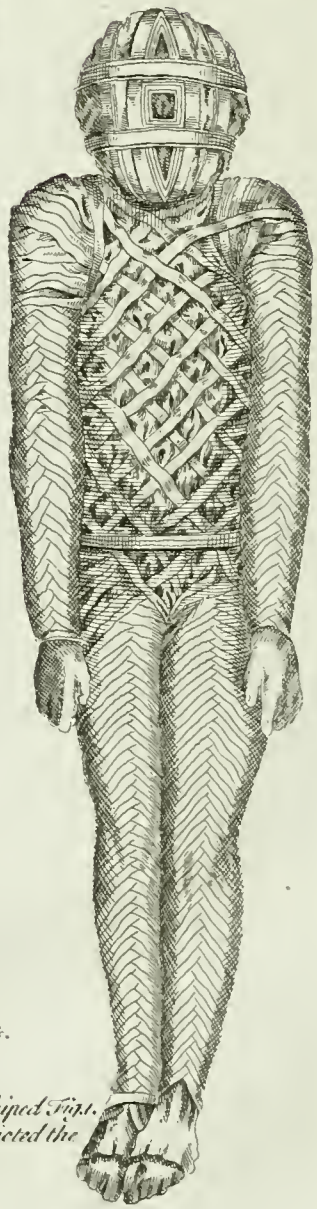


Fig. 1.

Fig. 1. from the Bembine Table.
Fig. 2. A Mummy from Kirchers Oedipus.
This Mummy Fig. 2. shews what sort of Idol it is we see worshiped Fig. 1.
Fig. 3. The Pictorial Cloth of a Mummy Fig. 2. on which is depicted the office and manner of embalming From Kirchers Oedipus.

" time when this table was compoſed; but rather, on the contrary, " all the images herein repreſented, before which any perſons are " deſcribed in poſtures of adoration, being the figures of birds, " beaſts, or fiſhes; this table ſeems to have been delineated BEFORE " the Egyptians worſhipped the images of men and women; " WHICH WAS THE LAST AND LOWEST STEP OF THEIR IDOLA- " TRY *." Now the whole of this obſervation will, I am afraid, only amount to an *illogical conſequence* drawn from *a falſe fact*; let the reader judge. *All the images* (he ſays) *herein repreſented, before which any perſons are deſcribed, in poſtures of adoration, are the figures of birds, beaſts, and fiſhes.* I was ſome time in doubt whether the learned writer and I had ſeen the ſame table: for in that given us by Kircher, the whole body of the picture is filled up with the greater Egyptian Gods in HUMAN SHAPE; before ſeveral of which, are other human figures in poſtures of adoration; unleſs the learned writer will confine that poſture to kneeling; which yet he brings no higher than the time of Solomon †. Some of theſe worſhippers are repreſented *ſacrificing* ‡; others in the act of offering; and offering to Gods inthroned §. One of which figures I have cauſed to be engraved ||, where a mummy from Kircher's *Oedipus* ** will ſhew us what ſort of idol it is which we ſee worſhipped by offerings ††. With regard to the kneeling poſtures of adoration, to birds, beaſts, and fiſhes, theſe are in a narrow border of the table, which runs round the principal compartments. The learned writer indeed ſeems to make a matter of it, " that all the images that kneel are " repreſented as paying their worſhip to ſome animal figure; there " not being one inſtance or repreſentation of this worſhip paid to " an image of human form, either on the border or in the table ‡‡."

* Sacred and Profane Hiſtory of the World connected, vol. II. p. 320.

† Ibid. p. 317.

‡ As at [S. V.]

§ As at [T. Φ.] [O. Σ] and [S. X.]

|| See plate IX. fig. 1. ** Fig. 2. plate IX. †† Fig. 1.

‡‡ Sacred and Profane Hiſtory of the World connected, vol. II. p. 318.

But ſurely there is no myſtery in this. The table was apparently made for the devotees of Iſis in Rome *. Now, amongſt the Romans, brute-worſhip was ſo uncommon, that the artiſt thought proper to mark it out by the moſt diſtinguiſhed poſture of adoration; while the worſhip of the greater Hero-Gods, a worſhip like their own, was ſufficiently deſigned by the ſole acts of offering and ſacrifice.

But ſuppoſing the fact to have been as the writer of theſe *Connections* repreſents it; how, I aſk, would his conſequence follow, *That the table was made* BEFORE *the Egyptians worſhipped the images of men and women?* It depends altogether on this ſuppoſition, that Brute-worſhip was not ſymbolical of Hero-worſhip; but the contrary hath been ſhewn. The learned author himſelf muſt own that Apis, at leaſt, was the *ſymbol* of the Hero-God Oſiris. But can any one believe, he was not worſhipped in his own figure before he was delineated under that of an ox? To ſay the truth, had this author's fact been right, it had been a much juſter conſequence, *That the table was made* AFTER *the Egyptians had generally left off worſhipping the images of men and women*; for it is certain, the ſymbolic worſhip of brutes brought human images into diſuſe. Who can doubt but human images of Hero-Gods were uſed in Egypt long before the time of Strabo? yet he tells us †, that in their temples (of which he gives a general deſcription) they either had no images, or none of human form, but of ſome beaſt. He could not mean in thoſe temples dedicated to animals; for where had been the wonder of that? nor will this diſuſe of human images appear ſtrange to thoſe who reflect on what hath been ſaid of theſe *Symbols*, which being ſuppoſed given by the Gods themſelves, their uſe in religious worſhip would be thought moſt pleaſing to the givers.

* See note [UUU], at the end of this Book.

† Τῆς δὲ κατασκευῆς τῶν ἱερῶν ἡ διάθεσις τοιαύτη. Κατὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν τὴν εἰς τὸ τέμενος, &c.—— μετὰ δὲ τὰ προπύλαια, ὁ νεὼς πρόναον ἔχων μέγαν, καὶ ἀξιόλογον· τὸν δὲ σηκὸν σύμμετρον, ξόανον δὲ ἔχειν, ἢ οὐκ ἀνθρωπόμορφον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων τινός.

Geogr. lib. xvii. p. 1158, 1159. Amſt. ed.

This

This concluſion is further ſtrengthened by theſe conſiderations: 1. That the age of the *table* is ſo far from being of the antiquity conceived by the learned writer, that it is the very lateſt of all the old Egyptian monuments; as appears from the mixture of all kinds of hieroglyphic characters in it. 2. That on almoſt all the obeliſks * in Kircher's *Theatrum Hieroglyphicum*, which are undoubtedly very ancient, we ſee adoration given to idols in human form; and likewiſe in that very way the learned author ſo much inſiſts upon, namely *Genuflexion*.

Thus, though from the *Bembine-table* nothing can be concluded for the high date of heroic image-worſhip, yet nothing can be concluded for the low. However the learned writer will ſtill ſuppoſe (what every one is ſo apt to do) that he is in the right; and therefore tries to maintain his ground by fact and reaſon.

His argument from *fact* ſtands thus:—"The Egyptians relate a "very remarkable fable of the birth of theſe five Gods. They ſay "that Rhea lay privately with Saturn, and was with child by him; "that the Sun, upon finding out her baſeneſs, laid a curſe upon "her, that ſhe ſhould not be delivered in any month or year: That "Mercury being in love with the goddeſs lay with her alſo; and "then played at dice with the Moon, and won from her the ſeventy "ſecond part of each day, and made up of theſe winnings five "days, which he added to the year, making the year to conſiſt "of three hundred ſixty-five days, which before conſiſted of "three hundred ſixty days only; and that in theſe days Rhea "brought forth five children, Oſiris, Orus, Typho, Iſis, and "Nephthe. We need not enquire into the mythology of this fable; "what I remark from it is this, that the fable could not be in-"vented before the Egyptians had found out that the year conſiſted "of three hundred and ſixty-five days, and conſequently that by "their own accounts the five deities ſaid to be born on the five "ἐπαγόμεναι, or additional days, were not deified before they knew

* Namely the Lateran of Rameſſes, the Flaminian of Pſammitichus, the Salluſtian, and the Conſtantinopolitan.

"that

" that the year had theſe five days added to it; and this addition " to the year was made about—*A. M.* 2665, a little after the death " of Joſhua *."

I agree with this learned author, that *the fable could not be invented before the Egyptians had found out that the year conſiſted of three hundred and ſixty-five days*; I agree with him, that *the addition of the five days might be made about* A. M. 2665; but I deny the conſequence, that *the five Gods were not deified before this addition to the year*; nay, I deny that it will follow from the fable, that the makers and venders of it ſo thought. What hath miſled the learned writer ſeems to be his ſuppoſing that the fable was made to commemorate the deification of the five Gods, whereas it was made to commemorate the inſertion of the five days; as appears from its being told in that figurative and allegoric manner in which the Egyptians uſually conveyed the hiſtory of their ſcience: and it was ever the way of Antiquity, to make the Gods a party, in order to give the greater reverence to the inventions of men. A deſign to commemorate the *time of deification* was ſo abſurd a thing in the politics of a Pagan prieſt, that we can never believe he had any thing of that kind in view: it was his buſineſs to throw the Godhead back before all time; or at leaſt to place it from time immemorial. But admitting the maker of this fable intended to celebrate in general the hiſtory of theſe five gods, can we think that he, who was hunting after the marvelous, would confine his invention within the incloſure of dates? a matter too of ſo dangerous a nature to be inſiſted on. We know (and we now, partly, ſee the reaſon of it) that the ancient mythologiſts affected to confound all chronology; a miſchief which hath ſo ſhaken the crazy edifice of ancient times, that the beſt chronologiſts have rather buried themſelves in its ruins, than been able to lead others through it: beſides, it is evident that new lies were every year told of their old Gods. Let him who doubts of this conſider what additions

* Connect. vol. II. p. 283, 284.

following

following poets and theologers have made to the fables which Homer and Heſiod had recorded of the Gods; additions, ſeen, by their very circumſtances, not to have been invented when thoſe ancient bards ſung of their intrigues. In theſe later fables we frequently find the Gods of Greece and Egypt concerned in adventures, whoſe dates, if meaſured by determined ſynchroniſms, would bring down their births to ages even lower than their long eſtabliſhed worſhip. The not attending to this has, as will be ſeen hereafter, egregiouſly miſled the incomparable Sir Iſaac Newton in his *ancient Chronology*. Thus the ſame author *, Plutarch, tells us, in the ſame place, of another Egyptian fable which makes *Typhon beget Hieroſolymus and Judæus* †. But what then? muſt we believe, that Typhon was no earlier than the name of Judæus? muſt we not rather conclude, that this was a late ſtory invented of him out of hatred and contempt of the Hebrews?

In a word, this practice of adding new mythology to their old divinity was ſo notorious, that the learned *Connector of ſacred and prophane hiſtory* could not himſelf forbear taking notice of it: "The "Egyptians (ſays he) having firſt called their heroes by the names "of their *ſiderial* and *elementary* deities, ADDED IN TIME TO THE "HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND ACTIONS OF SUCH HEROES, A MY-"THOLOGICAL *account of their philoſophical opinions* concerning the "Gods whoſe names had been given to ſuch heroes ‡.

"But, ſays this writer, had *Oſiris*, *Orus*, *Typho*, *Iſis*, and *Nephthe*, "been eſteemed deities before this additional length of the year was "apprehended, *we ſhould not have had this, but ſome other fabulous* "*account of their birth tranſmitted to us* §." Here the premiſſes and concluſion are ſeverally propped up by two falſe ſuppoſitions;

* If. & Of.

† Tacitus ſeems to allude to this paltry fable: *Quidam, regnante Iſide, exundantem per Ægyptum multitudinem, ducibus* Hieroſolyma & Juda, *proximas in terras exoneratam.* Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 2.

‡ Connect. vol. II. p. 300, 301.

§ Vol. II. p. 284.

the

the premiſſes, by this, that the fable was invented to *commemorate the origin of theſe gods*; and the concluſion, by this, that we have no *other fabulous account of their birth.*

From fact, the learned writer comes to reaſon; and ſpeaking of the Egyptian Hero-Gods, who, he ſuppoſes, were ante-diluvian mortals, he ſays:—"But I do not imagine they were deified until "about this time of correcting the year; for when this humour "firſt began, it is not likely that they made Gods of men but juſt "dead, of whoſe infirmities and imperfections many perſons might "be living witneſſes: but they took the names of their firſt an-"ceſtors, whom they had been taught to honour for ages, and "whoſe fame had been growing by the increaſe of tradition, and "all whoſe imperfections had been long buried, that it might be "thought they never had any.—It is hard to be conceived that a "ſet of men could ever be choſen by their contemporaries to have "divine honours paid them, whilſt numerous perſons were alive, "who knew their imperfections, or who themſelves or their im-"mediate anceſtors might have as fair a pretence, and come in "competition with them. Alexander the Great had but ill ſucceſs "in his attempt to make the world believe him the ſon of Jupiter "Ammon; nor could Numa Pompilius, the ſecond king of Rome, "make Romulus's tranſlation to heaven ſo firmly believed, as not "to leave room for ſubſequent hiſtorians to report him killed by "his ſubjects. Nor can I conceive that Julius Cæſar's canoniza-"tion, though it was contrived more politically, would ever have "ſtood long indiſputable, if the light of Chriſtianity had not ap-"peared ſo ſoon after this time as it did, and impaired the credit "of the heathen ſuperſtitions. The fame of deceaſed perſons muſt "have ages to grow up to heaven, and divine honours cannot "be given with any ſhew of DECENCY, but by a late poſte-"rity *."

* Connect. vol. ii. p. 286, 287.

He

He ſays, *it is not likely they made Gods of men but juſt dead, of whoſe infirmities and imperfections many perſons might be living witneſſes.* How *likely* ſhall be conſidered preſently; but that they did in fact do ſo, is too plain, methinks, to be denied. The learned Euſebius, a competent judge (if ever there was any) of ancient fact, delivers it as a notorious truth, that in the early ages, thoſe who excelled in wiſdom, ſtrength, or valour, who had eminently contributed to the common ſafety, or had greatly advanced the arts of life, were either deified during life, or immediately on their deceaſe *: This he had reaſon to believe, for he had good authority, the venerable hiſtory of Sanchoniathon the Phenician; which gives a very particular account of the origin of Hero-worſhip, and expreſſly ſays the deification was immediate: And ſurely, when men were become ſo fooliſh as to make Gods of their fellow-creatures, the *likelieſt*, as well as moſt excuſable ſeaſon was, while the heat of gratitude, for new-invented bleſſings, kept glowing in their hearts; or, at leaſt, while the ſenſe of thoſe bleſſings was yet freſh and recent in their memories; in a word, while they were warmed with that enthuſiaſtic *love* and *admiration* which our great poet ſo ſublimely deſcribes:

" 'Twas virtue only (or in Arts or Arms,
" Diffuſing bleſſings, or averting harms)
" The ſame, which in a ſire the ſons obey'd,
" A prince, the father of a people made.
" On him their ſecond providence they hung,
" Their law his eye, their oracle his tongue.
" He from the wond'ring furrow call'd the food;
" Taught to command the fire, controul the flood,

* —τρίτοι δὲ ἄλλοι, σοφᾶς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ γῆς ῥίψαντες· τὰς ἐπὶ συνέσει τῶν κατ' αὐτὸς προφέρειν νομισμένους, ἢ κ᾽ ῥώμη σώματος, κ᾽ δυναστείας ἰσχύει τῶν πλειόνων ἐπικρατήσαντας, γίγαντάς τινας, ἢ τυράννους, ἢ κ᾽ γόητας, κ᾽ φαρμακέας ἄνδρας, ἔκ τινος τῶν θειοτέρων ἀποπλώσεως, τὰς κακοδέχους γοητείας συνεσκευασμένους· ἢ κ᾽ τὲς ἄλλες κοινῆς τέ τινος κ᾽ βιαφελοῦς εὐεργεσίας πρυτάνεις, ζωντάς τε ἔτι κ᾽ μετὰ τελευτὴν θεοὺς ἐπιφήμισαν. Præp. Evang. lib. ii. cap. 5.

" Draw forth the monſters of th' abyſs profound,
" And fetch th' aerial eagle to the ground *.

Was there any wonder in this, that he who taught mankind to ſubject all the elements to their uſe, ſhould, by a rude admiring multitude, be adjudged a Being of a ſuperior order?

But they took the names of their firſt anceſtors, whoſe fame had been growing up by the increaſe of tradition. Without doubt, the anceſtors, men deified, and which, as being extreme early, may be called the *firſt*, had a very large and ſpreading reputation. But how was this procured but by an early apotheoſis? which, by making them the continual ſubject of hymns and panegyrics, preſerved them from the oblivion of thoſe unletter'd ages: And in fact, the fame of all, but thoſe ſo deified, was very ſoon extinct and forgotten.

—And all whoſe imperfections had been long buried, that it might be thought they never had any. By this, one would be apt to think that the Hero-Gods of Greece and Egypt, whoſe deification the learned writer would bring thus low, had nothing unſeemly told of them in their Legends: Which, were it true, the argument would have ſome weight. But what ſchool-boy has not read of the rogueries which the Pagan worſhippers have every where recorded of their Gods? Are not theſe a convincing proof of their deification by that very age which ſaw both their virtues and their vices; but, with the fondneſs of times newly obliged, ſaw nothing but in an honourable light †; and ſo unhappily canonized both the good and the bad together, and, in that condition, delivered them all down to poſterity? Not that I ſuppoſe (for I have juſt

* Eſſay on Man, Ep. iii.

† —Quæ iſta juſtitia eſt, nobis ſuccenſere, quòd talia dicimus de diis eorum; & ſibi non ſuccenſere, qui hæc in Theatris libentiſſimè ſpectant crimina deorum ſuorum? & quod eſſet incredibile, niſi conteſtatiſſime probaretur, hæc ipſa theatrica crimina deorum ſuorum IN HONOREM INSTITUTA SUNT eorundem deorum. Auguſt. de civit. Dei, l. iv. c. 10.

ſhewn

ſhewn the contrary) that late poets and mythologiſts did not add to the tales of their forefathers. I can hardly believe Jupiter to have been guilty of all the adulteries told of him in Ovid: But this one may ſafely ſay, that unleſs he had been a famed Adulterer, in early tradition, his later worſhippers had never dared to invent ſo many odious ſtories of the *Sire of gods and men.*

But, *it is hard to be conceived that they ſhould have divine honours immediately paid them, becauſe their contemporaries might have as fair a pretence, and come in competition with them.* I underſtood that *none* were deified but thoſe whoſe benefits to their fellow-citizens, or to mankind at large, were very eminent; and that *all* with theſe pretenſions were deified; ſo that I ſcarce know what to make of this obſervation.

—But *Alexander and Cæſar's apotheoſes were ſcorned and laughed at* *. And ſo they deſerved. For if they, or their flatterers for them, would needs affect deification in a learned and enlightened age and place, no other could be expected from ſo abſurd an attempt. But then thoſe, who knew better how to lay a religious project, found no impediment from their *nearneſs* to its execution. Thus Odin †, about this very Cæſar's time, aſpired to immediate worſhip amongſt a rude and barbarous people (the only ſcene for playing the farce with ſucceſs), and had as good fortune in it, as either Oſiris, Jupiter, or Belus.

—*Nor could Numa Pompilius make Romulus's tranſlation to heaven ſo firmly believed, as not to leave room for ſubſequent hiſtorians to report him killed by his ſubjects.* Here the writer conſcious that Antiquity oppoſed his hypotheſis of the *late* deification of their early heroes,

* Plutarch uſes this very argument againſt Euhemerus, to prove that their country gods *never* were mortal Men. Περὶ ΙΣ. ϗ ΟΣ. p. 641.

† Odinus *ſupremus eſt & antiquiſſimus Aſarum, qui omnes res gubernat; atque etiamſi cæteri Dii potentes ſint, omnes tamen ipſi inſerviunt, ut patri liberi.—Cum Pompeius dux quidam Romanorum Orientem bellis infeſtaret,* Odinus *ex Aſia huc in ſeptentrionem fugiebat.* Edda Snorronis apud Thom. Bartholin. de Antiq. Danic. p. 648 & 652.

with many glaring examples to the contrary, has thought fit to produce one * which he fancied he could deal with. *Romulus's tranſlation was never ſo firmly believed but that* SUBSEQUENT HISTORIANS, *&c.* As if at all times ſpeculative men did not ſee the origin of their beſt eſtabliſhed Hero-gods: As if we could forget, what the learned writer himſelf takes care to tell us in this very place, that *Euhemerus Meſſenius wrote a book to prove the ancient gods of the heathen world to have been only their ancient kings and commanders* †.

The fame of deceaſed perſons (ſays he) *muſt have ages to grow up to heaven.—Muſt!* that is, in ſpite of a barbarous multitude, who would make Gods of them out of hand: in ſpite of ancient Story, which tells us plainly, they had their wicked wills.

—And divine honours cannot be given with any ſhew of decency but by a late poſterity. It muſt be confeſſed, the Ancients obſerved much *decency* when, in the number of their greater Gods, they admitted raviſhers, adulterers, pathics, vagabonds, thieves, and murderers.

But now the learned writer, in toiling to bring hero-worſhip thus low, draws a heavier labour on himſelf; to invent ſome probable cauſe of the *apotheoſis*: that warmth of gratitude for god-like benefits received, which ancient hiſtory had ſo ſatisfactorily aſſigned for the cauſe, being now quite out of date. For when gratitude is ſuffered to cool for many ages, there will want ſome very ſtrong machine to draw theſe mortals up to heaven. However, our author has ſupplied them with a moſt ſplendid vehicle. "Some ages after "(ſays he) they deſcended to worſhip heroes or dead men.—The "moſt celebrated deities they had of this ſort were Cronus, Rhea, "Oſiris, Orus, Typhon, Iſis, and Nepthe; and theſe perſons "were ſaid to be deified upon an opinion that, at their deaths, "their ſouls migrated into ſome STAR, and became the animating

* See note [XXX], at the end of this Book.

† P. 288. See the firſt volume of the Divine Legation.

"ſpirit

" ſpirit of ſome luminous and heavenly body: This the Egyptian " prieſts expreſſly aſſerted.—Let us now ſee when the Egyptians " firſt conſecrated theſe hero-gods, or deified mortals. To this I " anſwer, Not before they took notice of the appearances of the " particular *ſtars* which they appropriated to them. Julius Cæſar " was not canonized until the appearance of the *Julium Sidus*, nor " *could the Phenicians have any notion* of the divinity of Cronus until " they made ſome obſervations of the *ſtar* which they imagined he " was removed into *."

He ſays, *the Egyptian prieſts* EXPRESSLY ASSERTED *that theſe perſons were ſaid to be deified* upon an opinion *that at their death their ſouls migrated into ſome ſtar.* And for this he quotes a paſſage out of Plutarch's tract of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*; which I ſhall give the reader in Plutarch's own words, that he may judge for himſelf. Speaking of the tombs of the Gods, he ſays: *But the prieſts affirm not only of theſe, but of all the other Gods, of that tribe which were not unbegotten nor immortal, that their dead bodies are depoſited amongſt them and preſerved with great care, but that their ſouls illuminate the ſtars in heaven* †. All here *aſſerted* is that the Egyptians thought the ſouls of their hero-gods had migrated into ſome ſtar; but not the leaſt intimation that *they were deified upon this opinion of their migration.* Theſe are two very different things. The opinion of their migration might, for any thing ſaid by Plutarch, be an after ſuperſtition; nay we ſhall make it very probable that it was ſo: for the *Connector* not reſting on this authority, as indeed he had ſmall reaſon, caſts about for ſome plauſible occaſion, how men come to be deified upon ſo ſtrange *an opinion*; and this he makes to be *their* FIRST *notice of the appearance of a particular ſtar.* But how the new appearance of a ſtar ſhould make men ſuppoſe the ſoul of a dead anceſtor was got into it, and ſo become a God, is

* Connect. vol. ii. p. 281, 282, 283.

† Οὐ μόνοι δὲ τέτων οἱ ἱερεῖς λέγεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ὅσοι μὴ ἀγγίνησι μηδὲ ἄφθαρσι, τὰ μὲν σώματα παρ' αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι καμόντα καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἐν ἐρανῷ λάμπειν ἄστρα. pag. 640. Edit. Steph. 8vo.

as

as hard to conceive as how Tenterden ſteeple ſhould be the cauſe of Goodwin-Sands. Indeed, it was natural enough to imagine ſuch an ἐπιφάνεια, when the cultivation of *judicial aſtrology* had aided a growing ſuperſtition to believe that their tutelary God had choſen the convenient reſidence of a culminating ſtar, in order to ſhed his beſt influence on his own race or people. This ſeems to be the truth of the caſe: and this, I believe, was all the Egyptian prieſts, in Plutarch, meant to ſay.

But from a *ſufficient cauſe*, this *new appearance* is become (before the concluſion of the paragraph) the *only cauſe* of deification: *Julius Cæſar was not canonized until the appearance of the Julium Sidus: nor* COULD *the Phenicians have any notion of the divinity of Cronus until they made ſome obſervations of the ſtar which they imagined he was removed into.* As to Cæſar's apotheoſis it was a vile imitation of thoſe viler flatteries of Alexander's ſucceſſors in Greece and Egypt; and the *Julium Sidus* an incident of no other conſequence than to ſave his ſycophants from bluſhing. But abandoned Courtiers and proſtitute Senates never wait for the declaration of Heaven: and when the ſlaves of Rome ſent a ſecond tribe of Mouſters to repleniſh the Conſtellations, we find that Auguſtus, Tiberius, Claudius, *&c.* who roſe into Gods as they ſunk below humanity, had no more Stars in their favour than Teague in the Committee. But of all caſes, the Phenicians' ſeems the hardeſt: who with their infinite ſuperſtitions could yet have no notion of Cronus's divinity, 'till they had read his fortune in his Star. I am ſo utterly at a loſs to know what this can mean, that I will only ſay, if the reader cannot ſee how they might come by this notion another way, then, either he has read, or I have written, a great deal to very little purpoſe.

VI. We come now to the laſt cauſe aſſigned by the Ancients for brute-worſhip, as we find it in EUSEBIUS *; namely, That it

* See Div. Leg. vol. I.

was

was the invention of a certain king, for his private ends of policy, to eſtabliſh in each city the excluſive worſhip of a different animal, in order to prevent confederacies and combinations againſt his Government. That an Egyptian king did in fact contrive ſuch a political inſtitution one may ſafely allow, becauſe, on this very ſuppoſition, it will appear that brute-worſhip had another and prior original. For it is not the way of Politicians to invent new Religions, but to turn thoſe to advantage which they find already in uſe. The cunning, therefore, of this Egyptian monarch conſiſted in founding a new inſtitution of *intolerance*, upon an old eſtabliſhed practice in each city of different *animal-worſhip*. But ſuppoſing this king of ſo peculiar a ſtrain of policy that he would needs invent a new Religion; How happened it that he did not employ *hero-worſhip* to this purpoſe (ſo natural a ſuperſtition that it became univerſal) rather than the whimſical and monſtrous practice of *brute-worſhip*, not ſymbolical, when direct hero-worſhip would have ſerved his purpoſe ſo much better; religious zeal for the excluſive honour of a dead citizen being likely to riſe much higher than reverence to a compatriot animal? The only ſolution of the difficulty is this, Brute-worſhip being then the favourite ſuperſtition of the people, the politic monarch choſe that for the foundation of his contrivance. So that we muſt needs conclude, this pretended cauſe to be as defective as the reſt.

Theſe were the reaſons the Greek writers gave for *brute-worſhip* in general. But beſides theſe, they invented a thouſand fanciful cauſes of the worſhip of this or that animal in particular; which it would be to no purpoſe to recount.

On the whole, ſo little ſatisfaction did theſe writers afford to the learned Fourmont (who yet is for making ſomething or other out of every rag of Antiquity, which he can pick up and new-line with an Etymology), that he frankly owns the true original of brute-worſhip is the moſt difficult thing imaginable to find out: *Si on nous demandoit* (ſays he) *de quel droit, tel ou tel dieu, avoit*

fous

ſous lui tel ou tel animal, pour certain, rien de plus difficile à deviner *.

However, amidſt this confuſion, the Greeks, we ſee, were modeſt. They fairly gave us their opinions, but forged no hiſtories to ſupport them. The Arabian writers were of another caſt: it was their way to free themſelves from theſe perplexities by telling a ſtory: Thus Abennephi, being at a loſs to account for the Egyptian worſhip of a fly, invents this formal tale, That the Egyptians being greatly infeſted with theſe inſects conſulted the oracle, and were anſwered, that they muſt pay them divine honours. *See then*, ſays this dextrous writer, *the reaſon of our finding ſo many on the obeliſks and pyramids.*

But of all the liberties taken with remote Antiquity, ſure nothing ever equalled that of a late French writer, whoſe book, intituled, Histoire du Ciel, accidentally fell into my hands as this ſheet was going to the preſs. Kircher, bewildered as he was, had yet ſome ground for his rambles. He fairly followed Antiquity: unluckily indeed, for him, it proved the *ignis fatuus* of Antiquity; ſo he was ridiculouſly miſled. However he had enough of that fantaſtic light to ſecure his credit as a fair writer. But here is a man who regards Antiquity no more than if he thought it all imaginary, like his countryman, Hardouin. At leaſt, he tells us in expreſs words, that the ſtudy of the tedious and ſenſeleſs writings of Herodotus, Plato, Diodorus, Plutarch, Porphyry, and ſuch like, is all labour loſt. The truth is, theſe volatile writers can neither reſt in fact nor fable; but are in letters what Tacitus's Romans were in civil government, who could neither bear a perfect freedom, nor a thorough ſlavery †. Only with this additional perverſity, that when the inquiry is after Truth they betray a ſtrange propenſity to Fable; and when Fable is their profeſſed ſub-

* Reſl. Crit. ſur les hiſtoires des anciens peuples, liv. ii. § 4.

† This ſhews why Locke is no favourite of our hiſtorian. J'ai lû le tres-ennuieux traité de Locke *ſur l'entendement humain*, &c. Vol. i. p. 387, 388.

ject,

ject, they have as untimely an appetite for Truth; thus, in that philoſophical Romance called *La vie de Sethos*, we find a much juſter account of old Egyptian wiſdom than in all the pretended *Hiſtoire de Ciel.* This Hiſtorian's Syſtem is, that all the civil and religious cuſtoms of Antiquity ſprung up from AGRICULTURE; nay that the very Gods and Goddeſſes themſelves were but a part of this all-bounteous harveſt *:

Nec ulla interea eſt inaratæ gratia terræ.

Now the two moſt certain facts in Antiquity are theſe, "That the idolatrous worſhip of the HEAVENLY BODIES aroſe from the viſible influence they have on ſublunary things;" and "That the country-gods of all the civilized nations were DEAD MEN deified, whoſe benefits to their fellow-citizens, or to mankind at large, had procured them divine honours." Could the reader think either of theſe were likely to be denied by one who ever looked into an ancient book; much leſs by one who pretended to *interpret* Antiquity? But neither Gods nor Men can ſtand before a *ſyſtem.* This great adventurer aſſures us that the whole is a deluſion; that Antiquity knew nothing of the matter; that the *heavenly bodies* were not worſhipped for their influences; that Oſiris, Iſis, Jupiter, Pluto, Neptune, Mercury, nay their very hero-gods, ſuch as Hercules and Minos, were not *mortal men nor women*; nor indeed any thing but the letters of an ancient alphabet; the mere figures which compoſed the ſymbolic directions to the Egyptian huſbandmen †. And yet, after all this, he has the modeſty to talk of SYSTEMES BIZARRES ‡; and to place the *Newtonian ſyſtem* in that number. It would be impertinent to aſk this writer, where was his regard to Antiquity or to Truth, when we ſee he has ſo little for the public, as to be wanting even in that mere reſpect due to

* See p. 99, 315, & paſſim, vol. i. Ed. Par. 1739, 8vo.

† See note [YYY], at the end of this Book.

‡ See p. 122. of his Reviſion de l'hiſtoire du Ciel.

every reader of common apprehenſion? and yet this *Syſtem*, begot by a delirious imagination on the dream of a lethargic pedant, is to be called *interpreting Antiquity* *. However, as it is a work of entertainment, where AGRICULTURE has the top part in the piece, and Antiquity is brought in only to decorate the ſcene, it ſhould, methinks, be made as perfect as poſſible. Would it not therefore be a conſiderable improvement to it, if, inſtead of ſaying the Egyptian huſbandmen found their gods in the ſymbolic directions for their labour, the ingenious author would ſuppoſe that they turned them up alive as they ploughed their furrows, juſt as the Etruſcans found their god Tages †: This would give his piece the *marvelous*, ſo neceſſary in works of this nature, corrected too by the probable, that is, ſome kind of ſupport from Antiquity, which it now totally wants. Beſides, the moiſt glebe of Egypt, we know, when impregnated with a warm Sun, was of old famed for hatching men ‡ and monſters.

To return. From what hath been laſt ſaid, we conclude, That the true original of *brute-worſhip* was the uſe of *ſymbolic writing*: and, conſequently, that Symbols were extreme ancient; for brute worſhip was national in the days of MOSES. But Symbols were invented for the repoſitory of Egyptian wiſdom; therefore the Egyptians were very learned even from thoſe early times: The point to be proved.

And now, had this long diſcourſe on the *Egyptian Hieroglyphics* done nothing but afford me this auxiliary proof, which my argu-

* S'il y a même quelque choſe de ſolide & de ſuivi dans l'hiſtoire, que je vais donner de l'origine du ciel poetique, j'avoue que j'en ſuis redevable à l'explication ingénieuſe, mais ſimple, par laquelle l'auteur des ſaturnelles [Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. cap. 17.] nous a éclairci l'origine du nom des ces deux ſignes. Hiſt. du ciel, vol. I. c. 1.

† *Tages* quidam dicitur in agro Tarquinienſi, cum terra araretur & ſulcus altius eſſet impreſſus, extitiſſe repente, & eum adfatus eſſe, qui arabas. Is autem *Tages*, ut in libris eſt Etruſcorum, puerili ſpecie dicitur viſus, ſed ſenili fuiſſe prudentia, &c. Cic. de Div. lib. ii. cap. 23.

‡ Δῆμοι Ἐρεχθῆος μεγαλήτορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη
Θρέψε, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος ἄρουρα. Il. ii. ver. 547.

ment

ment does not want, I ſhould certainly have made it ſhorter. But it is of much uſe beſides, for attaining a true idea of the EASTERN ELOCUTION (whoſe genius is greatly influenced by this kind of writing), and is therefore, I preſume, no impropet introduction to the preſent volume, whoſe ſubject is the religion and civil policy of the Hebrews. The excellent Mr. Mede pointed to this uſe: and the learned Mr. Daubuz endeavoured to proſecute his hint, at large; but falling into the viſions of Kircher, he fruſtrated much of that ſervice, which the application of hieroglyphic learning to ſcripture language would otherwiſe have afforded.

A farther advantage may be derived from this long diſcourſe: it may open our way to the true Egyptian Wiſdom; which by reaſon of the general miſtakes concerning the origin, uſe, and diſtinct ſpecies of Hieroglyphic writing, hath been hitherto ſtopped up. The ſubject now lies ready for any diligent enquirer; and to ſuch an one, whoſe greater advantages of ſituation, learning, and abilities, may make him more deſerving of the public regard, I leave it to be purſued.

But whatever help this may afford us towards a better acquaintance with the ancient *Egyptian* Wiſdom, yet, what is a greater advantage, it will very much aſſiſt us in the ſtudy of the *Grecian*; and, after ſo many inſtances given of this uſe, one might almoſt venture to recommend theſe two grand vehicles of Egyptian learning and religion, the MYSTERIES treated of in the former volume, and the HIEROGLYPHICS in the preſent, as the cardinal points on which the interpretation of GREEK ANTIQUITY ſhould from henceforth turn.

SECT. V.

THE courſe of my argument now brings me to examine a new hypotheſis againſt the high antiquity of Egypt, which hath the incomparable Sir ISAAC NEWTON for its Patron; a man, for whoſe fame Science and Virtue ſeemed to be at ſtrife. The prodigious diſcoveries he had made in the *natural* world, and eſpecially that ſuperiority of genius which opened the way to thoſe diſcoveries, hath induced ſome of his countrymen to think him as intimate with the *moral*; and even to believe with a late ingenious commentator on his Optics, that as every thing which Midas touched, turned to gold, ſo all that Newton handled turned to demonſtration.

But the ſublimeſt underſtanding has its bounds, and, what is more to be lamented, the ſtrongeſt mind has its foible. And this miracle of ſcience, who diſcloſed all nature to our view, when he came to correct old Time, in the chronology of Egypt, ſuffered himſelf to be ſeduced, by little lying Greek mythologiſts and ſtory-tellers, from the *Goſhen* of MOSES, into the thickeſt of the Egyptian darkneſs. So peſtilent a miſchief in the road to Truth is a favourite hypotheſis: an evil, we have frequent occaſion to lament, as it retards the progreſs of our enquiry at almoſt every ſtep. For it is to be obſerved, that Sir Iſaac's *Egyptian* chronology was faſhioned only to ſupport his *Grecian*; which he erected on one of thoſe ſublime conceptions peculiar to his amazing genius.

But it is not for the ſake of any private Syſtem that I take upon me to conſider the arguments of this illuſtrious man. The truth is, his diſcourſe of *the empire of Egypt* contradicts every thing which MOSES and the PROPHETS have delivered concerning theſe ancient people. Though ſome therefore of his admirers may ſeem to think that no more harm can derive to religion by his contradicting the *Hiſtory*, than by his overturning the *Aſtronomy*, of the Bible,

Bible, yet I am of a different opinion; becauſe, though the end of the ſacred hiſtory was certainly not to inſtruct us in Aſtronomy, yet it was, without queſtion, written to inform us of the various fortunes of the People of God; with whom, the hiſtory of Egypt was cloſely connected. I ſuſpect therefore, that the eſpouſing this hypotheſis may be attended with very bad conſequences in our diſputes with Infidelity. The preſent turn, indeed, of Free-thinking is to extol the high antiquity of Egypt, as an advantage to their cauſe; and conſequently to urge Scripture, which bears full evidence to that antiquity, as a faithful relater of ancient facts; yet theſe advantages being chimerical, as ſoon as they are underſtood to be ſo, we ſhall ſee the contrary notion, of the low antiquity of Egypt, become the faſhionable doctrine; and, what all good men will be ſorry to find, the great name of NEWTON ſet againſt the BIBLE.

It is therefore, as I ſay, for the ſake of Scripture, and from no fooliſh fondneſs for any private opinion, that I take upon me to examine the ſyſtem of this incomparable perſon.

His whole argument for the low antiquity of Egypt may be ſummed up in this ſyllogiſm:

OSIRIS advanced Egypt from a ſtate of barbarity to civil policy.

OSIRIS and SESOSTRIS were the ſame.

Therefore EGYPT was advanced from a ſtate of barbarity to civil policy in the time of SESOSTRIS.

And to fix the time of Seſoſtris with preciſion, he endeavours to prove him to be the ſame with SESAC. But this latter identity not at all affecting the preſent queſtion, I ſhall have no occaſion to conſider it.

Now the *minor* in this ſyllogiſm being the queſtionable term, he has employed his whole diſcourſe in its ſupport. All then I have to do, is to ſhew that OSIRIS and SESOSTRIS were not one, but two perſons, living in very diſtant ages.

And

And that none of the favourers of this ſyſtem may have any pretence to ſay, that the great Author's reaſonings are not fairly drawn out and enforced, I ſhall tranſcribe them juſt as I find them collected, methodized, and preſented under one view by his learned and ingenious Apologiſt:—" He [Sir Iſaac Newton] has found it " more eaſy to lower the pretenſions of the Ancients than to " conquer the prejudices of the Moderns. Many of his opinions, " that are in truth well founded, paſs for dreams, and in particu- " lar his arguments for ſettling the time of Seſoſtris, which the " Greeks never knew, have been anſwered with ſcurrility.——I " ſhall lay together here the evidences that have convinced me of " the truth of his concluſion, becauſe he has not any where col- " lected all of them.

" 1. That Oſiris and Bacchus were the ſame, was generally " agreed by the Greeks and Egyptians, and is therefore out of " queſtion; and that the great actions related of Seſoſtris are true " of Seſac, and the difference between them is only nominal, is " affirmed by Joſephus.

" 2. Oſiris and Seſoſtris were both Egyptian kings who con- " quered Ethiopia; and yet there never was but one Egyptian " king that was maſter of Ethiopia.

" 3. Both were Egyptian kings, that with a prodigious army and " fleet invaded and ſubdued all Aſia northward as far as Tanais, " and eaſtward as far as the Indian ocean.

" 4. Both ſet up pillars in all their conqueſts, ſignifying what " ſort of reſiſtance the inhabitants had made. Paleſtine, in par- " ticular, appears to have made little or none, to them.

" 5. Both paſſed over the Helleſpont into Europe, met with ſtrong " oppoſition in Thrace, and were there in great hazard of loſing " their army.

" 6. Both had with them in their expeditions a great number of " foſter brothers, who had been all born on the ſame day, and " bred up with them.

" 7. Both

" 7. Both built or exceedingly embelliſhed Thebes in Upper " Egypt.

" 8. Both changed the face of all Egypt, and from an open " country made it impracticable for cavalry, by cutting navigable " canals from the Nile to all the cities.

" 9. Both were in the utmoſt danger by the conſpiracy of a " brother.

" 10. Both made triumphant entries in chariots, of which Oſiris's " is poetically repreſented to be drawn by tigers; Seſoſtris's hiſto- " rically ſaid to be drawn by captive kings.

" 11. Both reigned about twenty-eight or thirty years.

" 12. Both had but one ſucceſſor of their own blood.

" 13. Bacchus or Oſiris was two generations before the Trojan " war: Seſoſtris was two reigns before it. Again, Seſac's invaſion " of Judæa in an. P. J. 3743, was about two hundred ſixty years " before the invaſion of Egypt in his ſucceſſor Sethon's time by " Sennacherib; and from Seſoſtris to Sethon incluſively there " are ten reigns, according to Herodotus, which, if twenty ſix " years be allowed to a reign, make likewiſe two hundred and " ſixty years.

" In ſo diſtant ages and countries it is not poſſible that any " king, with many names, can be more clearly demonſtrated to " be one and the ſame perſon, than all theſe circumſtances and ac- " tions together do prove that Oſiris and Bacchus, Seſoſtris and " Seſac, are but ſo many appellations of the ſame man: which " being eſtabliſhed, it will evidently follow, that the Argonautic " expedition, the deſtruction of Troy, the revolution in Peloponneſus made by the Heraclidæ, &c. were in or very near the " times in which Sir Iſaac has ranged them *."

I. Before I proceed to an examination of theſe reaſonings, it will be proper to premiſe ſomething concerning the nature of the ſyſtem, and the quality of the evidence.

* Mr. Mann's dedication to his tract *of the true Years of the Birth and Death of* CHRIST.

1. We

1. We are to obſerve then, that this ſyſtem is ſo far from ſerving for a ſupport or illuſtration of the ancient ſtory of theſe two heroes, that it contradicts and ſubverts all that is clear and certain in Antiquity: and adds new confuſion to all that was obſcure. The annals of Egypt, as may be ſeen by Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Plutarch, and others, who all copied from thoſe annals, were as expreſs and unvariable for the real diverſity, the diſtinct perſonality of OSIRIS and SESOSTRIS, as the hiſtory of England is for that of any two of its own country Monarchs. For they were not vague names, of uncertain or adjoining times; one was the moſt illuſtrious of their DEMI-GODS, and the other of their KINGS; both fixed in their proper æras; and thoſe vaſtly diſtant from one another. So that, I make no queſtion, it had appeared as great a paradox, to an old Egyptian, to hear it affirmed that Oſiris and Seſoſtris were but one, as it would be now to an Engliſhman to be told that Bonduca and the Empreſs Matilda were the ſame. All Antiquity acquieſced in their diverſity; nor did the moſt paradoxical writer, with which latter Greece was well ſtored, ever venture to contradict ſo well eſtabliſhed a truth. And what wonder? The hiſtory of Egypt was not, like that of ancient Greece or Suevia, only to be picked up out of the traditional tales of Bards and Mythologiſts: nor yet, like that of early Britain, the invention of ſedentary monks: It conſiſted of the written and authentic records of a learned and active Prieſthood. In which, the only tranſgreſſion, yet diſcovered, againſt truth, is that natural partiality common to all national hiſtoriographers, of extending back their annals to an unreaſonable length of time. Let me add, that the diſtinct perſonality of theſe two men is ſo far from contradicting any other ancient hiſtory, that it entirely coincides with them. Nay, what is the ſureſt mark of hiſtoric truth, there is, as perhaps we may take occaſion to ſhew, very ſtrong collateral evidence to evince the real diverſity of theſe two ancient chiefs.—So far, as to the nature of the ſyſtem,

2. The

2. The quality of the evidence is another legitimate prejudice againſt this *new chronology*. It is chiefly the fabulous hiſtory of Greece, as delivered by their Poets and Mythologiſts. This hath afforded a plauſible ſupport to Sir Iſaac's hypotheſis; by ſupplying him, in its genealogies of the Gods and Heroes, with a number of ſynchroniſms to aſcertain the identity in queſtion. And yet, who has not heard of the deſperate confuſion in which the chronology of ancient Greece lies involved? Of all the prodigies of falſhood in its mythologic ſtory, nothing being ſo monſtrous as its diſmembred and ill-joined parts of Time. Notwithſtanding this confuſion, his proofs from their ſtory, conſiſting only of ſcraps, picked up promiſcuouſly from Mythologiſts, Poets, Scholiaſts, &c. are argued from with ſo little heſitation, that a ſtranger would be apt to think the Fabulous ages were as well diſtinguiſhed as thoſe marked by the Olympiads. But the ſlender force of this evidence is ſtill more weakened by this other circumſtance, that almoſt all the paſſages brought from mythology to evince the *identity*, are contradicted (though the excellent perſon has not thought fit to take notice of it) by a vaſt number of other paſſages in the ſame mythology; nay even in the ſame authors; and entirely overthrown by writers of greater credit; the HISTORIANS of Greece and Egypt: which, however, are the other part of Sir Iſaac's evidence; of weight indeed to be attentively heard. But this he will not do: but, from their having given to Oſiris and Seſoſtris the like actions, concludes the Actors to be one and the ſame, againſt all that thoſe Hiſtorians themſelves can ſay to the contrary: Yet what they *might* and what they *could not* miſtake in, was methinks eaſy enough to be diſtinguiſhed. For as Fable unnaturally joins together later and former times; and ancient fable had increaſed that confuſion, for reaſons to be hereafter given: ſo Hiſtory muſt needs abound with ſimilar characters of men in public ſtations; and ancient hiſtory had greatly improved that likeneſs, through miſtakes hereafter likewiſe to be accounted for. Indeed, were there no more remain-

ing of Antiquity concerning Bacchus, Oſiris, and Seſoſtris, than what we find in Sir Iſaac's book, we might perhaps be induced to believe them the Same; but as things ſtand in Hiſtory, this can never be ſuppoſed.

What I would infer therefore, from theſe obſervations, is this:— We have, in the diſtinct perſonality of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, an hiſtorical circumſtance, delivered in the moſt authentic and unvariable manner, and by annaliſts of the beſt authority. All ſucceeding ages agreed in their diverſity; and it is ſupported by very ſtrong collateral evidence. At length a modern writer, of great name, thinks fit to bring the whole in queſtion. And how does he proceed? Not by accounting for the riſe and progreſs of what he muſt needs eſteem the moſt inveterate error that ever was; but by laying together a number of circumſtances, from ancient ſtory, to prove the actions of Oſiris and Seſoſtris to be greatly alike; and a number of circumſtances from ancient fable, to prove that the Gods, whom he ſuppoſes to be the ſame with Oſiris, were about the age of Seſoſtris. So that all the evidence brought by this illuſtrious writer amounting, at moſt, but to difficulties againſt the beſt eſtabliſhed fact of hiſtory; if we can, conſiſtently with the diſtinct perſonality and different ages of theſe two heroes, fairly account for the ſimilar actions recorded of them; and for the low age, as delivered by the mythologiſts, of thoſe Grecian Gods which are ſuppoſed to be the Egyptian Oſiris; if, I ſay, this can be done, the reader is deſired to obſerve, that all is done that can reaſonably be required for the confutation of Sir Iſaac Newton's hypotheſis, and for reinſtating the ancient hiſtory of their diſtinct perſonality in its former credit.

But I ſhall do more; 1. I ſhall ſhew from the religious conſtitutions of Greece and Egypt, that the incidental errors which the Ancients fell into, concerning theſe two heroes, (of which errors our author has taken the advantage, to run them into one) were ſuch as hardly any circumſpection could avoid.

2. And

2. And ſtill further, that the identity of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, in its neceſſary conſequences, contradicts SCRIPTURE, and the NATURE OF THINGS.

II. I proceed then to a particular examination of this famous proof of the identity, as it is collected and digeſted by the learned Maſter of the Charter-houſe.

The firſt obſervation I ſhall make upon it is, that, by the ſame way of arguing, one might incorporate almoſt any two HEROES, one meets with, in early and remote hiſtory. For as our great Engliſh poet well obſerves,

" HEROES ARE MUCH THE SAME, the point's agreed,
" From Macedonia's madman to the Swede;
" The whole ſtrange purpoſe of their lives, to find,
" Or make an enemy of all mankind."

To ſhew the reader how eaſily this feat may be performed, I will take any two of our own Monarchs, that come firſt into my thoughts,—KING ARTHUR, for inſtance, and WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR. And now let him only imagine, when arts and empire have learnt to travel further Weſt, and have left Great Britain in the preſent condition of Egypt, ſome future Chronologer of America, labouring to prove theſe Heroes one and the ſame, only under two different names, by ſuch kind of Arguments as this:

1. ARTHUR and WILLIAM were both great warriors.
2. Both were of ſpurious or uncertain birth.
3. Both were in the management of public affairs in their early youth.
4. Both came from France to recover Britain from the Saxons.
5. Both proved victorious in their expedition.
6. Both got the crown of Britain by election, and not by deſcent.
7. Both had other dominions, beſides Britain, to which they ſucceeded by right hereditary.

8. Both went frequently on military expeditions into France.

9. Both warred there with various ſucceſs.

10. Both had half-brothers, by the mother, who, being made very powerful, and proving guilty of manifold extortions and acts of injuſtice, were puniſhed by them, in an exemplary manner.

11. Both had rebellious ſons or nephews, whom they met in the field, fought with in perſon, and ſubdued.

12. Both reigned upwards of fifty years.

13. And both died in War.

When our Chronologer had been thus ſucceſsful with his argugument from ſimilar circumſtances, (as in the caſe of Oſiris and Seſoſtris), it is odds but he would go on; and to ſettle a chronology which made for ſome other hypotheſis he had in view, he would next attempt to prove, from *ſimilitude of names*, as before from *ſimilitude of actions*, that WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR and WILLIAM THE THIRD, another Conqueror, were but one and the ſame, (as in the caſe of Seſoſtris and Seſac).

Here the number of ſimilar circumſtances, in the lives of Arthur and William, are, evidently, more characteriſtic of ONE, than thoſe in the hiſtory of Oſiris and Seſoſtris. Yet we know that Arthur and William were really two different men of two very diſtant ages. This will ſhew the critics the true value of this kind of evidence; and ſhould reaſonably diſpoſe them to much caution in building upon it.

II.

But it will be ſaid, that the nature of the conformity between Oſiris and Seſoſtris is, in ſome reſpects, very different from that between Arthur and William. I grant it is ſo; and, from thoſe reſpects, ſhall now ſhew, how the miſtaken identity of Oſiris and Seſoſtris may be certainly detected. For I go on, and ſay, though from this inſtance it be ſeen, that a greater agreement might well happen in the lives of two ancient Heroes, than can be

be found in thoſe of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, while their diſtinct perſonality was acknowledged to be very certain and real; yet, in their caſe, it muſt be owned, that there are peculiar and ſpecific circumſtances of ſimilitude, which could not ariſe from that general conformity between the actions of two men of the ſame quality and character; but muſt be allowed to have had their birth from ſome fancied identity. For ſeveral of the actions, given to both, agree only to the time of one: I mean as Antiquity hath fixed their times. Thus, the vaſt conqueſts over Aſia agree well with the time of Seſoſtris, but very ill with the time of Oſiris: and, again, the invention of the moſt common arts of life agrees very well with the time of Oſiris, but very ill with that of Seſoſtris. However, from this conformity in their ſtory, Sir Iſaac concludes Oſiris and Seſoſtris to be the ſame. And ſo far we muſt needs confeſs, that it ſeems to have ariſen from ſome kind of identity; a ſameneſs of perſon, or a ſameneſs of name. This great writer contends for the firſt; but as the firſt contradicts and ſubverts all Antiquity, if the aſcribed conformity of actions can be well accounted for from their *identity of name*, and that identity be proved very probable from ancient ſtory, the reader will conclude that the fabulous conformity had its riſe from thence; and, conſequently, that all Sir Iſaac's arguments for their *identity of perſon* make directly againſt him. For if the conformity aroſe from *identity of name*, they were two perſons. I ſhall endeavour to ſhew all this in as few words as I am able.

I. It was an old Egyptian cuſtom, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus, to call their later Heroes by the name of their earlier Gods. This hiſtorian having ſpoken of the CELESTIAL Gods, according to the Egyptians, adds, *They held, that beſides theſe, there were other* EARTHLY *Gods, born mortal; who through their wiſdom, and common benefits to mankind, had acquired immortality; that ſome of theſe had been kings of Egypt; and that part got* NEW NAMES, *being called after thoſe of the celeſtial Gods; and part kept their own.*

own *. But this cuſtom of calling the later Heroes after the names of their earlier Gods, was not peculiar to Egypt. Scripture informs us, that the Aſſyrians did the ſame. And the practice muſt needs have been general. For, as we have ſhewn, the original uſe of it was to ſupport naſcent hero-worſhip †. But there was another cauſe, more peculiar to early Egypt; and that was the doctrine of *tranſmigration*. For it being thought that the ſame ſoul paſſed ſucceſſively into many human bodies; when they ſaw an eminent Character ſtrongly reſembling ſome ancient Hero, they were inclined to fancy it the old buſy ſoul, which had taken up its reſidence in a new habitation: and therefore very equitably honoured the preſent Hero with the *name* of the paſt. This reaſon, Tacitus tells us, the Egyptians gave for the great number of HERCULES's—"*Quem* [*Herculem*] *indigenæ* [*Ægyptii*] *ortum apud* "*ſe & antiquiſſimum perhibent, eoſque qui poſtea* pari virtute *fuerint*, "*in* cognomentum *ejus adſcitos* ‡." This was ſo notorious that Sir Iſaac could not help owning, it was their way to give one common name to ſeveral men. Nay even the leaſt corporeal reſemblance was ſometimes ſufficient to ſet this ſuperſtition on work, and produce the effect in queſtion; as we find from the ſame Diodorus's account of the Grecian Bacchus. He tells us, that when Cadmus the Egyptian was come into Greece, and his daughter Semele had a ſpurious ſon dying in his infancy, whoſe perſon reſembled the images of Oſiris, the grandfather, after having conſulted the Oracle (whoſe approbation was contained in the advice, *to obſerve the cuſtoms of his fathers*), called him Bacchus, one of the names of Oſiris: paid divine honours to the embalmed carcaſe; and pro-

* —Ἄλλως δ' ἐκ τούτων ἐπιγιγνέσθαι φασὶν, ὑπάρξαντας μὲν θνητοὺς, διὰ δὲ τὴν σύνεσιν καὶ κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαν τετυχηκότας τῆς ἀθανασίας. ὧν ἐνίους καὶ βασιλεῖς γενέσθαι καλὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, μεθερμηνευομένων δ' αὐτῶν, τινὰς μὲν ὁμωνύμους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τινὰς δ' ἰδίαν ἐσχηκέναι προσηγορίαν—l. i. p. 8. Steph ed.

† See Div. Leg. vol. i. b. iii. ſ. 6.

‡ Annal. l. ii. c. 60—Omnes, qui fecerant fortiter, HERCULES vocabantur, ſays Varro likewiſe (as quoted by Servius).

claimed

claimed abroad, that OSIRIS had chosen to come once more amongst men under this infantine appearance*. From this custom of giving the names of celebrated personages of high antiquity to later men, who resembled them in qualities either of mind or body, it was, that they not only, out of honour to Sesostris, called him Osiris, but, out of contempt and hatred, gave MOSES the name of TYPHON, as appears from some later accounts of this Typhon, when they had now jumbled Moses and him into one; as they had done their Bacchus's, Hercules's, and Minos's; and as they were very near doing, by Osiris and Sesostris. The accounts, I mean, are those which we find in Plutarch, of Typhon's flying seven days, and begetting, after his escape, two sons, JERUSALEM and JUDÆUS†. And further that this Typhon was the son of Isaac, and of the race of Hercules ‡.

Causes like these could not fail to make this custom very durable, amongst a people not at all given to change. And in fact, we find it continued even to the time of Cleopatra, who affected to be called the NEW ISIS §, as her brother was called the NEW BACCHUS ||. At length it became so general as to have no measure but the fancy of every particular. For Lucian, defending the excessive compliments he had given to one Panthea, whose form he had compared to the images of the Goddesses, justifies himself by examples; and amongst the rest, by that of Egypt; *I shall not insist* (says he) *upon the practice of the Egyptians, who, though they*

* Κάδμον ἐκ Θηβῶν ὄντα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, γεννῆσαι σὺν ἄλλοις τέκνοις καὶ Σεμέλην· ταύτην δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήποτε φθαρείσαν, ἔγκυον γενέσθαι, καὶ τεκεῖν ἑπτὰ μηνῶν διελθόντων βρέφος τὴν ὄψιν οἷόν πέρ οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον τὸν Ὄσιριν γεγονέναι νομίζουσι, ζωογονεῖσθαι δ' οὐκ εἰωθέναι τὸ τοιοῦτον, εἴτε τῶν θεῶν μὴ βουλομένων, εἴτε τῆς φύσεως μὴ συγκωρούσης. Κάδμον δὲ αἰσθόμενον τὸ γεγονὸς, καὶ χρησμὸν ἔχοντα διατηρεῖν τὰ τῶν πατέρων νόμιμα χρυσώσασθαί τε τὸ βρέφος καὶ τὰς καθηκούσας αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι θυσίας, ὡς ἐπιφανείας τινὸς κατ' ἀνθρώπους Ὀσίριδος γεγενημένης. lib. i. p. 14.

† —ἐπὶ ὄνου τῷ Τυφῶνι τὴν φυγὴν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας γενέσθαι, καὶ σωθέντα γεννῆσαι παῖδας Ἱεροσόλυμον καὶ Ἰουδαῖον. Is. & Osir.

‡ Ἰσαιακοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ὁ Τυφῶν.

§ Plut. in Ant.

|| Diod. Sic. l. i.

be

be the moſt religious of all people, yet employ the names of their Gods even to ſatiety and diſguſt *.

To apply this practice to the caſe of the Heroes in queſtion. Oſiris was the great Lawgiver of the Egyptians: and the Founder of their Monarchy. Seſoſtris vaſtly extended and ennobled their Empire; and was, at the ſame time, author of many beneficial inſtitutions. Now if ever an occaſion greater than ordinary preſented itſelf, of putting in practice the cuſtom of honouring later Heroes with the name of the more early, it was here, where the reſemblance was ſo remarkably ſtrong. And if what Clemens Alexandrinus ſays be true, that Seſoſtris ſprung from Oſiris †, there was ſtill a farther occaſion of giving the later Hero the name of his firſt progenitor. However, that it was given him, is highly reaſonable to ſuppoſe. And this ſuppoſition will clearly account for all that ingrafted likeneſs from which Sir Iſaac hath inferred their *identity*.

For when now they had given to both, the ſame name; not diſtinguiſhed, as were their Thoths or Hermes's ‡, (another famous inſtance of this general cuſtom) by the addition of *firſt* and *ſecond*, Poſterity would frequently confound them with one another; and, in this confuſion, inadvertently give the actions of Oſiris to Seſoſtris, and of Seſoſtris to Oſiris. But taking nothing from either, both their hiſtories would ſoon become the ſame. And as, in this mutual transferring of one another's actions, ſeveral were given to both, entirely diſcordant to either's age, we are enabled to diſcover

* Ἐῶ γὰρ τὰς Αἰγυπτίας, οἵπερ καὶ δεισιδαιμονέστατοί εἰσι πάντων, ὅμως τοῖς θείοις ὀνόμασιν εἰς κόρον ἐπιχρωμένας. Pro. Imag. in fin.

† —Τὸν δὲν Ὄσιριν, τὸν προπάτορα τὸν αὐτῆ δαιδαλθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸς [Σέσωστρις] πολυτελῶς. Admon. ad. Gentes, p. 31. Edit. Colon. 1688, fol.

‡ The hiſtories of the firſt and ſecond Hermes are as much confounded with one another as thoſe of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, and from the ſame cauſe; yet, I imagine, the diſtinction of *firſt* and *ſecond* will hinder any one from ſuppoſing them to be the ſame.

the

the true cauſe of this conformity; and thereby to prove, that that, which it is plainly ſeen might be, really was, the *cauſe*.

I. Thus Oſiris (becauſe Seſoſtris was ſo) is made a great conqueror, at a time when Egypt was but juſt emerging from a ſtate of barbariſm, into civil policy; and long before ſeveral of thoſe nations, he was ſaid to conquer, had a being. But this ſeems to be one of the lateſt corruptions in their hiſtory. Herodotus giving none of theſe conqueſts to Oſiris, but to Seſoſtris only: whence I collect, it was the product of ſome age between him and Diodorus Siculus, who gives them to Oſiris with all their circumſtances, and ſupported by the evidence of pretended ancient monuments *. It appears too, to have been a Grecian addition, and at a time when it was the faſhion to make their fables, ſyſtematical †. For we are told ‡, (and the tale was apparently framed for no other end than to connect this God with the reſt of the College) that, when Oſiris made this expedition, he took Silenus with him as his Governor; that he appointed Iſis, Queen-regent in his abſence; and Hermes her Privy-counſellor; Hercules he made General of his army, and Neptune, admiral of his fleet. And, that nothing might be wanting to compleat the cortege, he took with him a company of dancers and ſingers; amongſt which were nine lively girls more particularly eminent; with the king's brother, as maſter of the maids, at their head; and theſe truly were to paſs for Apollo and the nine Muſes. This quaint improvement on an Egyptian blunder,

* The columns at Nyſa in Arabia.

† Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, εὐφυΐᾳ πάλιν ὑπερβαλλόμενοι. τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πλεῖστα ἐξιδιώσαντο, καὶ τοῖς περικοσμήμασι ποικίλως ἐξεργάσθησαν, ταῖς τῶν μύθων ἡδοναῖς, θέλγειν ἐπιχειροῦντες παντοίως ἐποίκιλλον. Philo Bib. apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. i. c. 10.

‡ —Τὸν δ' ἓν Ὄσιριν φασὶ τὰ καλὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καλαςήσαντα, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίαν Ἴσιδι τῇ γυναικὶ παραδόντα, ταύτῃ μὲν παρακαλαςήσαι σύμβουλον τὸν Ἑρμῆν,—καὶ στρατηγὸν μὲν ἀπολιπεῖν ἁπάσης τῆς ὑφ' αὐτὸν χώρας Ἡρακλέα—ἐπιμελητὰς δὲ τάξαι τῶν μὲν πρὸς Φοινίκην κεκλιμένων μερῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τόπων Βύσιριν.—εἶναι γὰρ τὸν Ὄσιριν φιλογέλωτα, καὶ χαίροντα μουσικῇ καὶ χοροῖς. διὸ καὶ πειράσεσθαι πλῆθος μουσουργῶν, ἐν οἷς παρθένους ἐννέα δυναμένας ᾄδειν, καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα πεπαιδευμένας, τὰς παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὀνομαζομένας Μούσας, τούτων δ' ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα λέγουσιν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Μουσηγέτην αὐτὸν ὀνομᾶσθαι. l. i. p. 10, 11.

by ſome driveling Greek mythologiſt *, as rank as it is, is one of the chief circumſtances on which our illuſtrious author hath thought fit to ſupport his *Chronology*. And that which is the mere repreſentation of an old raree-ſhew of the *Court of king Oſiris*, brought by ſome ſtroler out of Egypt into Greece, is made an authentic record to aſcertain the true age of all their Heroes. I am fully ſupported in the conjecture, that the tale of Oſiris's conqueſts was invented in ſome age between Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, by the teſtimony of two of the ſobereſt and moſt accurate of the Greek writers, Strabo and Arrian; who expreſſly tell us, that the ſtories of Bacchus's and Hercules's exploits in the Indies were invented by the Macedonians to aggrandize the glory of Alexander †. The Egyptians had prepared the materials and made them fit for uſe, by confounding Oſiris and Seſoſtris, under the common name of Bacchus.

2. On the other hand, Seſoſtris (becauſe Oſiris was ſo) is made the inventor of arts, and the civilizer of a rude and barbarous people, to whom he delivered the firſt rudiments of Policy and Religion, many ages after they had erected a flouriſhing and powerful Empire. An inconſiſtence ſo glaring, that the ancient critics ſeeing theſe things recorded of Seſoſtris, reaſonably underſtood Oſiris to be meant. This doubtleſs made Ariſtotle ſay ‡ that Seſoſtris was many ages before Minos: yet Euſebius places Minos in the times of the *Judges*. And in the twelfth dynaſty of Africanus, Seſoſtris is made to reign, according to the calculation of Scaliger §, in the

* The very learned Caſaubon, ſpeaking of the fables, which concern Bacchus with the Nymphs and Muſes, ſays, *Eſt enim Græcanicæ vanitatis hoc quoque inventum, Bacchicas in majus ſemper attollentium.* De Satyrica Poeſi, p. 41.

† Arrian, l. v. c. 3. Strabo, l. ii. p. 771. and l. xv. p. 1006, 7. Caſaub. ed. Καὶ τὰ περὶ Ἡρακλέους δὲ καὶ Διονύσου, Μεγασθένης μὲν μετ' ὀλίγων ἐπιτὰ ἠγεῖται, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ πολίους, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης, ἄπιστα καὶ μυθώδη, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. Strab. l. xv.

‡ Πολὺ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλει τοῖς χρόνοις τὴν Μίνω βασίλειαν ἡ Σεσόστρεως. Pol. l. vii. c. 10.

§ Vide Marſham Can. Chron. Seeul. X. tit. Nilus Rex.

1392d year of the Julian period; that very point of time on which the extravagant chronology of Egypt had thrown Oſiris. But there is a paſſage in Ælian which proves ſtill more expreſſly that the Ancients ſometimes underſtood Oſiris by Seſoſtris. *The Egyptians* (ſays this hiſtorian) *affirm that Mercury taught Seſoſtris his laws* *: and that Mercury the contemporary of Oſiris was here meant, is ſeen by another paſſage of this hiſtorian, where the ſame thing is ſaid of all the Egyptians in general. *The Egyptians boaſt that* MERCURY *taught them their laws* †.

But though miſtake gave birth to this corruption in the Egyptian hiſtory, yet, without doubt, it was a national vanity which ſupported it. For we are told by Diodorus ‡, who made collections from their hiſtory, that the reaſon, aſſigned by the Egyptians for that famous military expedition, which they had transferred from Seſoſtris to Oſiris, was the Hero's beneficent purpoſe of carrying the new inventions of corn and wine to all the ſavage inhabitants of the earth; whom it was his purpoſe to reduce from a ſtate of Nature, to Political ſociety. The intelligent reader ſees plainly, that the deſign of this ſtory was to do honour to Egypt, as the common benefactreſs of mankind. Though I will not deny, that the extravagance of the conceit, at the ſame time, ſhews how much they were at a loſs for a reaſonable cauſe of ſo early an expedition. The difficulty of all this did not eſcape the Sicilian. He frankly owns, there is a vaſt diſcordancy and confuſion in the accounts of Iſis and Oſiris §. What ſeems ſtrange to me is, that this did not lead him to the cauſe here explained, when he had ſo well unraveled the like confuſion in the parallel caſe of Hercules and Alcæus. Their ſtory had been diſordered, like this of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, from

* Φασὶν Αἰγύπτιοι Σέσωστριν παρ' Ἑρμοῦ τὰ νόμιμα ἐκμεσωθῆναι. Var. Hiſt. l. xii. c. 4.

† Αἰγύπτιοί φασι παρ' Ἑρμοῦ τὰ νόμιμα ἐκμεσωθῆναι. lib. xiv. c. 34.

‡ Τὸν δὲ Ὄσιριν λέγουσιν, ὥσπερ εὐεργετικὸν ὄντα καὶ φιλόδοξον, στρατόπεδον μέγα συνήγασθαι, διανοούμενον ἐπελθεῖν ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ διδάξαι τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τήν τε τῆς ἀμπέλου φυτείαν καὶ τὸν σπόρον τοῦ τε πυρίνου καὶ κριθίνου καρποῦ. l. i. p. 10.

§ Καθόλου δὲ πολλή τις ἐστὶ διαφωνία περὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν. l. i. p. 15.

Alcæus's taking the name of Hercules. But Diodorus, by the ſame kind of reaſoning * I have here employed to aſcertain the diverſity of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, ſhews that Alcæus and Hercules were different men; namely, from actions, given to Alcæus, which could not belong to his age. But theſe being of different nations, the one a Greek, the other an Egyptian; this circumſtance afforded him an opening which he wanted in the caſe of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, who were both Egyptians.

And here let me obſerve, that this ancient practice of calling later heroes by the name of earlier, whether of their own or of foreign countries, brought ſtill greater confuſion into ſome other of their hiſtories; making the Ancients themſelves imagine an *identity* where none was; as in Bacchus, Neptune, Hercules, Mars, Venus, Minos, &c. which popular miſtakes Sir Iſaac employs to ſupport another imaginary identity that they never dreamt of.

From this ſtate of Antiquity I would infer theſe two things. Firſt, that, notwithſtanding the conformity in the hiſtories of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, there is great reaſon to ſuppoſe the reality of their diſtinct perſonalities, becauſe the ſame kind of ſimilitude, ariſing from the ſame miſtake, is found in the hiſtories of many other ancient heroes confeſſedly diſtinct. Secondly, that there muſt have

* Ὁμολογουμένου γὰρ ὄντος παρὰ πᾶσιν ὅτι τοῖς ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς Ἡρακλῆς συνηγωνίσατο τὸν πρὸς τοὺς γίγαντας πόλεμον, φασὶ τῇ γῇ μηδαμῶς ἁρμόττειν γεγεννηκέναι τοὺς γίγαντας κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἣν οἱ Ἕλληνές φασιν Ἡρακλέα γενέσθαι. γενεᾷ πρότερον τῶν Τρωϊκῶν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένεσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀπ' ἐκείνης μὲν γὰρ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἔτη καταριθμεῖσθαι πλείω τῶν μυρίων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἐλάττω τῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων. ὁμοίως δὲ τό, τε ῥόπαλον καὶ τὴν λεοντῆν τῷ παλαιῷ πρέπειν Ἡρακλεῖ, διὰ τὸ ταῖ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους μήπω τῶν ὅπλων εὑρημένων, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῖς μὲν ξύλοις ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἀντιτατομένους, ταῖς δὲ δοραῖς τῶν θηρίων σκεπαστηρίοις χρῆσθαι—συμφωνεῖν δὲ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν λεγομένοις καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων παραδεδομένην φήμην, ὅτι καθαρὰν τὴν γῆν τῶν θηρίων ἐποίησεν Ἡρακλῆς. ὅπερ μηδαμῶς ἁρμόττειν τῷ γεγονότι σχεδὸν κατὰ τοὺς Τρωϊκοὺς χρόνους, ὅτι τὰ πλεῖστα μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐξημέρωτο γεωργίαις καὶ πόλεσι, καὶ πλήθει τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν χώραν πανταχοῦ. μᾶλλον οὖν πρέπειν τῷ γεγονότι κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους χρόνους τὴν ἡμέρωσιν τῆς χώρας, κατισχυομένων ἔτι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν θηρίων καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον εἰς τὴν ὑπερκειμένην χώραν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἔρημον οὖσαν καὶ θηριώδη. lib. i. p. 14, 15.

been,

been, in Antiquity, ſome very convincing proofs of the real diverſity of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, to keep them, as it did, perpetually ſeparate, notwithſtanding the ſameneſs in their hiſtories; when the like kind of conformity had melted two or more Bacchus's, Hercules's, Minos's, into one.

On the whole then, I have ſhewn, that a *ſameneſs of name* is ſufficient to account for the original of the conformity in the hiſtory of Oſiris and Seſoſtris; and, having done this, I have done all that is needful to aſcertain their *diverſity of perſon:* there being nothing to oppoſe to the full teſtimony of ancient hiſtory, which declares for their diverſity, beſides this conformity of actions.

But I have done more: I have ſhewn, that a *ſameneſs of name* was, in fact, the only cauſe of that conformity; and, conſequently, that their perſons were really different. That it could be only a *ſameneſs of name*, I think, appears evidently from the giving to each hero, actions unſuitable to his age; as great conqueſts to Oſiris, and civil inventions to Seſoſtris. For I perſuade myſelf, (though Sir Iſaac be obliged, for the ſake of his hypotheſis, partly to ſupport, and partly to palliate, this convincing circumſtance) no one can, in good earneſt, believe that Egypt was indeed emerging from a ſtate of barbariſm at the time in which he places Seſoſtris. 'Tis true, if men will yet ſuppoſe ſo, I have no better argument againſt it than the BIBLE: and how far the credit of that will go in this enlightened age is not very eaſy to gueſs. In a word, ſuch unſuitable actions aſcribed to each, nothing can account for, but a miſtaken identity, ariſing from the *ſameneſs of name*; for when this had advanced, or brought down, the real antiquity of either, the hiſtorian was to ſuit their actions to the imaginary time. Beſides, we know they are not at all ſcrupulous about property, when they find an atchievement in their way, capable of doing honour to a favourite Hero. There is, as might be expected, a pregnant inſtance of this, in the hiſtory of this very Seſoſtris; of whom it was recorded, that he divided the lands of Egypt amongſt the People,

ple, reſerving an annual rent to the Crown *. Now we are very certain that this was done, long before his time, under the miniſtry of the Patriarch Joſeph. Here the theft lies open. While theſe Heroes were only made to pilfer from one another, there was ſome difficulty to get them convicted; as where two cheats are taught to convey their ſtolen goods into one another's hands, to evade a purſuit: but here an honeſt man ſteps in to make good his claim, and proves it beyond all exception.

But it is our buſineſs only to ſhew that the conformity, in the hiſtories of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, may be well accounted for, from a *fameneſs of name*. Otherwiſe, if the caſe required it, we ſhould not want poſitive arguments, ſupported by the ſoundeſt part of Antiquity, to prove their difference of perſon. To mention one or two only by the way; it has been obſerved before †, that, in ſubſtituting *Hero*, to *Planet-worſhip*, the Egyptian rulers, in order to bring the people more eaſily into this later ſpecies of idolatry, called the *Hero* by the name of a *Celeſtial God*. So Diodorus ſays, *that Sol firſt reigned in Egypt*; *called ſo from the Luminary of that name in the heavens*. This was the eaſier brought about, becauſe the firſt Civilizers, to gain the greater authority, pretended, as was very natural, to be the Offſpring of the Sun, that univerſal God of all the uncivilized people upon the earth. For the ſame end likewiſe, namely to accuſtom the people, even while in the practice of Planet-worſhip, to the new adoration, they turned the compliment the other way; and called the Luminary by the name of the Hero; the ſame hiſtorian telling us, that *they called the Sun, Oſiris, and the Moon, Iſis*. Now the end of this mutual transferring of *names* being only to ſtrengthen their *new* idolatry by giving it a ſupport from the *old*, it muſt needs be invented on

* —Καλαπείμαι δὲ τὴν χώραν Αἰγυπτίοισι ἅπασι τῶτον ἴλεγον τὸν βασιλέα [Σέσωστιν] κλῆρον ἴσον ἑκάστῳ τετράγωνον διδόντα. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὰς προσόδους ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν ἀποτελέειν καθ' ἐνιαυτόν. Herod. l. ii. c. 109.

† See Div. Leg. vol. I. Book i.

the

the firſt introduction of hero-worſhip. But hero-worſhip was as early as the firſt inſtitution of civil policy. Therefore the uſing the name of Oſiris to this purpoſe, is a demonſtration that he was as early as ſober Antiquity ſuppoſed. Again, Herodotus tells us, and of his own knowledge, that no Gods, beſides Iſis and Oſiris, were worſhipped by all the Egyptians in the ſame unvariable manner *. This I think a plain proof of their being the common benefactors of all Egypt, in the invention of corn, wine, and civil policy, as the Egyptian annals deliver; their other Hero-Gods, as particular and partial benefactors, being worſhipped variouſly. But this fixes them in their high Antiquity. Again, the calf and ox are owned to be the peculiar ſymbols of Oſiris: but the GOLDEN CALF I have proved to be an Egyptian ſymbol; therefore Oſiris was, at leaſt, as old as MOSES. And again, our great Author owns †, that the king who invented agriculture in Egypt, ſeems to have been worſhipped by his ſubjects in the ox or calf for this benefaction. Now the ox or calf was the ſymbol of Oſiris. But agriculture, we certainly know, was invented before the time of Joſeph, which will bring us to ſeek for Oſiris 700 years higher than Seſac, who is our author's ancient Oſiris or Seſoſtris of Egypt.

To proceed: Such were the blunders in the hiſtory of Oſiris and Seſoſtris ‡, of which Sir Iſaac hath taken advantage, to prove them to be one and the ſame. And it is certain, as was ſaid before, that, had not the ſure records of Antiquity kept them ſeparate, this jumbling of their actions into one another's life had long ago incorporated them; and left no room for Sir Iſaac's diſcovery: for the Ancients were fond of running many into one, as appears particularly in the caſe of Bacchus, whoſe hiſtory we come now to conſider.

* Θεὸς γὰρ δὴ ὦ τὲς αὐτὲς ἅπανλες ὁμοίως Αἰγύπλιοι σέβονλαι, πλὴν Ἴσιός τε καὶ Ὀσίριδος. τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγυσι. τέτες δὲ ὁμοίως ἅπανλες σέβονλαι. l. ii. c. 42.

† See note [ZZZ], at the end of this Book.

‡ See note [AAAA], at the end of this Book.

II. For

II. For Sir Iſaac farther ſtrengthens the evidence of their identity from Egyptian Hiſtory, with the Grecian Mythology: in which Bacchus is delivered to us as the ſame with Oſiris: and Bacchus being but two generations earlier than the Trojan war, the very age of Seſoſtris, this, in his opinion, reduces all three to one *.

This identity of Bacchus and Oſiris, Diodorus Siculus has very accurately confuted †. But to diſcover the general cauſe of this, and all other their miſtaken identities, we muſt trace down the religion of Greece from its original.

It is a certain truth, agreed upon by ancient as well as modern writers, that civilized Greece received its religion from Egypt. But the way in which this commerce was carried on is not ſo well underſtood. It is generally ſuppoſed to have been done by adopting, and worſhipping the very Egyptian Gods themſelves. But this is a capital miſtake. It was not till long after their firſt acquaintance with Egypt, and inſtruction in their religious Rites, that they adopted Egyptian Gods: which I ſhall now endeavour to ſhew.

In the barbarous ages of Greece their only Gods were thoſe natural Divinities, the heavenly Luminaries ‡. But, on their firſt commerce with Egypt for the arts of policy, they found there a new ſpecies of idolatry, the worſhip of dead men; which civilized Egypt had invented; and which, as they improved in policy, had almoſt worked out their firſt natural Deities; the ſame with thoſe of all other uncivilized nations §. This new ſpecies, the Greeks eagerly embraced: and beginning now to take the Egyptian nation for their model in religious as well as in civil matters, they brought home this mode of foreign worſhip, namely, dead men deified. Thus far is agreed on all hands. The material queſtion is, whether their object were Egyptian hero-gods; or whether, in imitation of that worſhip, they made hero-gods of

* Page 191.
† Lib. i. p. 14.
‡ See Div. Leg. vol. I.
§ Id. ib.

their

their own? The common opinion is that they took the Egyptian. I ſuppoſe, on the contrary, that they muſt needs make hero-gods of their own; and could not, at that time, receive the other. My reaſon is this:

The greater celeſtial bodies were Deities in common, as their influence ſenſibly extended over the whole habitable globe. But hero-worſhip introduced the new idea of *local tutelary Deities:* and this of neceſſity. For thoſe Heroes were the diſtinguiſhed benefactors of their own nation, at the expence, frequently, of their neighbours: and, for ſuch benefits, they were deified. Now ſeveral cauſes concurred to make men teach and think, that the care and providence of their Heroes, now become Gods, was ſtill, as in life, confined to their own dear Country: Such as the ſuperior reverence which rulers knew the People would pay to a God, whoſe Peculiar they were ſuppoſed to be: for, when undiſtracted with other cares, he would be ſuppoſed at full liberty to attend to the minuteſt concerns of his own People: Such again, as the ſelfiſhneſs and pride of the worſhippers, who would be for ingroſſing a God to themſelves; and raiſing honour to their Country from this imaginary property. So that the opinion of *local tutelary Deities* became, at length, one of the moſt general and moſt undiſputed doctrines of Paganiſm. It is delivered to us, for ſuch, by Plato: yet, as the origin of hero gods from humanity was to be kept out of ſight, he carefully diſguiſes the foundation of it. *The Gods* (ſays he) *formerly divided the whole earth amongſt themſelves by lot: not from any contention or quarrel about their rights; for it is abſurd to ſuppoſe they did not know what was fit for every one's peculiar care; or knowing this, that they ſhould endeavour by violence to poſſeſs themſelves of one another's property: but all of them receiving in an amicable manner, what fell to their ſhare *, in this juſt method of diſtribution,*

* Τὰ φίλων λαγχάνοντες—Serr. tranſlates it—deorum quiſque prout hominum amore teneretur. I underſtand it—hæc amicorum ſortiti—i. e. regions which belonged to gods who were in unity with one another.

each reſided on his own peculiar: which, having rendered proper for our habitation, they lead and ſupport us as ſhepherds do their flocks and herds in a paſture.—Every God therefore having his proper allotment, all his endeavours are employed to adorn and benefit his own *. This was ſo flattering a notion, that, in after-times, the Pagans carried it even into their Planet-worſhip: and each climate was ſuppoſed to be under the proper protection of its own Star or Conſtellation. So that the writer of *The wiſdom of Solomon* ſeems to make this the diſtinguiſhing mark of Paganiſm; where praiſing the God of Iſrael for his ancient mercies to that people, he ſays, *neither is there any God but thou, that careſt for* ALL †.

Now, ſuch a kind of *tutelary* God, the Egyptians would be ſo far from offering to others, that they would be careful to keep him to themſelves. Hence the old practice of chaining down their Gods (for hero-gods were worſhipped by ſtatues in human form) when they imagined them diſpoſed to ramble; or to take a liking to any of their neighbours. And as the Egyptians would be averſe to lending, ſo the Greeks would be as little inclined to borrow; for they had now a race of Heroes of their own; thoſe godlike men, who had reduced them from a ſavage to a civilized condition, and had given them this very appetite; the appetite to improve their policy by the aſſiſtance of Egyptian wiſdom. As little too would their own Lawgivers, who brought that wiſdom home to them, be diſpoſed to offer them Egyptian Gods; as knowing how much ſtronger their reverence and adherence would be to Gods made out of their own parents and fellow-citizens. But if this were the caſe, (and, in the courſe of the inquiry, it will be proved from

* Θεοὶ γὰρ ἅπασαν γῆν ποτὲ καλὰ τὰς τόπους διελάγχανον, ὃ κατ' ἔριν (ἃ γὰρ ἂν ὀρθὸν ἔχοι λόγον, θεὺς ἀγνοεῖν τὰ πρέποντα ἑκάστοις αὐτῶν, ἢ δ' αὖ γινώσκοντας τὸ μᾶλλον ἄλλοις προσῆκον, τοῦτο ἑτέρους αὐτοῖς δι' ἰρίδων ἐπιχειρεῖν κλᾶσθαι) δίκης δὲ κλήροις τὰ φίλων λαγχάνοντες καθώκιζον τὰς χώρας· καὶ καθοικίσαντες, οἷον νομεῖς κλήματα καὶ ποίμνια καὶ θρέμματα ἑαυτῶν ἡμᾶς ἔτρεφον.——ἄλλοι μὲν ὧν κατ' ἄλλους τόπους κληρουχήσαντες θεῶν ἐκεῖνα ἐκόσμουν. Vol. III. p. 109. Ser. Ed.

† Cap. xii. 13. Οὔτε γάρ θεός ἐστι πλὴν σοῦ, ᾧ μέλει περὶ πάντων, ἵνα δείξῃς ὅτι οὐκ ἀδίκως ἔκρινας.

fact,

fact, as here from the *reaſon* of the thing) it may be aſked, What then was that RELIGION which all agree the Greeks borrowed of the Egyptians? I anſwer, the TRADE itſelf of Hero-worſhip; or the cuſtom of deifying their dead benefactors. But again, if this were ſo, and that the Bacchus, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, &c. firſt worſhipped by the Greeks, were indeed Grecian Deities, it will be then aſked, how came their reſemblance to the Egyptian to be ſo great, as that later times ſhould be generally deceived in thinking them the SAME? This is a reaſonable queſtion, and will deſerve a particular diſcuſſion. There were ſeveral cauſes of this reſemblance.

1. Nothing could be more ſimple than the RITUAL of the firſt *Planet-worſhip*, as may be eaſily collected from the nature of that idolatry. But *Hero-worſhip* neceſſarily introduced a great number of complex Ceremonies. For, the commemorating the peculiar benefits received from the Hero-god, in his ſtate of humanity, would occaſion many *ſpecific* Rites; and the ſhadowing or concealing his original and eſpecially the blemiſhes in his moral character would neceſſitate the uſe of *allegorical*. And what this laſt ſort of Rites did not ſufficiently cover, the notion propagated amongſt his worſhippers (on which was founded the rationale of their worſhip) was made to ſupply, viz. That the DEMONS or *Heroes* had, like *men*, their inordinate virtues, paſſions and appetites. Plutarch in his tract *Of the ceaſing of the oracles* has a remarkable paſſage to this purpoſe. "There are in Demons, as in men, a diſparity in "their virtues, and, like as in the latter a mixture of paſſion and "imperfection. Of which, in ſome, we find only the faint and "obſcure traces yet remain, as the dregs of evanid matter; in "others the veſtiges are much ſtronger, and indeed, indelible: and "of this, we have certain marks and tokens diſperſed up and down, "and preſerved in the ſacrifices, in the myſteries, and in the ancient "mythologic tales *." In like manner, the general memory of the

* Εἰσὶ γὰρ ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ Δαίμοσιν ἀρετῆς διαφοραὶ, καὶ τῷ παθητικῷ καὶ ἀλόγῳ, τοῖς μὲν ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἀμαυρὸν ἔτι λείψανον, ὥσπερ περίττωμα· τοῖς δὲ πολὺ καὶ δυσκατάσβεστον ἔνεστιν, ὧν ἴχνη καὶ σύμβολα πολλαχῇ θυσίαι καὶ τελεταὶ καὶ μυθολογίαι σώζουσι καὶ διαφυλάττουσιν ἐνδιεσπαρμένα.

Hero's deſcent from mortals, gave riſe to the conſultation of ORACLES and adoration of STATUES in HUMAN FORM. Now, when Greece borrowed of Egypt the ſuperſtition of Hero-worſhip, they would of courſe borrow ſuch of the Rites and practices as were peculiar to that ſuperſtition; and adapt them to their own Hero-gods, as beſt ſuited every one's character. For the truth of which we have the expreſs teſtimony of Herodotus, who tells us, that *the Egyptians were the firſt authors of religious feſtivals, proceſſions, and offerings; and that the Greeks learnt them of that people* *. But this reſemblance, even without a ſtudious application of Egyptian rites, muſt have ariſen, from the very practice itſelf of Hero-worſhip; as appears from what we have obſerved of the nature of thoſe ceremonies which Hero-worſhip neceſſarily introduced. To confirm this, we need only conſider the caſe of thoſe hero-worſhippers of the north and weſt, the Gauls and Suevi; who did not, like the Greeks, borrow this mode of idolatry from Egypt; being indebted for it to nothing but the corruption of our common nature. Now the Gods of thoſe Barbarians, and the Rites with which their Gods were adored, reſembled the religion of Greece and Rome ſo exactly, that theſe polite nations thought the Gods of the Gauls and Suevi were the ſame with their own; only worſhipped under different names †. This was indeed a groſs miſtake; but natural to fall into: So great a reſemblance have Heroes of all times and places ever borne to one another; whether they were lawgivers, warriors, navigators, merchants, or artiſts. Nor was their common riſe from humanity, and their occupations in ſocial life, the only cauſe of this reſemblance. There was another; viz. their ſeveral departments after they were become Gods: ſome preſiding over the elements, as earth, air, or water; others over the paſſions and purſuits of men, as love, war, trade, and the like.

* — Πανηγυρίας δὲ ἄρα καὶ πομπὰς καὶ προσαγωγὰς πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων Αἰγύπτιοί εἰσι οἱ ποιησάμενοι· καὶ παρὰ τούτων Ἕλληνες μεμαθήκασι. l. ii. c. 58.

† See note [BBBB], at the end of this Book.

To

To this common reſemblance it was that at length almoſt every nation pretended, (as we ſee by Diodorus) that the Gods came originally from them. Now if the Gods of theſe Barbarians, though different in name, were for this reſemblance, miſtaken for the Gods of another people, with whom they had no commerce; where was the wonder that the Grecian Gods, who had the ſame name with thoſe of a people with whom Greece held a perpetual commerce, ſhould for the like reſemblance, be believed to be originally Egyptian?

2. For, ſecondly, when the Greeks borrowed Egyptian Rites to enrich the worſhip of their Gods, they borrowed Egyptian NAMES of honour, to adorn their perſons. Thus, for inſtance, the name of Bacchus, one of the appellations of Oſiris, was given to the ſon of Semele. Herodotus tells us, that theſe *names* they did certainly borrow; and we ſee by his account, that this was all which, in his time, was pretended to be borrowed *. This obſerving hiſtorian, in his account of the Pelaſgi, further confirms this truth, by a very curious piece of hiſtory. "In former times, (ſays "he) the Pelaſgi in their religious worſhip uſed to ſacrifice of "every thing without diſtinction, to their Gods, as I was informed "by the prieſts at Dodona. They gave neither *name* nor *ſur-* "*name* to any of their Gods: for they had heard of no ſuch "practice. But their titles were taken from what their worſhip- "pers conceived of their providence, directing and ordering all "things fitly and harmoniouſly. But after a long courſe of time "they heard of other Gods, and of their NAMES, which came "from EGYPT, and in the laſt place of the name of BACCHUS. "Some time after they conſulted the Oracle of Dodona concerning

* Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντα τὰ ΟΥΝΟΜΑΤΑ τῶν Θεῶν ΕΞ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ ἐλήλυθε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἥκει πυνθανόμενος ἔτω εὑρίσκω ἐὸν. δοκέω δ' ὧν μάλιστα ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπῖχθαι, ὅτι γὰρ δὴ μὴ Ποσειδεῶνος, καὶ Διοσκόρεων (ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι ταῦτα εἴρηται καὶ Ἥρης, καὶ Ἑστίης, καὶ Θεμιστος, καὶ Χαρίτων, καὶ Νηρηίδων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, Αἰγυπτίοισι αἰεὶ κοτὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγεσι αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. l. ii. c. 50.

"theſe

" theſe NAMES: for this Oracle is ſuppoſed to be the oldeſt of " any in Greece; and, at the time I am ſpeaking of, the only one. " Of this Oracle therefore having aſked advice, whether they " ſhould admit the NAMES, which came from the Barbarians, " into their religion; they received for anſwer, that they ſhould admit " them. From that time* therefore they ſacrificed with ſpecific mul- " tifarious Rites, in which they honoured their Gods with theſe new " *appellations*. And, from the Pelaſgi, the Greeks afterwards took " up the cuſtom. But the original of each God, and whether " they are all from eternity, and what are their ſeveral kinds of " natures, to ſay the truth, they neither knew at that time, nor " ſince. For HOMER and HESIOD—were thoſe who made a Theo- " gony for the Greeks; gave SURNAMES to the Gods; adjuſted " their various and ſpecific Rites and Attributes; and deſigned " and delineated their ſeveral forms and figures †."

From this remarkable paſſage we may deduce the following facts; which, beſides the evidence to the matter in queſtion, are very corroborative of our general explanation of Antiquity. 1. It appears from hence, that the Greeks borrowed the *names* of the Egyptian Gods ‡, to decorate their own; receiving them, as Herodotus here ſuppoſes, by the hands of the Pelaſgians. 2. That they

* See note [CCCC], at the end of this Book.

† Ἔθνον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοῖσι ἐπευχόμενοι· ὡς ἐγὼ ἐν Δωδώνῃ οἶδα ἀκούσας, ἐπωνυμίην δ' οὐδ' ὄνομα ἐποιεῦντο οὐδενὶ αὐτέων. ἠ γὰρ ἀκηκόεσάν κω. Θεοὺς δὲ προσωνόμασάν σφεας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου, ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομὰς εἶχον· ἐπεί τε δὲ χρόνῳ πολλῷ διελθόντι, ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπικόμενα τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων, Διονύσου δὲ ὕστερον πολλῷ ἐπύθοντο. καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐχρησηριάζοντο περὶ τῶν οὐνομάτων ἐν Δωδώνῃ· τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντήϊον τοῦτο νενόμιστο ἀρχαιότατον τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι χρηστηρίων εἶναι· καὶ ἦν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον μοῦνον· ἐπεὶ ὦν ἐχρησηριάζοντο ἐν τῇ Δωδώνῃ οἱ Πελασγοὶ εἰ ἀνέλωνται τὰ οὐνόματα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἥκοντα. ἀνεῖλε τὸ μαντήϊον χρᾶσθαι. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔθυον, τοισι οὐνόμασι τῶν θεῶν χρεώμενοι, παρὰ δὲ Πελασγῶν Ἕλληνες ἐξεδέξαντο ὕστερον. Εἰσθεν δὲ ἐγένετο ἕκαστο τῶν θεῶν, εἴτε δ' ἀεὶ ἦσαν πάντες ὁκοῖοί τέ τινες τὰ εἴδεα, οὐκ ἠπιστέατο μέχρι οὗ πρωήν τε καὶ χθές, ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ· Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον—ἥτοι δέ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες, Θεογονίην Ἕλλησι καὶ θεοῖσι τὰς τοῖσι ἐπωνυμίας δόντες, καὶ τιμάς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες, καὶ εἴδεα αὐτῶν σημήναντες. l. ii. c. 52, 53.

‡ See note [DDDD], at the end of this Book.

received

received *nothing but the names*. 3. That the humour of theſe ancient inhabitants of Greece was ſo far from diſpoſing them to take Egyptian, or Stranger-Gods, that they would not ſo much as venture on their *names* till they had conſulted the Oracle. 4. That the *Religion of names* came in with Hero-worſhip or local tutelary Deities (to which ſpecies of Gods *names* were an honorary attribution); and unknown to the worſhippers of the *natural Divinities*, as the Pelaſgians and all other uncivilized people. 5. That this *Religion of names* was a thing of much conſequence in the Egyptian ſuperſtition, and even characteriſtic of it; which the reader is deſired to obſerve as of uſe to explain ſome paſſages in the next ſection, concerning the propenſity of the Iſraelites to that ſuperſtition. 6. That one cauſe of that ignorance, which, Herodotus here tells us, the Greeks ever laboured under, concerning the original, nature, and ſpecies of their Gods, and which, as now appears, we had not unjuſtly charged upon them, when we ventured to ſay the ſame in ſeveral parts of this work; one cauſe, I ſay, was, that thoſe *names* which the Pelaſgians had applied to their new Hero-Gods, the Greeks, their ſucceſſors, took and trensferred to theirs. 7. And laſtly, (which ſupports the general argument we are now upon) the true ſenſe of the concluding words, which has hitherto been groſly miſtaken, lies open to us—*For* (ſays Herodotus) *Homer and Heſiod—were thoſe who made a Theogony for the Greeks; gave ſurnames to the Gods; adjuſted their various and ſpecific attributes, and rites of worſhip; and deſigned and delineated their ſeveral forms and figures.* What hath been commonly underſtood by theſe words is, that in Herodotus's opinion, the Greeks knew little or nothing of what we call their claſſical Gods, till Homer and Heſiod taught them how they were to be marſhalled, and had aſſigned their ſeveral departments. A ſenſe not only confuted by the poems of thoſe two writers, who relate what they ſaw ESTABLISHED in their own times, but contradicted by what went juſt before, where the hiſtorian tells us

that

that *Melampus* (whom Homer himſelf places three generations before the Trojan war) *firſt taught the Greeks the name, the rites, and the myſteries of Bacchus* *; the God laſt received (if we may believe the ſame hiſtorian) after the *Religion of names* were come in faſhion. And we have no reaſon to doubt his evidence, when we ſee the ſeveral parts of it ſo well coincide: for if Melampus firſt taught the Greeks the worſhip of Bacchus, this God muſt needs be the laſt received by them. But indeed, the whole context excludes the common interpretation, and directs us to one, very different. The Pelaſgians (we are told) received the RELIGION OF NAMES from the Barbarians [i. e. the Egyptians]; by which, the Gods were divided into their ſeveral claſſes. This new doctrine, the Pelaſgians conveyed down to the Greeks. *But* (ſays the hiſtorian) *the original of each God, and whether they are all from eternity, and what their ſeveral kinds and natures are, to ſay the truth, they neither knew at that time, nor ſince.* He then immediately ſubjoins the reaſon of their ignorance—FOR *Homer and Heſiod—were thoſe who made a Theogony for the Greeks; gave* SURNAMES *to the Gods; adjuſted their various and ſpecific rites and attributes; and deſigned and delineated their ſeveral forms and figures:* and a convincing reaſon it is; for Homer's and Heſiod's being the popular and only authoriſed books of Theology amongſt the Greeks, which aſſign the *names*, the *attributes*, and the *form* to each God, and their accounts being, at the ſame time, over-run with fables and fictions, it was impoſſible even for the Greeks themſelves to develop the confuſion, and emancipate themſelves from that ignorance here complained of, namely, of the *true natures of their Gods:* which indeed, their Teachers ſeem to have known as little of as themſelves. For Homer when he ſpeaks of Jupiter, ſometimes repreſents him as a

* —Ἤδη ὦν δοκέει μοι Μελάμπους ὁ Ἀμυθέωνος τῆς θυσίης ταύτης ἐκ εἶναι ἀδαὴς, ἀλλ' ἔμπειρος, Ἕλλησι γὰρ δὴ Μελάμπους ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξηγησάμενος τὸ Διονύσου, τότε ὄνομα, καὶ τὴν θυσίην, καὶ τὴν πομπὴν τῷ φαλλῷ. c. 49.

God

God *from eternity*, at other times as only the head of the college of their terreſtrial Deities. This then was what Herodotus meant to ſay; who is not ſpeaking of the INVENTIONS of Homer and Heſiod, but of their AUTHORITY. Whether they were the firſt who propagated or delivered theſe things, was not the matter in queſtion. Had it been ſo, we know how Herodotus would have decided; who, in this very place, expreſsly tells us, who were the FIRST; namely the Pelaſgians; who delivered them to the Greeks; where Homer and Heſiod found them. However, on the common interpretation, groſs as it is, Sir Iſaac Newton builds one of his ſtrongeſt arguments in favour of his *new Chronology*. To proceed:

3. The Greeks not only borrowed the NAMES, but likewiſe the SYMBOLS of the Egyptian Gods; and fitted them to their own. A very natural ſuperſtition, as appears by the practice of the Hebrews in the wilderneſs; who, in the abſence of Moſes, running back into Egyptian idolatry, would needs worſhip the God of their Fathers under an *Egyptian Symbol*; and with *Egyptian Rites* likewiſe, *and the people ſat down to eat and drink, and roſe up to play.* Now had God, on this occaſion, perſiſted in the ſeverity of his juſtice, where he tells Moſes, that he would indeed give them the land of Canaan, and drive out the inhabitants before them, becauſe he had promiſed Abraham ſo to do, yet that he would not honour them, as a ſelect People, with his peculiar protection: Had, I ſay, God thus caſt them off, and the people departed with their new Leader, the GOLDEN CALF, into Canaan; and there made it the viſible repreſentative of the God of their Fathers, and worſhipped it with Egyptian Rites; who can doubt but that the late poſterity of this people, thus abandoned by God, and given up *to make and believe a lye*, would have ſuppoſed that their Forefathers had worſhipped Oſiris, and not Jehovah, under this *golden calf?* The caſe needs no application.

This then was the whole of what Greece borrowed from Egypt in matter of religion, when it FIRST learnt the *mode* of Hero-worſhip from that ſuperſtitious people. But

4. It muſt be owned, that ſoon after, they did indeed adopt STRANGER Gods. At firſt the occaſion was rare, and the Worſhip particular and confined. Thus the Athenians labouring under a deſtructive famine, and relieved by Egypt with corn, did, in gratitude for that benefit, make Iſis the patron-Goddeſs of their Myſteries.

Their Migrations were another cauſe of this adoption: for every region having a local tutelary Deity, the new Colony thought themſelves obliged to worſhip the God of that place in which they came to ſettle. But, of this, more in another place.

However, in proceſs of time, the Greeks naturalized all the greater Gods of Egypt. For we are to obſerve that, as ſuperſtition grew in bulk, the principle of INTERCOMMUNITY, ariſing from the very eſſence of Paganiſm, at length overſpread all their National Religions, ſo as to bring things round again. We obſerved, that thoſe moſt early Idol-gods, the *Celeſtial luminaries*, were common to all nations, and that *Hero-worſhip* brought in the idea of local tutelary Deities: now, the principle of INTERCOMMUNITY at length broke down this incloſure, and turned all their Gods again upon the Common,

"The grazed ox, and all her bleating Gods*."

But to be a little more particular concerning theſe various revolutions in the genius of Paganiſm. The firſt idolatry was *Planetary:* and ſo long, their Gods were in common. But *Hero-worſhip*, by bringing in local tutelary Deities, made their Gods peculiar. As the times grew poliſhed, and the abſurdity of MORTAL Gods became better underſtood, the Managers of this ſuperſtition were obliged to hide their origin from Earth, and to pretend they had

* Milton.

ever

ever been Celeſtial. This ſoon wore out their peculiarity, and brought in again the notion of their general providence: which, by means of an increaſing ſuperſtition, ended in an univerſal INTERCOMMUNITY. To explain all theſe particulars, as they deſerve, would require a volume. And not much leſs perhaps might be collected from what hath been occaſionally ſaid of them, in the courſe of this work. Only one attendant circumſtance in theſe revolutions, it may not be improper to take notice of, as it greatly contributed to fix the later Greeks in their miſtake concerning the origin of their Hero-Gods. It was this: The learned Egyptians, as we have obſerved, at length contrived to hide the deformity of their idolatry by pretending that the whole had a reference to the ONLY GOD. Thus their various *Brute-worſhip*, they ſaid, was ſeverally relative to the various attributes of the DIVINITY. The ſame kind of refinement they brought into their *Hero-worſhip:* and each of their greater Gods they made ſignificative, ſome way or other, of the FIRST CAUSE. But to perfect this part of their ſymbolical Theology, it was neceſſary to make large additions to the Legends of thoſe Gods. And thus the ſeveral parts of ISIS's hiſtory became relative to the divine Nature. But ISIS being now poſſeſſed of all the attributes, which happened to be ſeverally divided amongſt the various Grecian Goddeſſes, the Greeks began to think that theſe were all originally derived from her. This was the eſtabliſhed doctrine in the time of Apuleius: who makes ISIS addreſs herſelf to him in theſe words: *En aſſum—rerum natura parens—cujus numen unicum multiformi ſpecie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo, totus veneratur orbis. Me primigenii Phryges* Peſſinunticam *nominant* Deûm matrem; *hinc Autochthones Attici Cecropiam* Minervam; *illinc fluctuantes Cyprii patriam* Venerem; *Cretes Sagittiferi Dictynnam* Dianam; *Siculi trilingues Stygiam* Proſerpinam; *Eleuſinii vetuſtam Deam* Cererem; Junonem *alii, alii* Bellonam, *alii* Hecaten, Rhamnuſiam *alii—Ægyptii ceremoniis me prorſus propriis percolentes appellant vero nomine* ISIDEM *.

* Metam. l. xi. p. 378.

Osiris too, becoming equally ſymbolical, made his fortune in the ſame manner, as appears by this ancient epigram:

Oxygia me Bacchum *vocat*,
Osirin *Ægyptus putat*,
Myſi Phanacen *nominant*,
Dionyſon *Indi exiſtimant*,
Romana Sacra Liberum,
Arabica gens Adoneum,
Lucaniacus Pantheum *.

Thus have I explained the ſeveral cauſes which occaſioned the later Greeks to think their own Gods were originally Egyptian; for underſtanding that the *Rites*, the *Names*, and the very *Symbols* of their Gods were borrowed from thence, they concluded the ſame of the Gods themſelves. And with good appearance of reaſon, as they found too that the ages immediately preceding theirs, had certainly adopted Egyptian Gods; which Gods had all the attributes of the Grecian. Now when this opinion was once generally embraced, they would, of courſe, invent a Legend for the Gods, conformable to the Egyptian hiſtory of them. And thus we ſee the reaſon why they made their Bacchus but two generations earlier than the Trojan war, of which age he was; and yet made him Osiris, the conqueror of India, which he was not †. But their more intelligent hiſtorians perceived the abſurdity; and ſo, reaſonably ſatisfied themſelves in ſuppoſing a *double Bacchus:* but being, as Herodotus obſerves, *very ignorant of the true origin of their Religion*, it was a mere gratuitous ſolution: which made it eaſy for Sir Iſaac to evade it; by only ſuppoſing, in his turn, that it was their wrong notion of the high antiquity of Egypt which made them ſplit one *Bacchus* into two. And yet in another inſtance, he frankly enough allows of this ancient practice of the *communication*

* Auſonius, Ep. xxx.

† See note [EEEE], at the end of this Book.

of

of names *. But he gives the fact reversed: for they were the earlier Greeks who worshipped two *Bacchus's*. And it was late, as we find by *Diodorus*, ere they incorporated them into one †. Now had the cause of their *duality* been what the great writer supposes, the fact had been just contrary; and earlier times had worshipped *one* Bacchus, and the later, *two*. The truth of the case then is this: when they first worshipped Hero-Gods, they had but one *Bacchus* and one *Hercules*, &c. and these were Grecian: when they afterwards borrowed the Egyptian Gods, they had two of each. And this is not said at random; for Herodotus ‡ and Diodorus § expressly tell us, that two *Bacchus's* and two *Hercules's* were worshipped by different Rites, and as Gods of different original, the one Grecian, the other Egyptian. And at length, for the causes explained under the next head, the *two* of each were again reduced to *one*. For we shall now see, that design as well as mistake contributed to confound the Grecian Bacchus with the Egyptian.

III. For our illustrious Author makes another use of the Grecian mythology, to support his system. He examines the genealogies of their Gods and Heroes; and finds them to coincide exactly with

* The Phenicians, upon their first coming into Greece, gave the name of Jao-pater, Jupiter, to every king. Chron. of Ancient Kings amended, p. 150.

† Διμήτορα δ' αὐτὸν προσαγορευθῆναι λέγουσι, διὰ τὸ πατρὸς μὲν ἑνὸς ὑπάρξαι τοὺς δύο Διονύσους, μητέρων δὲ δυεῖν· κεκληρονομηκέναι δὲ τὸν νεώτερον τὰς τοῦ προγενεστέρου πράξεις. διόπερ τοὺς ΜΕΤΑΓΕΝΕΣΤΕΡΟΥΣ ἀνθρώπους, ΑΙΝΟΟΥΝΤΑΣ μὲν τἀληθὲς, πλανηθέντας δὲ διὰ τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν, ἕνα γεγονέναι νομίσαι Διόνυσον. l. iv. p. 148.

‡ — Καὶ δοκέουσι δὲ μοι οὗτοι ὀρθότατα Ἑλλήνων ποιέειν, οἳ διξὰ Ἡράκλεια ἱδρυσάμενοι ἔκτηνται· καὶ τῷ μὲν, ὡς ΑΘΑΝΑΤΩι Ὀλυμπίῳ δὲ ἐπωνυμίην, θύουσι· τῷ δ' ἑτέρῳ, ὡς Ἥρωϊ, ἐναγίζουσι. Herod. l. ii. c. 44.

§ Μυθολογοῦσι δὲ τίνες καὶ ἕτερον Διόνυσον γεγονέναι πολὺ τοῖς χρόνοις προτεροῦντα τούτου. φασὶ γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Περσεφόνης Διόνυσον γενέσθαι, τον ὑπό τινων Σαβάζιον ὀνομαζόμενον· οὗ τήν τε γένεσιν, καὶ τὰς θυσίας, καὶ τιμὰς ΝΥΚΤΕΡΙΝΑΣ καὶ ΚΡΥΦΙΑΣ παρεισάγουσι, διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην τὴν ἐκ τῆς συνουσίας ἐπακολουθοῦσαν. Diod. l. iv. p. 148. These *nightly* and *secret* Rites shew them to be Egyptian. As for what is said of the other Bacchus's being the son of Proserpine, this was only a fancy of the Greeks, on observing the *mysteries* of Bacchus and those of Ceres or Isis to have a great resemblance: but this was only occasioned by their being both Egyptian Rites.

the

the time of SESOSTRIS*: A farther evidence of the truth of his hypotheſis.

There are but few caſes in which one would ſeriouſly admit the teſtimony of a Mythologiſt. Leaſt of all, in ſettling of dates. The moſt learned of the moderns complain greatly of them for confounding all time in their pretended relations of fact. The excellent biſhop STILLINGFLEET thus expreſſeth himſelf: *We ſee thoſe* [Thucydides and Plutarch, whoſe confeſſion he had quoted] *who were beſt able to judge of the Greek Antiquities, can find no ſure footing to ſtand on in them; and what baſis can we find for our faith, where they could find ſo little for their knowledge? And thoſe who have been more daring and venturous than theſe perſons mentioned, what a labyrinth have they run themſelves into? How many confuſions and contradictions have they involved themſelves in? ſometimes writing the paſſages of other countries for thoſe of Greece, and at other times ſo confounding times, perſons, and places, that one might think they had only a deſign upon the underſtandings of their readers, to make them play at blind-man's buff in ſearching for the kings of Greece* †. And the candid and accurate biſhop CUMBERLAND ſpeaks ſo much to our purpoſe, that I ſhall add his words to the foregoing: *Their mythic writers confound and loſe all the times of their Gods; which advantage divers Chriſtians make uſe of againſt them: and this was a good argument* ad hominem, *as it is called, but is not ſufficient to prove, that idolatry, and the heathen Gods, are of* SO LATE AN ORIGINAL, *as ſome, both Heathen and Chriſtians, have affirmed them to be* ‡. Now though, in anſwer to what Sir Iſaac Newton brings from ſuch writers, it were enough to ſay, with thoſe who have conſidered their character before me, that they are ſo perplexed, contradictory, and infinitely fabulous, that nothing certain can be gathered from their accounts, for the regulation of ancient time; yet that they

* Page 191. & ſeq. of the Chron. of Ancient Kingdoms amended.

† Orig. Sacr. p. 41. eighth edit.

‡ Sanchoniatho, p. 132, 133.

may

may never appear again amongſt witneſſes of credit, or be heard in matters of fact, I ſhall endeavour to ſhew, from what ſources thoſe accounts aroſe, from which the low date of the Egyptian Gods is inferred: whence it will appear that they are a heap of fictions, invented and contrived, as uſual, only for the ſupport of greater.

1. The *firſt* ſource was the addreſs of the EGYPTIAN PRIESTS, to ſcreen their *Hero-worſhip* from the inquiſition of the curious. We have obſerved, from a famous fable, invented by theſe men *, to record the danger which this ſuperſtition incurred, and from their art in evading that danger, that the original of their *Hero-Gods* was a ſubject maliciouſly purſued by the Free enquirers of thoſe times. For the diſcredit attending this ſuperſtition was, that theſe GODS had been MEN; and the proof of their humanity was taken from their late exiſtence. Now what did theſe Maſters in their trade do, to evade this evidence? We have ſeen before what they did to obſcure the enquiry Why, by an equal effort of their ſkill, they invented a ſet of fables (one of which has been examined above) concerning theſe Gods; which brought their births even *lower down* than to the times of their eſtabliſhed worſhip. What they gained by this was conſiderable: They threw a general confuſion over the whole hiſtory of theſe Gods: and in a ſhort time made men as indiſpoſed to give credit to the *old* ſtories of them (from whence the dangerous truth of their HUMANITY might be collected) as theſe *new* fables, which it was impoſſible they ſhould believe, for the reaſon juſt now aſſigned. Hence, the firſt ſource of the *low dates* of theſe Hero-Gods.

2. The *ſecond*, was the extravagant vanity of the Greeks in pretending, at length, to be original even to the Egyptians themſelves. For we are to obſerve, that there were three diſtinguiſhed periods in the Religion of civilized Greece; two of which we have

* The fable I mean is that of Typhon's perſecution of the Gods and their flight into Egypt; which the Greeks borrowed and fitted up with their own names of the Gods.

deſcribed

deſcribed already. The firſt was, when the Greeks borrowed Egyptian Rites and Ceremonies to adorn their own Hero-gods: the ſecond, when they adopted the very Egyptian Gods: and the third, when, on the contrary, they pretended that the Egyptians had adopted Theirs. On their firſt acquaintance with Egypt, they were modeſt, and fairly allowed its ſuperior Antiquity. But as they advanced in arts and empire, they grew intoxicated with their good fortune; and would now contend with Egypt (become by this time as much fallen and depreſſed in both) for the honour of priority; and ſoon after (as was no wonder when they had ventured ſo far), with all the reſt of mankind *. And then it was, that having, before this time, thoroughly confounded the Grecian and Egyptian Bacchus with deſign (a confuſion firſt occaſioned by miſtake) they invented many fables to countenance their abſurd pretenſions. Hence their idle tale of Apis, the ſon or grandſon of Phoroneus, becoming Osiris; without any other reaſon in the world than that the ſon of Phoroneus chanced to have the ſame name with the *ſymbol* of Oſiris. Hence, again, the fable of Io, the daughter of Inachus, becoming Isis; for ſcarce ſo good a reaſon; only an approaching ſimilitude of names. Yet theſe two wretched fables, Sir Iſaac Newton (ſurpriſing as it is) hath drawn in for the main ſupports of his hypotheſis †. But as much credit as his countenance hath given to them, he who can ſuppoſe Io to be ſtolen out of Greece, carried into Egypt, and there made a Goddeſs, may as well believe an European ſhip to be now buſied in bringing hither an Indian ſavage to be made a queen.

But another ſtory of the ſame ſtamp, carries its confutation along with it, as Herodotus rightly obſerved ‡. For, to bring Hercules, as they had done Iſis and Oſiris, out of Greece into Egypt, in a

* Λανθάνουσι δ' αὐτὲς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καλοῤῥώμαῖα, ἀφ' ὧν μὴ ὅτι γε φιλοσοφία, ἀλλὰ καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων ἦρξε, βαρβάροις περισάπιονίες. Diogenes Laertius, Proœm. Segm. 3.

† Page 192. of his Chronology.

‡ Λέγουσι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνεπισκέπτως οἱ Ἕλληνες· εὐήθης δὲ αὐτέων καὶ ὅδε ὁ μῦθός ἐστι, τὸν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα λέγουσι· ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπικόμενον ἐς Αἴγυπτον, &c. l. ii. c. 45.

manner

manner ſuitable to his character, they pretended that, when he had landed on that inhoſpitable ſhore, and was led by the Natives, crowned with garlands, to be offered up at the altar of Jupiter, he broke looſe from his leaders, and ſlaughtered all who were aſſembled for the Sacrifice: and in this rough manner, I ſuppoſe, taught them to aboliſh thoſe inhuman rites, and to worſhip their chaſtiſer as a God: which would ſeem to have been the firſt bringing in of club-law into Religion. But, as Herodotus obſerves, the inventor of this fable hath laid his ſtory ſo ill together, that he hath only betrayed his own ignorance of Egyptian Manners. For, from the moſt early time, the inhabitants of the Nile were ſo far from offering up human victims, that they held it unlawful to ſacrifice above three or four ſpecies of animals. But the Egyptians owed them a good turn for this ſlander of *human ſacrifices*; and indeed paid them with uſury. For Herodotus tells us, the Prieſts informed him, that when Menelaus went to Egypt to enquire after Helen, and lay wind-bound in their ports, he cut up two children of the natives, to divine by their entrails *.

This humour of priority was ſo rooted in the Greeks, that Diodorus ſeems to inſinuate, they always diſputed it with the Egyptians †. And ſo far indeed is true, that it was one of their moſt early vanities ‡: and though afterwards, on their moſt intimate acquaintance with Egypt, it was in ſome degree corrected, yet it burſt out again, and laſted, as we ſee, even to the time of Diogenes Laertius. But this is the pleaſant part of the ſtory; The Egyptians were not content to complain, as well they might, that the Greeks had ſtolen away their Gods and Heroes; but they would needs make repriſals on them. Thus, as Diodorus tells us, when they charged the Greeks with taking away their Iſis, to aggravate the theft they pretended that Athens itſelf was originally

* Λαβὼν γὰρ δύο παιδία ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἔντομά σφεα ἐποίησε. Herod. l. ii. c. 119.

† Περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ βίου ἤγουν γένους ἀρχαιότητος οὐ μόνον ἀμφισβητοῦσιν Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ τῶν Βαρβάρων ἑαυτοὺς αὐτόχθονας λέγοντες.—p. 6.

‡ See p. 359.

but an Egyptian Colony *. This was a home ſtroke: but the Greeks as handſomely returned it; by affirming that one of the Egyptian pyramids was built by Rhodope, a Grecian whore †. This ſetting up one falſe claim to oppoſe another was in the very ſpirit of ancient Paganiſm ‡. So again, the Egyptians maintaining that civilized Greece was indebted for the mode of Hero-worſhip to them; did, in order to ſupport a juſt claim, which wanted none of theſe arts, pretend to Antiquity moſt extravagantly *high*. The Greeks, not to be behind hand with them, and to ſupport a falſe claim which did want theſe ſort of arts, having pretended that the Egyptians borrowed all from them, brought down the age of theſe diſputed Gods as much too *low*. Unluckily, the great Author, who ſaw the unreaſonable Antiquity of the one ſyſtem, did not advert to the unreaſonable Novelty of the other.

But we are not to think the Greeks firm and ſteady in this natural conſequence of their unjuſt pretenſions. Nothing is ſo inconſtant as falſhood. When, therefore, on the iſſue, it was ſeen that all the Records of former times contradicted this novelty; and, conſequently, that their darling claim itſelf was likely to be in danger, they ſhifted their ſupport, and then contended, in imitation of the Egyptians, for as extravagant an Antiquity §.

IV. Hitherto Sir Iſaac Newton was drawn in by Antiquity; which had ſunk with him, and foundered in the treacherous ſoil of Mythology. But the greateſt part of his reaſoning, from theſe Genealogies, ſtands upon an error of his own. The age preceding the deſtruction of Troy is full of the loves and intrigues of the

* Καὶ τὺς Ἀθηναίυς δέ φασιν ἀποίκυς εἶναι Σαϊτῶν τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτυ. Diod. p. 17.

† See note [FFFF], at the end of this Book.

‡ See Div. Leg. vol. I. where we have ſhewn, that the Converts from Gentiliſm unhappily practiſed it even after they had profeſſed a Religion which condemns all the oblique arts of falſhood, and unjuſt retaliation.

§ —Πάντων δὴ πρῶτον μνησθῶμεν, ὅτι τὸ κεφάλαιον ἦν ἐνάκις ἔτη χίλια, ἀφ' ὗ γεγονὼς ἐμηνύθη πόλεμος τοῖς θ' ὑπὲρ Ἡρακλείας στήλας ἔξω κατοικοῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἐντὸς πᾶσιν· ὃν δεῖ νῦν διαπεραίνειν· τῶν μὲν οὖν ἤδε ἡ πόλις ἄρχουσα καὶ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον διαπολεμήσασα ἐλέγετο. Plato, vol. iii. p. 108. E.

greater

greater Divinities: who ſupplied that expedition from their own loins with Demy-Gods once removed. Sir Iſaac, who ſuppoſed, as indeed he well might from phyſical obſervation, that the Gods left off getting children when they died, concludes, from the mythologic account of their Offspring, that they muſt needs have lived but two or three generations before the war of Troy. But our great Philoſopher took this thing a deal too ſeriouſly. The truth is, he concerned himſelf no farther with the fabulous hiſtory of ancient times than juſt ſerved the purpoſe of his ſyſtem. Otherwiſe he might have found, on the moſt curſory ſurvey, that one of the eſſential attributes of a Pagan God was the getting of Baſtards: and that, for one he fairly had in life, his worſhippers fathered an hundred upon him after his deceaſe. This amorous commerce between Heaven and Earth never ceaſed till near the lateſt times of Paganiſm; as we learn from the primitive Apologiſts; who referring to their perpetual intrigues in mythologic ſtory, rally the idolaters, of their time, with great vivacity, on the decrepid old age and ſudden debility of their Gods.

It being then notorious that, in the later ages of Paganiſm, Earth ſwarmed as thick with the progeny of Heaven, as in the early times of that religion, Heaven ſwarmed with the progeny of Earth, Sir Iſaac's calculation, from the time of the ſons and grandſons of the Gods, what muſt needs be their own, is altogether fallacious. But as, in this inquiry, we have ſtill attempted to account for the fables of Antiquity, in order to detect their various impoſtures, and prevent their future miſchief, we ſhall now conſider the original of thoſe in queſtion.

1. The firſt cauſe of this doubly-ſpurious Off-ſpring, was the contrivance of wives to hide their adultery; of virgins to excuſe their incontinence; and of parents to cover the diſhonour of their Houſe *. The God bore the blame, or rather the Mortal reaped the glory; and Paſſion, as is uſual, was advanced into Piety.

* See note [GGGG], at the end of this Book.

Great men too, employed it, (for then Great men had ſome regard for their Race and Name) to conceal the ignominy of a low-born commerce. In a word, both ſexes ſoon learnt the ſweets of a holy intrigue; where a pretended converſe with a God or Goddeſs preſerved the reputation of the weaker, and procured power and authority to the ſtronger ſex. Sometimes the pretended amour was mutually concerted between the real parties: as that of Anchiſes and a Country wench; who, in regard to his honour, was to paſs for a Venus. So Homer *:

"Divine Æneas brings the Dardan race,
"Anchiſes' ſon by Venus' ſtol'n embrace;
"*Born in the ſhades of Ida's ſecret grove,*
"A Mortal mixing with the Queen of Love."

Mr. Pope.

And, in a much later age, the Wife of Philip of Macedon and her Court-gallant. Sometimes again, one of the parties was deceived by the maſk of divinity which the other had impiouſly aſſumed, as ſeems to have been the caſe of Aſtioche †:

"Two valiant brothers rule th' undaunted throng,
"Ialmen and Aſcalaphus the ſtrong:
"Sons of Aſtiochè the heav'nly fair,
"Whoſe virgin charms ſubdu'd the God of war:
"*In Actor's court, as ſhe retir'd to reſt,*
"The ſtrength of Mars the bluſhing maid compreſt."

Mr. Pope.

* Δαρδανίων αὖτ' ἦρχεν, ἰὼς παῖς Ἀγχίσαο,
Αἰνείας· τὸν ὑπ' Ἀγχίσῃ τέκε δῖ' Ἀφροδίτη,
Ἴδης ἐν κνημοῖσι, θεὰ βροτῷ ἰυπηθεῖσα. Il. ζ. ver. 819.

Yet this is one of the inſtances Sir Iſaac brings to prove the low age of the Goddeſs Venus. See p. 191. of his *Chronology*.

† Τῶν ἦρχ' Ἀσκάλαφός τε καὶ Ἰάλμενος υἷες Ἄρηος,
Οὓς τέκεν Ἀστυόχη, δόμῳ Ἀκτορος Ἀζείδαο,
Παρθένος ΑΙΔΟΙΗ, ὑπερώϊον εἰσαναβᾶσα,
Ἄρηϊ κρατερῷ· ὁ δὲ οἱ παρελέξατο ΛΑΘΡΗ. Il. β. ver. 512.

And

And of the prieſteſs Rhea,

——*Quem Rhea Sacerdos*
FURTIVUM *partu ſub luminis edidit auras,*
Miſta Deo Mulier *.

And of Alcmene the mother of Hercules. It was certainly the caſe of the virtuous Paulina, in the reign of Tiberius: who, being made to believe that the God Anubis was fallen in love with her, went to the appointed aſſignation with a mind equally balanced by conjugal chaſtity and ſuperſtition. The ſtory is very curious, and told by Joſephus † in all its circumſtances. In ſhort, if we may believe Ovid, who was exquiſitely ſkilled in the mythologic ſtory, this was one of the moſt common covers of luſt and concupiſcence. The pretended nurſe of Semele is made to caution her miſtreſs againſt the addreſſes of Jupiter, in the following manner:

———*Opto*
Jupiter ut ſit, ait; Metuo tamen omnia. MULTI
NOMINE DIVORUM THALAMOS INIERE PUDICOS ‡.

2. Another cauſe was the ambition of the pretenders themſelves to heavenly birth, in order to ſupport their authority amongſt their barbarous ſubjects or followers. Thus we are told, that the two Amazon queens, Marthefia and Lampeto, gave out that they were the daughters of Mars, *ne ſucceſſibus deeſſet auctoritas* (ſays the hiſtorian) *genitas ſe* MARTE *prædicabant* §. And thus Romulus and Remus pretended to the ſame relation: But this matter is explained more at large in the diſcourſe on the ancient Lawgivers ||.

* Æn. l. vii. ver. 659. See Dionyſ. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. l. i. p. 62.
† Antiq. Jud. l. xviii. c. 3. See, for this general practice, Herod. l. i. c. 181.
‡ Metam. l. iii. fab. 3. § Juſtin. Hiſt. l. ii. c. 4.
|| Div. Leg. vol. I. l. ii. ſect. 2.

3. A third cauſe was the flattery of ſycophants and corrupt Courtiers. To this practice Clepolemus alludes, in his addreſs to Sarpedon:

"Know thy vain ſelf, *nor let their flatt'ry move*,
"Who ſtyle thee ſon of cloud-compelling Jove.
"How far unlike thoſe chiefs of race divine!
"How vaſt the diff'rence of their deeds and thine * !"

Mr. Pope.

4. A fourth cauſe was a mere figure of ſpeech common in the eaſtern phraſeology: which, to expreſs the qualities of the ſubject, called a prudent and powerful monarch † the ſon of Jupiter: a violent and inhuman ravager ‡, or an expert and able ſeaman, the ſon of Neptune §; a ſharper, a banker, or a large trader, the ſon of Mercury: a cultivator of the fine arts, the ſon of Apollo; a great warrior, the ſon of Mars; a beautiful woman, the daughter of Venus; and a good phyſician, the offspring of Æſculapius. Thus Homer,

* Ψευδόμενοι δέ σε φασὶ Διὸς γόνον αἰγιόχοιο
Εἶναι, ἐπεὶ πολλὸν κείνων ἐπιδεύεαι ἀνδρῶν
Οἳ Διὸς ἐξεγένοντο ἐπὶ προτέρων ἀνθρώπων. Ιλ. ε. ver. 635.

† The words of Callimachus, in his Hymn to Jupiter, are ſo appoſite to our purpoſe, that the learned reader will not think them quoted impertinently:

Αὐτίκα χαλκῆας μὲν ὑδείομεν Ἡφαιστοῖο,
Τευχηστὰς δ' Ἀρῆος· ἐπακτῆρας δὲ χιτώνης
Ἀρτέμιδος· Φοίβου δὲ, λύρης εὖ εἰδότας οἴμους.
Ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες· ἐπεὶ Διὸς οὐδὲν ἀνάκτων
Θειότερον. Ver. 76, & ſeq.

‡ Præſtantiſſimos virtute, prudentia, viribus, *Jovis filios* poetæ appellaverunt, ut Æacum, & Minos, & Sarpedona: Ferociſſimos et immanes et alienos ab omni humanitate tanquam e mari genitos, *Neptuni filios* dixerunt, Cyclopa, & Cercyona, & Scyrona, & Læſtrygonas. A. Gellius, lib. xv. c. 21.

Thus in the Argonautic expedition Typhis the pilot, and his mate Ergynus, ere called the ſons of Neptune. And when theſe died in the voyage, they were ſucceeded by Aneæus and Euphemus; and both of theſe, we are told, were the ſons of Neptune, likewiſe. I choſe to give the reader this inſtance, becauſe, from this figure of ſpeech, thus qualifying men any way diſtinguiſhed in the Argonautic times, Sir Iſaac Newton infers the low age of the Grecian Deities.

"In

"In thirty ſail the ſparkling waves divide,
"Which Podalirius and Machaon guide.
"To theſe his ſkill their *Parent-God* imparts,
"Divine profeſſors of the healing arts *."

Mr. POPE.

And that the poet meant no more than that they were excellent in their profeſſion, appears from his giving to all the Egyptians the ſame original, where, ſpeaking of their ſuperior eminence in the art of phyſic, he ſays,

"Theſe drugs, ſo friendly to the joys of life,
"Bright Helen learn'd from Thone's imperial wife;
"Who ſway'd the ſceptre, where prolific Nile
"With various ſimples clothes the fat'ned ſoil—
"From *Pæon ſprung*, their patron God imparts
"To all the Pharian race his healing arts †."

Mr. FENTON.

5. The laſt cauſe I ſhall mention were the dotages of judicial Aſtrology. But whether giving to each of their Gods a Star over which to preſide was the *cauſe* or *effect* of this folly, may be diſputed; becauſe, I believe, it was ſometimes one, and ſometimes the other. Yet it gave frequent occaſion to call an extraordinary perſon the ſon of that God or Goddeſs under whoſe planet he was born.

Thus have I endeavoured to diſcover and lay open the true cauſes of all that confuſion which goes under the name of the *Hiſtory of the heroic ages*. Thoſe falſe facts therefore, and the miſtaken concluſion drawn from them by Sir Iſaac Newton to ſupport the

* Τῶν αὖθ' ἡγείσθην Ἀσκληπιοῦ δύο παῖδε,
Ἰητῆρ' ἀγαθώ, Ποδαλείριος ἠδὲ Μαχάων·
Τοῖς δὲ τριήκοντα γλαφυραὶ νέες ἐστιχόωντο. Il. β. ver. 731.

† Ἰητρὸς δὲ ἕκαστος ἐπιστάμενος περὶ πάντων
Ἀνθρώπων· ἦ γὰρ Παιήονός εἰσι γενέθλης. Od. δ. ver. 231.

identity

identity of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, being detected, general tradition, which vouches for their real diverſity, is reinſtated in its credit: whoſe teſtimony likewiſe, as I have gone along, I have not neglected occaſionally to ſupport by divers corroborating circumſtances.

I might indeed have taken a very different rout through this *Land of Fables*, to the confutation of his hypotheſis; by oppoſing adventure to adventure, and genealogy to genealogy; and have formed upon them, as others have done before me, a ſyſtem of chronology directly oppoſite to our illuſtrious Author's. But this inſtead of relieving the reader, would only have put him in mind of the old man's complaint; *Incertior ſum multo quam dudum.* I have therefore attempted a way of greater certainty, in an explanation of the general principles and practices of ancient Superſtition; of which, their mythologic hiſtory was the fruits: And by this it appears that all theſe pretended Facts, on which Sir Iſaac Newton ſupports his hypotheſis of the identity of Osiris and Sesostris, are mere Fables, invented to confound all times and æras, and therefore moſt unhappily choſen for one of the means of regulating and reforming the ancient Chronology.

III.

But although I could have given no reaſonable account of theſe miſtaken facts, from which Sir Iſaac Newton infers the identity. I was ſtill able to prove the falſhood of that ſuppoſed identity, by the conſequences that follow from it: not only by thoſe which our great Author would not, but by thoſe which he would, venture to admit. Both of which directly contradict SCRIPTURE and the NATURE OF THINGS. So that, as before I proved the error of his concluſion from the falſhood of his premiſſes; I now begin at the other end, and ſhall prove the falſhood of his premiſſes from the error of his concluſion.

I. I have, in the third and fourth ſections of this book, ſhewn at large, from ſacred Scripture, illuſtrated and confirmed by prophane Antiquity, that Egypt was a polite and powerful Empire at the egreſſion

egreſſion of the Iſraelites. This is alone ſufficient to overthrow Sir Iſaac Newton's whole ſyſtem. But to make the truth ſtill more evident, it may be proper to take a particular, though ſhort, view of the neceſſary conſequences which follow from the ſuppoſed identity of Oſiris and Seſoſtris. Theſe may be divided into two parts; ſuch as our great author hath ventured to own; and ſuch as, for their apparent falſhood, he was obliged to paſs over in ſilence.

To begin with the latter. Thoſe very hiſtories on which Sir Iſaac builds his identity, tell us that Oſiris and his wife and ſiſter Iſis were the profeſſed patron and patroneſs of naſcent arts, the very inſtruments of huſbandry being invented in their time; that he firſt taught the culture of the vine*; and aboliſhed the bad habit, his ſavage Subjects had of eating one another †: and that ſhe taught them to ſow corn ‡; and gave them their firſt ſyſtem of laws §.—But if Oſiris were Seſoſtris, all theſe fine diſcoveries were made but two generations before the Trojan war, and full five hundred years after the egreſſion of the Iſraelites from Egypt: And then what are we to think of the Bible? But the groſs abſurdity of theſe things hindered our Author from receiving them into the conſequences of his new ſyſtem: yet theſe ſtanding on the ſame authority with the conſequences, he hath thought fit to receive, he was obliged to paſs them over in ſilence. But though he be ſilent, we ſhould not. On the contrary, we muſt inſiſt that he hath tranſgreſſed the plaineſt

* Εὑρεθῆν δ' αὐτὸν γενέσθαι φασὶ τῆς ἀμπέλου περὶ τὴν Νύσαν, καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν τῶ ταύτης καρπῶ προσεπινοήσαντα, πρῶτον οἴνῳ χρήσασθαι καὶ διδάξαι τὺς ἄλλυς ἀνθρώπυς τήν τε φιλίαν τῆς ἀμπέλου, καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῶ οἴνυ, καὶ τὴν συνκομιδὴν αὐτῶ καὶ τήρησιν. Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 10.

† Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ παῦσαι τῆς ἀλληλοφαγίας τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένΘ. Id. p. 9.

‡ Εὑρέτης μὲν ἼσιδΘ τόν τε τῶ πυρῶ καὶ τῆς κριθῆς καρπὸν, (φυόμενον μὲν ὡς ἔτυχε καὶ τὴν χώραν μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης βοτάνης, ἀγνοέμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων) τῶ δὲ ὈσίριδΘ ἐπιστησαμένῳ τὴν τέτων καλιεργασίαν τῶν καρπῶν. Id. ib.

§ Θεῖναι δέ φασι καὶ νόμυς τὴν Ἶσιν, καθ' ὃς ἀλλήλυις διδόναι τὺς ἀνθρώπυς τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τῆς ἀθέσμυ βιας καὶ ὕβρεως παύσασθαι, διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τιμωρίας φόβόν. Id. ib.

rules of fair reaſoning, which required him, either to receive the conſequences he hath rejected, or to reject thoſe which he hath received; or laſtly, to ſhew, that they ſtand upon a different authority. But he will do nothing of this; he picks and chuſes as he likes beſt, and, what is not for his purpoſe, he leaves without notice. Diodorus ſays, that Oſiris aboliſhed the cuſtom of human ſacrifices; that he built the city of Thebes; that he regulated the worſhip of the Gods; and conquered many nations. Theſe things Sir Iſaac, who takes Oſiris for Seſoſtris, readily admits. The ſame Hiſtorian ſays, that this Oſiris firſt cultivated the vine; reſtrained his Subjects from eating one another; and found out the arts of life; that his wife Iſis invented agriculture, and gave the firſt law to the Egyptians; but all this, Sir Iſaac tacitly rejects. Yet if one part of the Sicilian's account be of better authority than the reſt, it is that, which ſays, *Iſis invented agriculture:* for he expreſſly tells us, that ſo it was found written on a large column, in hieroglyphic characters, half conſumed by time, then ſtanding in the city of Nyſa in Arabia *: and, without his telling, we are well aſſured, that her *myſteries* had very early brought the knowledge of the fact to all the neighbouring nations.

II. Amongſt the conſequences which the great Author hath thought fit to admit; ſome are theſe, That *inſtruments of war*; *horſes for military ſervice*; *animal food*; *the exact diſtribution of property*; *alphabetic letters*; and *the well peopling of Egypt*; were all the product of the Seſoſtrian age.

1. Vulcan, he ſays, who lived even to the times of the Trojan war, invented Armour, and was, on that account, deified by the Egyptians. His words are theſe. *He* [Vulcan] *reigned there* [in Cyprus and Byblus] *till a very great age, living to the times of the Trojan war, and becoming exceeding rich* †—*And for aſſiſting the*

* Ἐγὼ Ἶσις εἰμὶ ἡ βασίλισσα πάσης χώρας—Ἐγώ εἰμι γυνὴ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Ὀσίριδος βασιλέως. Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ πρώτη καρπὸν ἀνθρώποις εὑροῦσα. Id. p. 16.

† Page 223.

Egyptians

Egyptians with armour, it is probable, that he was deified by his friends the Egyptians, by the name of Baal-Canaan or Vulcan: for Vulcan was celebrated principally by the Egyptians, and was a king, according to Homer, and reigned in Lemnos; and Cinyras was an inventor of arts, and found out copper in Cyprus, and the ſmith's hammer, and anvil, and tongs and laver; and employed workmen in making armour, and other things of braſs and iron, and was the only king celebrated in hiſtory for working in metals, and was king of Lemnos, and the huſband of Venus; all which are the characters of Vulcan: and the Egyptians about the time of the death of Cinyras, viz. in the reign of their king Amenophis, built a very ſumptuous temple at Memphis to Vulcan *. Here we have a Hero, living till the time of the Trojan war, not only the inventor of arms, but likewiſe of the very tools employed in making them. That this was our Author's meaning, is plain from what he tells us of the Egyptians fighting with clubs in the time of Seſoſtris †; which certainly was for want of better weapons: and ſtill plainer, from what he tells of Vulcan's being made a God; which, certainly, was for a NEW INVENTION. If I ſhould now ſhew, by a formal enumeration of particulars, how all here ſaid, contradicts the BIBLE, the reader would think me diſpoſed to trifle with him. Inſtead of this, I ſhall but juſt obſerve, how ill it agrees with HOMER: who ſeems, indeed, to make Vulcan the Patron-God of the Armourers, but, at the ſame time, makes both him, and the invention, the product of a much earlier age. From the poem of the Trojan war it appears that military weapons had been then of tried uſe; and Vulcan, and his wife Venus, Deities of long ſtanding. Nor can it be objected that the poet hath here given us the picture of his own times. He was a ſtricter obſerver of decorum: as may be ſeen amongſt other inſtances, from a celebrated one taken notice of by the critics, that, though, in his days, Cavalry were common, yet he brings none to the ſiege of Troy, becauſe thoſe times had not yet learnt their uſe. Nor was he leſs knowing than exact;

* Page 224, 225. † Page 215.

for he was poſſeſſed of the Songs and Poems of his anceſtors; in which he found all the particulars of that famous expedition*. Now, if military weapons, at the time of the Trojan war, had been long in uſe amongſt the Greeks, it is hardly poſſible they ſhould have been juſt invented in Egypt.

2. Our author makes Seſoſtris's conqueſt of Libya the occaſion of furniſhing Egypt with Horſes. *After the conqueſt of Libya* (ſays he) *by which Egypt was furniſhed with horſes, and furniſhed Solomon and his friends, he prepared a fleet*, &c †. The illuſtrious Writer is here ſpeaking of the original of thoſe civil advantages, for which ancient Egypt was ſo much celebrated. He had before, and afterwards, told us his thoughts of their *aſtronomy*, *navigation*, *letters*, *names*, and *weapons of war*. We cannot therefore but underſtand what he here ſays, of the *Libyan horſes*, to mean, that the conqueſt of that country was the firſt occaſion of Egypt's abounding in Horſe. But this directly contradicts holy Scripture, which aſſures us that they abounded in Horſe long before. Their purſuit of the Iſraelites is thus deſcribed,—*And Pharaoh made ready his chariot, and took his people with him. And he took ſix hundred choſen chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt, and captains over every one of them.—The Egyptians purſued after them (all the horſes and chariots of Pharaoh and his horſemen and his army.)—And the Egyptians purſued after them to the midſt of the ſea, even all Pharaoh's horſes, his chariots and his horſemen* ‡. Sir Iſaac § ſeems to have been aware of this evidence againſt him, and endeavours to turn it on the ſide of his hypotheſis. *In the days of* Moses (ſays he) *all the chariots of Egypt, with which Pharaoh purſued* Iſrael, WERE BUT SIX HUNDRED. *Exod.* xiv. 7. This is a ſtrange miſtake. The *ſix hundred*, mentioned in the place quoted, are expreſly ſaid to be the *choſen chariots*, that is, the king's guard; for over and above theſe, *all the chariots of Egypt*, an indefinite number, were in

* See note [HHHH], at the end of this Book.

† Page 215.

‡ Exod. xiv. ver. 6, 7—9—23.

§ Page 167.

the

the purſuit. Beſides, the number of horſes is not to be eſtimated from the chariots, becauſe there was an army of *horſemen* likewiſe in this expedition.

However, by Sir Iſaac's own confeſſion it appears, that Egypt abounded with Horſe much earlier than the time he here aſſigns. For the vaſt number of Philiſtim Horſe brought into the field, in the ſecond year of the reign of Saul, in an army conſiſting of thirty thouſand chariots and ſix thouſand horſemen, came all, in our author's opinion, from Egypt. *The Canaanites* (ſays he) *had their Horſes from Egypt*; *and——from the great army of the Philiſtims againſt Saul, and the great number of their Horſes, I ſeem to gather that the ſhepherds had newly relinquiſhed Egypt, and joined them* *.—— Now if they had ſuch plenty of horſe in the time of Saul, how was it that they were firſt furniſhed from Libya in the time of Seſac?

But another circumſtance in ſacred Hiſtory will ſhew us, that Egypt, which ſupplied Canaan, abounded in Horſe ſtill much earlier. In the law of Moſes, we find this prohibition, perſonally directed to their future King: *he ſhall not multiply horſes to himſelf, nor cauſe the people to return to* EGYPT, TO THE END THAT HE SHOULD MULTIPLY HORSES: *foraſmuch as the Lord hath ſaid unto you, Ye ſhall henceforth return no more that way* †. Now the reaſon, here given, being to prevent all commerce with Egypt, we muſt conclude, if it appear that Egypt, at this time, ſupplied other nations with horſes, that the law extended to their Judges as well as Kings. But they did ſupply other nations. For we find the confederate Canaanites (who, by Sir Iſaac's confeſſion, had their horſes from Egypt) warring againſt Joſhua, *they and all their hoſts with them, much people, even as the ſand that is upon the ſea-ſhore in multitude, with Horſes and chariots very many* ‡. The law therefore did certainly reſpect the Judges. And the reaſoning is confirmed by fact. For Joſhua, when he had defeated theſe confederate hoſts, *boughed*

* P. 167. † Deut. xvii. ver. 16. ‡ Joſ. xi. ver. 4.

their

their Horſes and burnt their chariots with fire *, according to the commandment of the Lord: obſerving it in the ſame rigorous manner in which it was obeyed by their Kings, to whom the law was perſonally addreſſed: For thus Ahab deſtroyed the horſes and chariots of Benhadad †. So that I now conclude the other way from this Law, that a general traffic with Egypt for Horſes was very common in the times of Moſes and Joſhua. Conſequently Egypt was not furniſhed with Horſes from Libya in the time of Sir Iſaac Newton's Seſoſtris.

But it may give ſtrength to this argument, as well as light to tho ſacred Text, to inquire more particularly into the reaſons of this PROHIBITION; which we ſhall find ſo weighty and various as to appear worthy of its Author, and accommodated only to a Law of divine original.

1. The firſt reaſon (which was expreſſly delivered with the Law) is, properly, RELIGIOUS. He [the King], ſays the Law, *ſhall not multiply Horſes to himſelf, nor cauſe the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he ſhould multiply Horſes: foraſmuch as the Lord had ſaid unto you, Ye ſhall henceforth return no more that way*; i. e. He ſhould not eſtabliſh a body of Cavalry, becauſe this could not be effected without ſending into Egypt, with which people the Lord had forbidden any communication, as, of all foreign commerce, that was the moſt dangerous to true Religion ‡.

When Solomon had violated this Law, and multiplied Horſes to ſuch exceſs that, we are told, he *had forty thouſand ſtalls of horſes for his chariots, and twelve thouſand Horſemen* §, it was ſoon attended with thoſe fatal conſequences which the Law had foretold. For this wiſeſt of Kings having likewiſe, in violation of another Law of Moſes, married Pharaoh's daughter ||, (the early fruits of this commerce) and then, by a repetition of the ſame crime, but a

* Ver. 9.

† 1 Kings xx. ver. 21.

‡ See the next ſection.

§ 1 Kings iv. ver. 26.

|| 1 Kings iii. ver. 1.

tranſgreſſion

tranſgreſſion of another law, had eſpouſed more *ſtrange women* *; they firſt of all, in defiance of a fourth Law, purſuaded him to build them idol Temples for their uſe; and afterwards, againſt a fifth Law, ſtill more fundamental, brought him to erect other Temples for his own †. Now the original of all this miſchief was the forbidden traffic with Egypt for Horſes: For thither, we are told, the agents of Solomon were ſent to mount his Cavalry. *And Solomon gathered chariots and horſemen: and he had a thouſand and four hundred chariots, and twelve thouſand horſemen, which he placed in the chariot-cities, and with the king at Jeruſalem—And he had Horſes brought out of Egypt, and linen-yarn: the kings merchants received the linen yarn at a price. And they fetcht up and brought forth out of Egypt a chariot for ſix hundred ſhekels of ſilver, and an Horſe for an hundred and fifty* ‡. Nay, this great King even turned factor for the neighbouring monarchs. *And ſo brought they out Horſes for all the kings of the Hittites, and for the kings of Syria by their means* §. This opprobrious commerce was kept up by his Succeſſors; and attended with the ſame pernicious conſequences. Iſaiah, with his uſual majeſty, denounces the miſchiefs of this traffic; and foretels that one of the good effects of leaving it, would be the forſaking their idolatries. *Wo to them that go down to Egypt for help, and ſtay on* HORSES *and truſt in chariots, becauſe they are many; and in* HORSEMEN, *becauſe they are very ſtrong: but they look not unto the holy one of Iſrael, neither ſeek the Lord.—For thus hath the Lord ſpoken unto me: Like as the lion, and the young lion, roaring on his prey, when a multitude of ſhepherds is called forth againſt him, he will not be afraid of their voice, nor abaſe himſelf for the noiſe of them: ſo ſhall the Lord of Hoſts come down to fight for mount Zion, and for the hill thereof—Turn ye unto him from whom the children of Iſrael have deeply revolted. For in that day every man ſhall caſt away his idols of*

* 1 Kings xi. ver. 1.
† 1 Kings xi. ver. 7, 8.
‡ 2 Chron. i. ver. 16, 17.
§ 2 Chron. i. ver. 17.

ſilver,

ſilver, and his idols of gold, which your own hands have made unto you for a ſin *.

2. The ſecond reaſon againſt *multiplying Horſes* I take to have been properly POLITICAL. The Iſraelites, ſeparated by GOD for his peculiar People, under his government as King, muſt needs have been deſigned for the proprietors of one certain country. Accordingly the land of Canaan, the poſſeſſion of the *ſeven nations*, was marked out for their proper inheritance. Within theſe limits they were to be confined; it being foreign to the nature of their Inſtitution to make conqueſts, or to extend their dominion. But the expulſion of the *ſeven nations* being, as we ſhall ſee preſently, to be effected by the extraordinary aſſiſtance of their KING, JEHOVAH, their ſucceſſes muſt, of courſe, be full and rapid. But nothing is ſo impatient of bounds as a Multitude fleſht with eaſy victories: the projects of ſuch a people are always going on from conqueſt to conqueſt; as appears from the Mahometan Arabs, under the ſame circumſtances, led out to conqueſt by a *falſe* Prophet, as the Iſraelites by a *true*. Now to defeat this ſo natural a diſpoſition, in a nation not deſigned for Empire, a Law is given againſt MULTIPLYING HORSES; than which nothing can be conceived more effectual. The Country that confined them, was rocky and mountainous, and therefore unfit for the breed and ſuſtentation of horſe. Telemachus is commended for giving this reaſon for refuſing the horſes of Menelaus:

> *Haud male Telemachus, proles patientis Ulixei;*
> *Non eſt aptus equis Ithacæ locus, ut neque planis*
> *Porrectus ſpatiis, nec multæ prodigus herbæ* †.

Beſides, when they had once gotten poſſeſſion of theſe mountains, they had little need of horſe to preſerve their conqueſt; as all ſkilled in military matters very well underſtand ‡. The Iſraelites

* Iſ. xxxi. ver. 1, 4, 6, 7.

† Hor.

‡ See note [IIII], at the end of this Book.

therefore,

therefore, had they been either wiſe or pious, would ſoon have found that their true ſtrength, as well political as religious, lay in Infantry: As that of Egypt, for a contrary reaſon, was in their Cavalry. Hence that people, who well underſtood their advantages, ſo induſtriouſly propagated the breed of Horſes, as the ſureſt defence of their territories. There is a remarkable paſſage, in the hiſtory of theſe times, to ſupport what I here advance. When Benhadad, the gentile king of Syria, whoſe forces conſiſted of chariots and horſemen, had warred with ill ſucceſs againſt the king of Iſrael, the Miniſters, in a council of war, delivered their advice to him in theſe terms: *Their Gods are Gods of the* HILLS, *therefore they were ſtronger than we: but let us fight againſt them in the* PLAIN, *and ſurely we ſhall be ſtronger than they.—And he hearkened unto their voice, and did ſo* *. From this paſſage I collect, 1. That the army of Iſrael, conſiſting all of Infantry, had choſen the ſituation of the hills; and this with proper military ſkill. 2. That their conſtant ſucceſs in ſuch a diſpoſition of their forces occaſioned this advice of the Miniſters of Benhadad. Theſe men, poſſeſſed with the general notion of local tutelary Deities, finding the arms of Iſrael always ſucceſsful on the hills, took it for the more eminent manifeſtation of the power of their Gods. *Their Gods*, ſay they, *are Gods of the hills.* Their ſuperſtition dictated the firſt part of their advice; and their ſkill in war, the ſecond, – *let us fight againſt hem in the plain.* The operations of the war had been hitherto moſt abſurd: they had attacked an army of Infantry with one of Cavalry, on hills and in defiles.

But this want of Horſe (which kind of military force neither the product of their country could well ſupport, nor the defence of it need) would effectually prevent any attempt of extending their dominions either into the Leſſer Aſia, Meſopotamia, or Egypt. All which neighbouring countries being ſtretched out into large and extended plains, could not be ſafely invaded without a numerous

* 1 Kings xx. ver. 23, & ſeq.

Cavalry. In this view, therefore, the wiſdom of the Law can never be ſufficiently admired.

3. But the third reaſon of the prohibition was evidently to afford a laſting MANIFESTATION OF THAT EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE by which the Iſraelites were conducted, in taking poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan. I have ſhewn that, when once ſettled, they might very well defend the poſſeſſion without the help of Cavalry: But to conquer it without Cavalry, and from a warlike people abounding in Horſe, was more than a raw unpractiſed Infantry could ever have performed alone. No more need be ſaid to convince military men of the extreme difference of the two caſes. To others it may be proper to obſerve,

1. That in the invaſion of a country, the invaded may chuſe their ground; and as it is their intereſt to avoid coming to a deciſive action, ſo, being amidſt their own native ſtores and proviſions, they have it in their power to decline it. On the contrary, the invader muſt attack his enemies wherever he finds them poſted. For, by reaſon of the ſcantineſs and uncertainty of ſupplies in an enemy's country, he has not, for the moſt part, time to draw them, by military ſtratagems, from their advantages. We find this verified in the hiſtory of Benhadad, mentioned above. He had invaded Iſrael; but this people diſpoſing of their Infantry with ſoldier-like addreſs, he was forced to fight them on the *hills*, where only they were to be met with. After many unſucceſsful engagements, his Miniſters propoſed a new plan of operation; to attack the enemy in the *plains*. And truly the advice was good: but how to put it in execution was the queſtion; for they being the aſſailants, the Iſraelites were maſters of their ground. So that, after all, there was no other way of bringing them into the plains but by beating them from the hills. And there they muſt have ſtuck, till famine and deſertion had ended the quarrel. In this exigence, their blaſphemy againſt the God of Iſrael enabled them to put their counſels, againſt him, in execution. They fancied, according to the ſuperſtition

ſtition of that time, and ſo gave out, that *he was God of the hills, but not of the valleys.* His omnipotence being thus diſputed, He placed his people in the plains; and ſent his Prophet to predict the coming vengeance on his enemies. *And there came a man of* GOD, *and ſpake unto the king of Iſrael, and ſaid, Thus ſaith the Lord, Becauſe the Syrians have ſaid, the Lord is God of the hills, but he is not God of the valleys; therefore will I deliver all this great multitude into thine hand, and ye ſhall know that I am the Lord* *.

2. Secondly, we may obſerve, that the poſſeſſors of mountainous regions may ſo diſpoſe their Fortreſſes, with which they cover their country, as to make an invader's Cavalry abſolutely uſeleſs; and conſequently to have no occaſion for any of their own. But the invaders of ſuch a place where Cavalry is in uſe, and conſequently the defences diſpoſed in a contrary manner, ſo as beſt to favour the operations of Horſe, the invaders, I ſay, go to certain deſtruction without a body of Horſe to ſupport their Infantry. This then being the very ſituation of affairs when the Iſraelites invaded Canaan, and conquered it, (for till then they had not begun to tranſgreſs the Law againſt Cavalry) I conclude that they muſt have been MIRACULOUSLY aſſiſted. The Arabians, in a like expedition, thought it ſo extraordinary a thing to conquer without Horſe, that Mahomet made it a law, when this happened, for the ſpoils not to be divided according to the ſtated rule, but for all to go to the Prophet himſelf, as a *deodand* or a gift from God alone †. Yet Mahomet never pretended to make his conqueſts without Horſe, but uſed them on every occaſion of need.

To return, we ſee then how little reaſon Sir Iſaac Newton had for ſaying that Seſoſtris's conqueſt of Libya was the occaſion of

* 1 Kings xx. ver. 28.

† *Et id, quod conceſſit in prædam Deus legato ſuo ex illis: Non impuliſtis ſuper illud ullos equos, neque camelos* [i. e. non acquiſiſtis illud ope equorum aut camelorum]; *ſed Deus prævalere facit legatos ſuos, ſuper quem vult: nam Deus eſt ſuper omnem rem potens.* Sur. 59. Alcor. ver. 6.

Egypt's being furniſhed with horſe, ſo as to ſupply the neighbouring countries. But the inſtance was particularly ill choſen: for Seſoſtris, whom he makes the author of this benefit to Egypt, did, by his filling the country with canals, defeat the chief uſe and ſervice of Cavalry; with which, till this time, Egypt had abounded; but which from henceforth we hear no more of *.

3. Again, in conſequence of the ſame ſyſtem, our great author ſeems to think that animal food was not cuſtomary amongſt the Egyptians till about this time. *The Egyptians* (ſays he) *originally lived on the fruits of the earth, and fared hardly, and abſtained from animals, and* THEREFORE *abominated ſhepherds: Menes* [the third from Seſoſtris] *taught them to adorn their beds and tables with rich furniture and carpets, and brought in amongſt them a ſumptuous, delicious, and voluptuous way of life* †. Now, whoever brought in the *eating of fleſh*, and a *voluptuous life*, did it (as we are aſſured from Scripture) before the time of Joſeph. I have proved, in my account of their Phyſicians as delivered in the Bible, that they were then a luxurious people ‡. From the dream of Pharaoh's baker, compared with Joſeph's interpretation §, it appears, they eat animal food; and, from the ſtory of Joſeph's entertainment of his brethren, it appears, that their enmity to ſhepherds was not occaſioned by theſe Hebrews' eating animal food, which, Sir Iſaac

* Νοςήσας δὲ ὁ Σέσωςρις ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ——τὰς διώρυχας τὰς νῦν ἐοῦσας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, πάσας οὗτοι ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὤρυσσον ἐποίεόν τε οὐκ ἑκόντες Αἴγυπτον, τοπρὶν ἐοῦσαν ἱππασίμην, καὶ ἀμαξευομένην πᾶσαν, ἐνδεᾶ τούτων· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου Αἴγυπτος ἐοῦσα πεδιὰς πᾶσα, ἄνιππος, καὶ ἀναμάξευτος γέγονε. Herod. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 108.

† Page 241.

‡ See p. 366, and following, of this volume.

§ "And the chief baker ſaid unto Joſeph, I alſo was in my dream, and behold I "had three white baſkets on my head, and in the uppermoſt baſket there was of all "manner of BAKE-MEATS for Pharaoh, and the birds did eat them out of the baſket.— "And Joſeph anſwered and ſaid—The three baſkets are three days. Yet within three "days ſhall Pharaoh lift up thy head from off thee, and ſhall hang thee on a tree; and "the birds ſhall eat thy fleſh from off thee." Gen. xl. ver. 17, & ſeq.

ſays,

ſays, the Egyptains abſtained from. *And he ſaid to the ruler of his houſe, Bring theſe men home, and* SLAY, *and make ready: for theſe men ſhall dine with me at noon. And the man did as Joſeph bade: and the man brought the men into Joſeph's houſe—and they ſet on for him by himſelf, and for them by themſelves, and for the Egyptians, which did eat with him, by themſelves, becauſe the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, for that is an abomination to the Egyptians.—And he took and ſent meſſes unto them from before him* *. Here, we ſee the common proviſion for their entertainment was animal food. And no one can doubt whether Joſeph conformed to the Egyptian diet. He ſat ſingle out of ſtate, with regard to the Egyptians; the Egyptians ſat apart, with regard to the Shepherds; and Both were ſupplied from the Governor's table, which was furniſhed from the Steward's ſlaughter-houſe. The truth of this is farther ſeen from the murmuring of the Iſraelites in the wilderneſs, when they ſaid, *Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we ſat by the* FLESH-POTS, *and when we did eat bread to the full* †. Now we can ſcarce ſuppoſe the Egyptians would permit their ſlaves, whom they kept in ſo hard oppreſſion, to riot in *fleſh-pots*, while, as Sir Iſaac ſuppoſes, *they themſelves fared hardly and abſtained from Animals.*

4. Again, he ſuppoſes, that the exact diviſion of the land of Egypt into Property was firſt made in the time of Seſoſtris. *Seſoſtris* (ſays he) *upon his returning home, divided Egypt by meaſure amongſt the Egyptians; and this gave a beginning to ſurveying and geometry* ‡. And in another place, he brings down the original of geometry ſtill lower; even as late as Mæris, the fifth from Seſoſtris. *Mæris* (ſays he)—*for preſerving the diviſion of Egypt into equal ſhares amongſt the ſoldiers—wrote a book of ſurveying, which gave a beginning to geometry* §. Let the reader now conſider, whether it be poſſible to reconcile this with the following account of Joſeph's adminiſtration.

* Gen. xliii. ver. 16, 17—32—34.

† Exod. xvi. ver. 3. ‡ Page 218. § Page 248.

And

And Joſeph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh; for the Egyptians ſold EVERY MAN HIS FIELD, *becauſe the famine prevailed over them: ſo the land became Pharaoh's. And as for the people, he removed them to cities from one end of the borders of Egypt, even to the other end thereof Only the land of the Prieſts bought he not; for the Prieſts had a portion aſſigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them; therefore they ſold not their lands. Then Joſeph ſaid unto the people, Behold I have bought you this day, and your land for Pharaoh: lo here is the ſeed for you, and ye ſhall ſow the land. And it ſhall come to paſs, in the increaſe, that you ſhall give the fifth part unto Pharaoh, and four parts ſhall be your own, for ſeed of the field, and for your food and for them of your own houſholds, and for food for your little ones. And Joſeph made it a law over the land of Egypt unto this day, that Pharaoh ſhould have the fifth part; except the land of the Prieſts only, which became not Pharaoh's* *. Here we have the deſcription of a country very exactly ſet out and ſettled in private property. It would afford room for variety of reflexions: I ſhall confine myſelf to the following. If private property had not been, at this time, eſtabliſhed with the utmoſt order and exactneſs; what occaſion had Joſeph to recur to that troubleſome expedient of tranſplanting the People, reciprocally, from one end of Egypt to the other? His purpoſe in it is evident: it was to ſecure Pharaoh in his new property, by defeating the ill effects of that fondneſs which people naturally have to an old paternal inheritance. But what fondneſs have men for one ſpot, rather than another, of lands lying in common, or but newly appropriated? Were the Egyptians at this time, as Sir Iſaac Newton ſeems to ſuppoſe, in the ſtate of the unſettled Nomades, they would have gone from one end of Egypt to the other, without Joſeph's ſending; and without the leaſt regret for any thing they had left behind.

* Gen. xlvii. 20, & ſeq.

But

But without weakening the great man's conjecture by Scripture-hiſtory, How does it appear from the ſimple fact of Seſoſtris's dividing the large champion country of Egypt into ſquare fields, by croſs-cut canals, that this *was a dividing Egypt by meaſure, and giving a beginning to ſurveying and geometry?* If we examine the cauſe and the effects of that improvement, we ſhall find that neither one nor the other part of his concluſion can be deduced from it. The *cauſe* of making theſe canals was evidently to drain the ſwampy marſhes of that vaſt extended level; and to render the whole labourable *. But a work of this kind is never projected till a people begin to want room. And they never want room till private property hath been well eſtabliſhed; and the neceſſaries of life, by the advancement of civil arts, are become greatly increaſed. As to the *effects*; Ground, once divided by ſuch boundaries, was in no danger of a change of land-marks; and conſequently had ſmall occaſion for future ſurveys. So that had not the Egyptians found out geometry before this new diviſion, 'tis probable they had never found it out at all. The moſt likely cauſe, therefore, to be aſſigned for this invention, was the neceſſity of frequent ſurveys, while the annual overflowings of the Nile were always obliterating ſuch land-marks as were not, like thoſe croſs-cut canals, wrought deep into the ſoil. But theſe put a total end to that inconvenience. Indeed, Herodotus ſeems to give it as his opinion, that geometry had its riſe from this improvement of Seſoſtris †. But we are to remember what hath been ſaid of the incredible Antiquity which the ancient Greek writers, and particularly Ariſtotle ‡, aſſigned to this Hero: the natural conſequence of the Egyptian's having confounded the ages and actions, though never the perſons, of Oſiris and Seſoſtris.

* See note [KKKK], at the end of this Book.

† Δοκέοι δέ μοι ἐνθεῦτεν γεωμετρίη ἐγερθεῖσα, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπαιχθῆναι. Herodot. l. ii. c. 109.

‡ See page 248.

5. The

5. The next inference this illuſtrious Writer makes from his ſyſtem is, that *letters were unknown in Egypt* till the time of David. *When the Edomites* (ſays he) *fled from David with their young king Aadad into Egypt, it is probable that they carried thither alſo the uſe of letters: for letters were then in uſe amongſt the poſterity of Abraham — and there is no inſtance of letters, for writing down ſounds, being in uſe before the days of David in any other nation beſides the poſterity of Abraham. The Egyptians aſcribed this invention to Thoth the ſecretary of Oſiris; and therefore letters began to be in uſe in Egypt in the days of Thoth, that is, a little after the flight of the Edomites from David, or about the time that Cadmus brought them into Europe* *. It appears from the two ſtone-tables of the Law, and from the engravings on Aaron's breaſt-plate, that letters were in common uſe amongſt the Iſraelites at the time of their egreſſion from Egypt. Now ſuppoſing alphabetic writing to be amongſt the peculiar advantages of the choſen people, was it not more likely that the Egyptians ſhould learn it of them during their long abode in that country, than from the fugitive *Edomites*, if they had indeed *carried thither* (which however is a mere conjecture) *the uſe of letters?* But when we conſider that alphabetic writing was introduced amongſt the choſen people ſome time between the age of Jacob and that of Moſes, it ſeems moſt probable that they learnt it of the Egyptians. But, for a full confutation of this fancy, and of the arguments that ſupport it, I am content to refer the reader to what I have occaſionally obſerved, though to other purpoſes, in my diſcourſe of the Egyptian hieroglyphics †.

6. Laſtly, he obſerves, that *Egypt was ſo thinly peopled before the birth of Moſes, that Pharaoh ſaid of the Iſraelites*, "Behold "the people of the children of Iſrael are more and mightier than "we:" *and that to prevent their multiplying, and growing too ſtrong, he cauſed their male children to be drowned* ‡. Yet this country,

* Page 209. † See p. 387, & ſeq. ‡ Page 186.

ſo

ſo thinly peopled at the birth of Moſes, was, we find from Scripture, ſo vaſtly populous, by the time Moſes was ſent upon his miſſion, that it could keep in ſlavery ſix hundred thouſand men beſides children *; at a time, when they were moſt powerfully inſtigated to recover their liberty; which yet, after all, they were unable to effect but by the frequent deſolation of the hand of GOD upon their inſolent and cruel maſters. And is this to be reconciled with Sir Iſaac's notion of their preceding thinneſs? But he likewiſe ſupports himſelf on Scripture. Egypt was ſo thinly peopled – *that Pharaoh ſaid—Behold the people of the children of Iſrael are more and mightier than we.* Strange interpretation! The Scripture relation of the matter is in theſe words; *And Pharaoh ſaid unto his people, Behold the people of the children of Iſrael are more and mightier than we. Come on, let us deal wiſely with them: leſt they multiply, and it come to paſs, that when there falleth out any war, they join alſo unto our enemies, and fight againſt us, and ſo get them up out of the land. Therefore they did ſet over them Taſkmaſters, to afflict them with their burdens.—But the more they afflicted them, the more they grew and multiplied* †. By the whole turn of this relation it appears, that the *more and mightier* ſignify only *more prolific and healthy.* And that was in truth the caſe. The Egyptians of this time, as we have ſhewn ‡, were very luxurious: While the manners of the Iſraelites concurred with their condition to render them hardy and fruitful, by an abſtemious and laborious courſe of life. On this account the king expreſſes his fear. But of what? certainly not that they ſhould ſubdue their maſters; but that they ſhould *eſcape out of bondage:* which, even to the very moment of their egreſſion, was the ſole object of the Egyptian's fear.—*Leſt* (ſays he) *they multiply; and it come to paſs, that, when there falleth out any war, they join alſo unto our enemies, and fight againſt us, and* SO GET THEM UP OUT OF THE LAND. This was a reaſonable apprehenſion: for Egypt was in every age ſubject to the incurſions of that fierce and barbarous people the Arabians, on that

* Exod. xii. 37. † Exod. i. 9, & ſeq. ‡ See p. 366, & ſeq.

very ſide which the Iſraelites inhabited: who, poſſeſſing their own Diſtrict, unmixed with Egyptians, had the keys of the country in their hands, to admit or exclude an invader at their pleaſure. A circumſtance which would make the ſmalleſt province formidable to the moſt powerful kingdom. To prevent then ſo probable a danger, their taſk-maſters are ordered to increaſe their oppreſſions; and they groan under them without power to reſiſt, till ſet free by the all-powerful hand of God.

Thus we ſee how Sir Iſaac Newton's ſyſtem ſtands with regard to SACRED ANTIQUITY. What is ſtill worſe, is it not only repugnant to the Bible, but even to ITSELF.

III. We have obſerved, that, by the caſual confounding of the proper actions of Oſiris and Seſoſtris with one another, each came to be, at the ſame time, the INVENTOR, and the PERFECTER, of the arts of life. This, which might have led our Author, the moſt penetrating of all writers, to the diſcovery of the ancient error in their hiſtory, ſerved only to confirm him in his own; as placing the invention of civil arts low enough for the ſupport of his general Chronology. However, it is very certain, that the making their *invention* and *perfection* the product of the ſame age is directly contrary to the very NATURE OF THINGS. Which if any one doubt, let him examine the general hiſtory of mankind; where he will ſee that the advances, from an emerging barbarity, through civil policy, to refined arts and poliſhed manners, when not given them, ready fitted to their hands, by neighbouring nations forward to impart them, have been ever the ſlow and gradual progreſs of many and ſucceſſive ages. Yet theſe, our illuſtrious Author (in conſequence of the ſuppoſed identity of his two Heroes) makes to ſpring up, to flouriſh, and to come to their perfection, all within the compaſs of one ſingle reign. Or rather, which is ſtill more intolerable, he makes this extraordinary age of Seſoſtris to be diſtinguiſhed from all others by an inſeparable mixture of ſavage and poliſhed manners. Which is ſo unnatural, ſo incredible, ſo impoſſible a circumſtance, that, were there only this to oppoſe againſt

againſt his ſyſtem, it would be a ſufficient demonſtration of its falſhood.

To ſhew then, that Sir Iſaac Newton, by fairly and honeſtly taking in theſe conſequences of his ſyſtem, hath indeed ſubjected it to this diſgrace, I ſhall give two inſtances. The one taken from his account of the *ſtate of War*, the other of the *ſtate of Architecture*, during this period.

1. Our Author having made the Egyptian Hercules to be Seſoſtris, is forced to own that the war in Libya was carried on with clubs. *After theſe things, he* [Hercules or Seſoſtris] *invaded Libya, and fought the Africans with clubs, and thence is painted with a club in his hand.* Here, the great Writer hath given us the very picture of the Iroquoſian or Huron Savages warring with a neighbouring tribe. And without doubt intended it for ſuch a repreſentation; as appears, firſt, from his immediately adding theſe words of Hyginus: *Afri & Ægyptii* PRIMUM *fuſtibus dimicaverunt, poſtea Belus Neptuni filius gladio belligeratus eſt, unde* bellum *dictum eſt* *. For we are are to obſerve that the title of the chapter, in which theſe words are found, is, *quis quid invenerit* †: and ſecondly, from his ſuppoſing Vulcan (whom he makes to live at this time) the inventor of military weapons. Yet this, according to the great Author, was after Seſoſtris's conqueſt of the Troglodytes and Ethiopians: it was after his Father's building a fleet on the Red ſea, with which he coaſted Arabia Felix, went into the Perſian Gulph, and penetrated even into India ‡: and but a little before Seſoſtris's great expedition for the conqueſt of the habitable world. At which time we ſee him ſet out with the moſt ſplendid retinue of a Court, and the moſt dreadful apparatus of War; we find him defeat great armies; ſubdue mighty kingdoms (amongſt the reſt Judæa, where all kind of military arms offenſive and defenſive had been in uſe for many ages); people large cities; and leave behind him many ſtately monuments of his power and magnificence.

* Page 215. † Fab. cclxxiv. ‡ Page 214, 215.

2. Thus again, Sir Iſaac tells us, that Toſorthrus or Æſculapius, an Egyptian of the time of Seſoſtris, diſcovered the art of building with ſquare ſtones*. Yet his contemporary, Seſoſtris, he tells us, *divided Egypt into* 36 *nomes or counties, and dug a canal from the Nile, to the head city of every nome*; *and with the earth dug out of it, he cauſed the ground of the city to be raiſed higher, and built a temple in every city for the worſhip of the nome*; *&c.* †. And ſoon after, Amenophis, the third from him, *built Memphis*; *and ordered the worſhip of the Gods of Egypt*; *and built a palace at Abydus, and the Memnonia at This and Suſa, and the magnificent temple of Vulcan in Memphis* ‡.

Now, in this odd mixture of barbarity and politeneſs, ſtrength and impotence, riches and poverty, there is ſuch an inconſiſtency in the character of ages, as ſhews it to be the mere invention of profeſſed fabuliſts, whoſe known talent it is to

" Make former times ſhake hands with latter,
" And that which was before come after ;"

though compoſed of tales ſo ill concerted, and contradictory, as ſhews, they wrote upon no conſiſtent plan, but each as his own temporary views and occaſions required.

When I entered on a confutation of Sir Iſaac Newton's *Egyptian Chronology* (for with that only I have here to do), I was willing for the greater ſatisfaction of the reader to ſet his arguments for the *identity of Oſiris and Seſoſtris*, on which that Chronology was founded, in the ſtrongeſt and cleareſt light. On this account I took them as I found them collected, ranged in order, and ſet together in one view, with the greateſt advantage of repreſentation, by the very worthy and learned Maſter of the Charter-houſe, in a profeſſed apology for our great Philoſopher. But this liberty the learned

* —*The building with ſquare ſtones* (ſays he) *being found out by* Toſorthrus, *the* Æſculapius of Egypt. Page 247.

† Page 218.

‡ See note [LLLL], at the end of this Book.

writer

writer hath been pleaſed to criticiſe in the Latin edition * of the tracts to which that apology was prefixed—" I am not ignorant " (ſays he †) that the author of *the Divine Legation* ſuppoſing it, " ſome how or other, to concern Moſes's divine miſſion, to prove " that Oſiris was not the ſame with Seſoſtris, hath lately turned " all that is here ſaid into ridicule, by a compariſon made between " the fabulous ARTHUR and WILLIAM the Norman; who, he " ſays, may be made one by as good reaſons (though they have " ſcarce any thing alike or in common with one another) as thoſe " which we have brought to confound Oſiris with Seſoſtris: and " on this point he draws out a diſputation through ſeventy pages " and upwards; in which, however, he neither denies nor confutes, " but only laughs at what we have here ſaid of Seſoſtris. It is " true indeed that ſome other of Newton's aſſertions he does oppoſe; " ſuch as thoſe concerning the late invention of arts, arms, and " inſtruments by ſome certain king; and in this part of the argu- " ment he gets the better. For that theſe things were found out " by the Egyptians long before the age of Seſoſtris, holy Writ com- " mands us to believe: but whether found out by any of their

* *De veris annis D. N. Jeſu Chriſti natali & emortuali Diſſertationes duæ Chronologicæ.*

† " Non neſcimus nuperrime accidiſſe, ut Vir ingenio & eruditione præſtans, quum " ratus ſit ad *divinam legationem Moſis demonſtrandum* aliquo modo pertinere, ut probetur " Oſiris non eſſe idem cum Seſoſtri, omnia huc allata in luſum jocumque verterit, in- " ſtituta comparatione Arthuri illius fabuloſi cum Wilhelmo Normanno, quos æquè " bonis rationibus in unum hominem conflari poſſe ait (quamvis nihil fere habeant inter " ſe commune aut ſimile) ac nos Oſirin cum Seſoſtri confundimus. Et de hac re diſ- " putationem in 70 paginas & ultra producit. In qua tamen hæc noſtra de Seſoſtri neque " negat, neque refellit, ſed irridet. Alia vero quædam Newtoni dicta de ſero inventis ab " aliquo rege artibus, armis, inſtrumentis oppugnat, & ea quidem parte cauſæ vincit. " Nam ut iſta longe ante Seſoſtris ætatem apud Ægyptios reperta ſint, Scriptura ſacra " jubet credere; ab ullo unquam regum inventa eſſe haud ita certum. Sed ea " prius non attigimus, ut quæ nihil ad propoſitum noſtrum attinent, neque nunc nos " movent, ut pedem retrahamus ab iſta Cl. Newtoni concluſione Seſacum, Seſoſtrim, " Oſirin & Bacchum fuiſſe. Lite jam conteſtata judicent eruditi." In Dedic. p. xii. xiii.

" kings,

" kings, is not ſo certain. However, theſe were matters we never " touched upon, as relating nothing to our purpoſe; nor do they " yet induce us to recede from that concluſion of the famous " Newton, that Seſac was Seſoſtris, Oſiris, and Bacchus. But the " cauſe being now brought before the public, let the learned de- " termine of it." Thus far this candid and ingenuous writer.

He ſays, *the author of The Divine Legation ſuppoſes that it ſome how or other concerns Moſes's divine miſſion to prove Oſiris not the ſame with Seſoſtris*; which ſeems to imply that this learned perſon doth not ſee HOW it concerns it. And yet afterwards he owns, *that Scripture* (meaning the writings of Moſes) *will not allow us to believe with Sir Iſaac, that the invention of arts, arms, and inſtruments, was ſo late as the time of Seſoſtris.* Now it follows (as I have ſhewn) by certain conſequence, that if Oſiris and Seſoſtris were one and the ſame, then the invention of arts was as late as the time of Seſoſtris. But this contradicting Scripture or the writings of Moſes, as the learned perſon himſelf confeſſeth, the reader ſees plainly, HOW *it concerns Moſes's miſſion to prove Oſiris not the ſame with Seſoſtris.*

The learned writer, ſpeaking of the compariſon I had made between Arthur and William the Norman, ſays, *they have ſcarce any thing alike or in common with one another.* I had brought together thirteen circumſtances (the very number which the learned writer thinks ſufficient to eſtabliſh the identity of Oſiris and Seſoſtris) in which they perfectly agree. I am perſuaded he does not ſuſpect me of falſifying their hiſtory. He muſt mean therefore, that *thirteen* in my compariſon, prove nothing, which, in his, prove every thing.

He goes on,—*in a diſputation of ſeventy pages and upwards the author of The Divine Legation neither denies nor confutes, but only laughs at what we have ſaid of Seſoſtris.* What is it the learned writer *hath ſaid of Seſoſtris?* Is it not this? That between his hiſtory and that of Oſiris there are many ſtrokes of reſemblance:

From

From whence he infers (with Sir Iſaac) that theſe two Heroes were one and the ſame. Now if he means, I have neither *denied* nor *confuted* this reſemblance, he ſays true. I had no ſuch deſign. It is too well marked by Antiquity to be denied. Neither, let me add, did I *laugh at* it. What I *laughed* at (if my bringing a ſimilar caſe is to be ſo called) was his inference from this reſemblance, that therefore Oſiris and Seſoſtris were one and the ſame. But then too I did more than *laugh:* I both *denied* and *confuted* it. Firſt I *denied* it, by ſhewing that this reſemblance might really be, though Oſiris and Seſoſtris were two different men, as appeared by an equal reſemblance in the actions of two different men, the Britiſh Arthur and William the Norman. But as the general hiſtory of ancient Egypt would not ſuffer us to believe all that the Greek writers have ſaid of this reſemblance, I then explained the cauſes which occaſioned their miſtaken accounts of the two perſons, from whence ſo perfect a reſemblance had ariſen. Secondly, I *confuted* what the learned perſon had ſaid of Seſoſtris, by ſhewing, from the concurrent teſtimony of Antiquity, and from ſeveral internal arguments deducible from that teſtimony, that Oſiris and Seſoſtris were in fact two different perſons, living in two very diſtant ages.

The learned writer proceeds,—*It is true indeed that ſome other of Newton's aſſertions he does oppoſe; ſuch as thoſe concerning the late invention of arts, arms, and inſtruments; and in this part of the argument he gets the better.* But if I have the better here, it is paſt diſpute I overthrow the whole hypotheſis of the *identity of Oſiris and Seſoſtris.* For, as to the reſemblance, which Antiquity hath given them, that, conſidered ſingly when the pretended late invention of arts hath been proved a miſtake, will indeed deſerve only to be *laughed at.* But were it, as Sir Iſaac Newton endeavoured to prove, that the invention of arts was no earlier than the time of Seſoſtris or Seſac, there is then indeed an end of the ancient Oſiris of Egypt; and the Hero, ſo much boaſted of by that people, can be no other than the Seſoſtris of this author. For the very foundation

tion of the exiſtence of the ancient Oſiris was his civilizing Egypt, and teaching them the Arts of life: But if this were done by Seſoſtris, or in his reign, then is HE the true Oſiris of Egypt. As, on the contrary, were the invention of arts as early as SCRIPTURE-HISTORY repreſents it, then is Egypt to be believed, when ſhe tells us that Oſiris, their Inventor of arts, was many ages earlier than Seſoſtris their Conqueror: And conſequently, all Sir Iſaac Newton's *identity* ſeparates and falls to pieces. In a word, take it which way you will, If Oſiris were the ſame as Seſoſtris, then muſt the invention of Arts (for all Antiquity have concurred in giving that invention to Oſiris) be as late as the age of Seſoſtris, the Seſac of Newton: but this, SCRIPTURE-HISTORY will not ſuffer us to believe. If, on the other hand, Oſiris and Seſoſtris were not the ſame, then was the invention of Arts (and for the ſame reaſon) much earlier than the age of Seſoſtris; as indeed all mankind thought before the conſtruction of this new Chronology. Theſe were the conſiderations which induced that Great man, who ſo well underſtood the nature and force of evidence, to employ all the ſagacity of his wonderful talents in proving the invention of Arts to be about the age of his Seſoſtris or Seſac. And is it poſſible he ſhould have a follower who cannot ſee that he hath done this? or the neceſſity he had of doing it? It will be ſaid, perhaps, "that Sir Iſaac has, indeed, argued much for the low invention of Arts: but had neither inforced it under the name of an argument, nor ſtated it in the form here repreſented." The objection would ill become a follower of Newton, who knows that his Maſter's method, as well in theſe his critical as in his phyſical inquiries, was to form the principal members of his demonſtration with an unornamented brevity, and leave the ſupplial of the ſmall connecting parts to his reader's ſagacity. Beſides, in ſo obvious, ſo capital, ſo neceſſary an argument for this *identity*, it had been a ridiculous diſtruſt of common ſenſe, after he had ſpent ſo much pains in endeavouring to prove the *low invention of Arts*, to have ended his reaſoning in this formal way: "And now, Reader, take notice that

that this is a concluſive, and perhaps the only concluſive argument for the *identity* of Oſiris and Seſoſtris." Laſtly, let me obſerve, that the very reaſon which induced Sir Iſaac to be ſo large in the eſtabliſhment of his point, *the low invention of Arts*, induced me to be as large in the ſubverſion of it. And now ſome ſatisfactory account, I hope, is given of the *ſeventy long pages*.

What follows is ſtill more unaccountable—*However theſe were matters* (ſays the learned writer, ſpeaking of the invention of Arts) *we never touched upon, as relating nothing to our purpoſe*. Here I cannot but lament the learned writer's ill fortune. There was but this very circumſtance in the book he would defend, which is *eſſential to his purpoſe*, and this he hath given up as *nothing to his purpoſe*; and more unlucky ſtill, on a review of the argument, he hath treated it as an error in his author, who took ſo much pains about it; but yet as an error that doth not at all affect the point in queſtion. For,

He concludes thus—*Nor do they yet induce me to recede from that concluſion of the famous Newton, that Seſac was Seſoſtris, Oſiris and Bacchus.*——Seſac, as I ſaid before, I have no concern with. And as to Bacchus, it is agreed that this was only one of the names of Oſiris. The thing I undertook to prove was, that Oſiris and Seſoſtris were not the ſame perſon: but in doing this, I did not mean to ſay that Oſiris was not one of the names of Seſoſtris. This is a very different thing: and the rather to be taken notice of becauſe I ſuſpect a quibble in the words of the learned writer, which would confound the difference. Nor is my ſuſpicion unreaſonable. For I have met with ſome of his moſt learned followers, who have ventured to ſay, that Sir Iſaac meant no more than that Seſoſtris was AN Oſiris. But if he meant no more, I would allow him to mean any thing; and never to have his meaning diſputed. I, for my part, and ſo I ſuppoſe every body elſe, underſtood him to mean, "That the old Oſiris, famous, amongſt the Egyptians, for Legiſlation and the invention of the Arts of life, was the very ſame man

with Seſoſtris, whom theſe Egyptians make to be a different man, of a later age, and famous for the Conqueſt of the habitable world." This was the propoſition I undertook to confute. Wherein I endeavoured to ſhew, "that there was a real Oſiris, ſuch as the Egyptians repreſented him, much earlier than their real Seſoſtris." And now (to uſe this writer's words) *the cauſe being brought before the public, let the learned determine of it.* As to the other point, that Seſoſtris went by the name of the earlier Hero, this I not only allow, but contend for, as it lays open to us one of the principal cauſes of that confuſion in their ſtories, which hath produced a ſimilitude of actions, whereon Sir Iſaac Newton layeth the foundation of their IDENTITY.

But if Sir Iſaac Newton and his learned Advocate have paid too little deference to Antiquity, there are, who, in a contrary extreme, would pay a great deal too much. The learned Dr. Pococke, in his book of travels, introduceth his diſcourſe *On the mythology of the ancient Egyptians* in this extraordinary manner: "As the mytholo-
"gy, or fabulous religion of the ancient Egyptians, may be looked
"on, in a great meaſure, as the foundation of the heathen Religion
"in moſt other parts; ſo it may not be improper to give ſome ac-
"count of the origin of it, as it is delivered by the moſt ancient
"authors, which may give ſome light both to the deſcription of
"Egypt, and alſo to the hiſtory of that country. We may ſuppoſe,
"that the Ancients were the beſt judges of the nature of their
"Religion; and conſequently, that all interpretations of their
"Mythology, by MEN OF FRUITFUL INVENTIONS, that have no
"ſort of foundation in their writings, are forced, and ſuch as might
"never be intended by them. On the contrary, it is neceſſary to
"retrench ſeveral things the Ancients themſelves ſeem to have in-
"vented, and grafted on true hiſtory; and, in order to account for
"many things, the Genealogies and Alliances they mention muſt
"in ſeveral reſpects be falſe or erroneous, and ſeem to have been
"invented to accommodate the honours of the ſame Deities to dif-
"ferent

" ferent perſons, they were obliged to deify, who lived at different " times; and ſo they were obliged to give them new names, invent " genealogies, and ſome different attributes *."

He ſays, *We may ſuppoſe that the ancients were the beſt judges of the nature of their religion, and of their mythology.* But the *Ancients*, here ſpoken of, were not Egyptians, but Greeks; and the *Mythology* here ſpoken of was not Greek, but Egyptian: Therefore theſe *Ancients* might well be miſtaken about the *nature of a Religion* which they borrowed from ſtrangers; the principles of which, they tell us, were always kept ſecreted from them. But this is not all; they in fact were miſtaken; and by no means *good judges of the nature of their Religion*, if we may believe one of the moſt authentic of theſe Ancients, HERODOTUS himſelf, where diſcourſing of the Greeks he expreſsly ſays,—" But the origin of each God, " and whether they are all from eternity, and what is their ſeveral " kinds or natures, to ſpeak the truth, they neither knew at that " time nor ſince †."

The learned Traveller goes on—*and* CONSEQUENTLY *that all interpretations of their Mythology by men of* FRUITFUL INVENTIONS, *that have no ſort of foundation in their writings, are forced, and ſuch as might never be intended by them.* This is indeed a TRUTH, but it is no CONSEQUENCE, and therefore not to the purpoſe. For, whether the *Ancients* were, or were not, *the beſt judges*; whether the *Moderns* have, or have not, *fruitful inventions*, yet if their *interpretations have no ſort of foundation in ancient writings*, it is a great chance but they *are forced*; and as great, that the Ancients never intended what the Moderns aſcribe to them. However, he gets nothing by this hypothetical propoſition, unleſs it be the diſcredit of begging the queſtion.

But the moſt extraordinary is his making it an additional reaſon for leaving the Moderns and ſticking to the Ancients, that *the Ancients ſeem to have invented and grafted on true hiſtory*; *and, in*

* P. 221, 222. † See above.

order (he ſays) *to account for many things, the genealogies and alliances they mention muſt in ſeveral reſpects be falſe or erroneous, and ſeem to have been invented, &c.* Now, if the Ancients were thus miſtaken, the Moderns ſure may be excuſed in endeavouring to ſet them right: To common ſenſe therefore, this would ſeem to ſhew the *uſe* of their interpretations. But this uſe is better underſtood from our Author's own ſucceſs; who, in this chapter concerning the *Egyptian mythology*, has attempted to give us ſome knowledge of Antiquity, without them. And here we find the ancient account, to which he ſo cloſely adheres, is not only fabulous by his own confeſſion, but contradictory by his own repreſentation; a confuſed collection of errors and abſurdities: that very condition of Antiquity which forced the *Moderns* to have recourſe to *interpretations*; and occaſioned that variety whereon our author grounds his charge againſt them. A charge however, in which his *Ancients* themſelves will be involved; for they likewiſe had their *interpretations*; and were (if their variety would give it them) as *fruitful* at leaſt, in their *inventions*. For inſtance, How diſcordant were they in their opinions concerning the origin of ANIMAL WORSHIP? Was our Author ignorant that ſo odd a ſuperſtition wanted explanation? By no means. Yet for fear of incurring the cenſure of a *fruitful invention*, inſtead of taking the fair ſolution of a modern Critic, or even any rational interpretation of the ancient Mythologiſts, whom yet he profeſſes to follow, he contents himſelf with that wretched fable "of Typhon's dividing the body of Oſiris into twenty-ſix parts, and diſtributing them to his accomplices; which being afterwards found by Iſis, and delivered by her to diſtinct bodies of prieſts to be buried with great ſecrecy, ſhe enjoined them to pay divine honours to him, and to conſecrate ſome particular animal to his memory." *From this account* (ſays our author very gravely) *we may ſee the reaſon why ſo many ſacred animals were worſhipped in Egypt* *. Again, the Greek account, in Diodorus, of Oſiris's ex-

* Page 226.

pedition,

pedition, has been ſhewn to be a heap of impoſſible abſurdities; yet our author believes it all; and would have believed as much more rather than have run the hazard of any *modern invention.*

AND now, we perſume, the MINOR of Sir Iſaac Newton's general argument, that *Oſiris and Seſoſtris were the ſame*, is intirely overthrown. For, 1. It hath been proved, that the premiſſes, he employs in its ſupport, do not infer it. 2. That the conſequence of his concluſion from it contradicts ſacred Scripture; and 3. That it diſagrees with the very nature of things.

So that our firſt propoſition, *That the Egyptian learning celebrated in Scripture, and the Egyptian ſuperſtition there condemned, were the very Learning and Superſtition repreſented by the Greek writers, as the honour and opprobrium of that people*, ſtands clear of all objection. What that *Learning* and *Superſtition* were, we have ſhewn very largely, though occaſionally, in the courſe of this inquiry; whereby it appears, that their *Learning* in general was conſummate ſkill in CIVIL POLICY AND THE ARTS OF LEGISLATION; and their *Superſtition*, the WORSHIP OF DEAD MEN DEIFIED.

SECT. VI.

I COME, at length, to my ſecond propoſition: which if, by this time, the Reader ſhould have forgotten, he may be eaſily excuſed. It is this, *That the Jewiſh people were extremely fond of Egyptian manners, and did frequently fall into Egyptian ſuperſtitions: and that many of the laws given to them by the miniſtry of Moſes, were inſtituted, partly in compliance to their prejudices, and partly in oppoſition to thoſe ſuperſtitions.*

The firſt part of this propoſition—*the people's fondneſs for, and frequent lapſe into, Egyptian ſuperſtitions*,—needs not many words to evince. The thing, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, being ſo natural

in

in itſelf; and, as we ſhall now ſee, ſo fully recorded in holy Scripture.

The time was now come for the deliverance of the choſen People from their Egyptian bondage: For now VICE and IDOLATRY were arrived at their height; the former (as St. Paul tells us) by means of the latter; for *as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do thoſe things which are not convenient; being filled with all unrighteouſneſs*, &c *. The two moſt populous regions at that time in the world were CANAAN and EGYPT: The firſt diſtinguiſhed from all other by its *violence and unnatural crimes*; the latter by its *ſuperſtitions and idolatries*. It concerned God's moral government that a ſpeedy check ſhould be put to both; the inhabitants of theſe two places being now ripe for divine vengeance. And as the Inſtruments he employed to puniſh their preſent enormities were deſigned for a barrier againſt future, the Iſraelites went out of Egypt with a *high hand*, which deſolated their haughty tyrants; and were led into the poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan, whoſe inhabitants they were utterly to exterminate. The diſpenſation of this Providence appears admirable, both in the time and in the modes of the puniſhment. VICE and IDOLATRY had now (as I ſaid) filled up their meaſure. EGYPT, the capital of falſe Religion, being likewiſe the nurſery of arts and ſciences, was preſerved from total deſtruction for the ſake of civil life and poliſhed manners, which were to derive their ſource from thence: But the CANAANITES were to be utterly exterminated, to vindicate the honour of humanity, and to put a ſtop to a ſpreading contagion which changed the reaſonable Nature into brutal.

Now it was that GOD, remembering his Covenant with Abraham, was pleaſed to appoint his People, then groaning under their bondage, a Leader and Deliverer. But ſo great was their degeneracy, and ſo ſenſible was MOSES of its effects, in their ignorance of, or alienation from the true GOD, that he would willingly have de-

* Rom. i. 28.

clined

clined the office: And when abſolutely commanded to undertake it, he deſired however that GOD would let him know by what NAME he would be called, when the people ſhould aſk the *name* of the GOD of their fathers.—*And Moſes ſaid unto* GOD, *Behold when I come unto the children of Iſrael, and ſay unto them, The* GOD *of your fathers hath ſent me unto you; and they ſhall ſay unto me,* WHAT IS HIS NAME? *what ſhall I ſay unto them* ?* Here we ſee a people not only loſt to all knowledge of the UNITY (for the aſking for a *name* neceſſarily implied their opinion of a plurality), but likewiſe poſſeſſed with the very ſpirit of Egyptian idolatry. *The religion of* NAMES, as we have ſhewn †, was a matter of great conſequence in Egypt. It was one of their eſſential ſuperſtitions: it was one of their native inventions: and the firſt of them which they communicated to the Greeks. Thus when Hagar, the handmaid of Sarai, who was an Egyptian woman, ſaw the angel of God in the wilderneſs, the text tells us ‡, *She called the name of the Lord that ſpake unto her,* ELROI, *the God of viſion, or the viſible God:* that is, according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of Egypt, ſhe gave him a name of *honour:* not merely a name of *diſtinction*; for ſuch, all nations had (who worſhipped local tutelary deities) before their communication with Egypt §. But, after that (as appears from the place of Herodotus quoted above, concerning the Pelaſgi), they decorated their Gods with diſtinguiſhed Titles, indicative of their ſpecific office and attributes. A NAME was ſo peculiar an adjunct to a local tutelary Deity, that we ſee by a paſſage quoted by Lactantius from the ſpurious books of Triſmegiſt (which however abounded with Egyptian notions and ſuperſtitions) that the one ſupreme God had no *name* or title of diſtinction ||. Zachariah evidently alluding to theſe

* Exod. iii. 13. † Page 500, & ſeq. ‡ Gen. xvi. 13.

§ See note [MMMM], at the end of this Book.

|| Hic ſcripſit libros—in quibus majeſtatem ſummi ac ſingularis dei aſſerit, iiſdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos, DEUM & PATREM. Ac ne quis NOMEN ejus requireret ANΩNYMON eſſe dixit; eo quod nominis proprietate non egeat, ob ipſam ſcilicet unitatem.

theſe notions, when he propheſies of the worſhip of the ſupreme God, unmixed with idolatry, ſays, *In that day ſhall there be one Lord, and* HIS NAME ONE *; that is, only bearing the ſimple title of LORD: and, as in the words of Lactantius below, *ac ne quis* NOMEN *ejus requireret,* ΑΝΩΝΥΜΟΝ *eſſe dixit; eo quod nominis* PROPRIETATE *non egeat, ob ipſam ſcilicet* UNITATEM. Out of indulgence therefore to this weakneſs, GOD was pleaſed to give himſelf a NAME. *And God ſaid unto Moſes,* I AM THAT I AM: *And he ſaid, Thus ſhalt thou ſay unto the children of Iſrael,* I AM *hath ſent me unto you* †. Where we may obſerve (according to the conſtant method of divine Wiſdom, when it condeſcends to the prejudices of men) how, in the very inſtance of indulgence to their ſuperſtition, he gives a corrective of it.—The *Religion of names* aroſe from an idolatrous polytheiſm; and the NAME here given, implying *eternity* and *ſelf-exiſtence*, directly oppoſeth that ſuperſtition.

This compliance with the *Religion of names* was a new indulgence to the prejudices of this people, as is evident from the following words: *And* GOD *ſpake unto Moſes, and ſaid unto him, I am the Lord: and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Iſaac, and unto Jacob, by the* NAME OF GOD ALMIGHTY, *but by my* NAME JEHOVAH *was I not known to them* ‡. That is, as the GOD of Abraham, I before condeſcended to have *a Name of diſtinction:* but now, in compliance to another prejudice, I condeſcend to have *a Name of honour.* This ſeems to be the true interpretation of this very difficult text, about which the commentators are ſo much embarraſſed. For the word *Jehovah*, whoſe name is here ſaid to be unknown to the Patriarchs, frequently occurring in the book of Geneſis, had furniſhed Unbelievers with a pretext that the ſame perſon could not be author of the two books of Geneſis and Exodus. But Ignorance

tem. Ipſius hæc verba ſunt, ὁ δὲ Θεὸς εἷς; ὁ δὲ εἷς; ὀνόματος ἂ προσδέεῖται; ἅτε γὰρ ὁ ὢν ἀνώνυμος. Deo igitur nomen non eſt, quia ſolus eſt: nec opus eſt proprio vocabulo, niſi cum diſcrimen exigit multitudo, ut unamquamque perſonam ſua nota et appellatione deſignes. Div. Inſt. l. i. c. 6.

* Ch. xiv. ver. 9. † Exod. iii. 14. ‡ Exod. vi. 3.

and

and Scepticiſm, which ſet Infidelity on work, generally bring it to ſhame. They miſtook the true ſenſe of the text. The aſſertion is not, that the WORD *Jehovah* was not uſed in the patriarchal language; but that the NAME *Jehovah*, as a title of honour, (whereby a new *idea* was affixed to an old *word)* was unknown to them. Thus, in a parallel inſtance, we ſay rightly, that the King's SUPREMACY was unknown to the Engliſh Conſtitution till the time of Henry VIII. though the word was in uſe, and even applied to the chief Magiſtrate, (indeed in a different and more ſimple ſenſe) long before.

The common ſolution of this difficulty is as ridiculous as it is falſe. You ſhall have it in the words of a very ingenious Writer.— "The word JEHOVAH ſignifies the being unchangeable in his reſo- "lutions, and conſequently the being infinitely faithful in perform- "ing his promiſes. In this ſenſe, the word is employed in the "paſſage of Exodus now under examination. So that when God "ſays, *by my name Jehovah was I not known to them*, this ſignifies— "as one faithful to fullfill my promiſe, was I not known to them." "i. e. I had not then fullfilled the promiſe which I had made to "them, of bringing their poſterity out of Egypt, and giving them "the land of Canaan *." By which interpretation, the Almighty is made to tell the Iſraelites that he was not known to their forefathers as the God who had redeemed their poſterity from Egypt, before they had any poſterity to redeem. A marvellous revelation, and, without doubt, much wanted. To return.

* —il ſignifie *l'etre immuable dans ſes reſolutions*, et par conſequent *l'etre infiniment fidelle dans ſes promeſſes*, et c'eſt dans cette acception que ce nom eſt emploié dans le paſſage de l'Exode, que nous examinons. Qu'ainſi quand Dieu dit, *Je ne leur ai point eſté connu en mon nom de Jehovah*, cela ſignifie, *Je ne me ſuis point fait connoitre, comme fidelle à remplir mes promeſſes*, c'eſt à dire, JE N'AI PAS ENCORE REMPLI LA PROMESSE, *qui je leur avois faite, de retirer de l'Egypte leur poſterité, et de lui donner la terre de Chanaan.*—M. Aſtruc, *Conjectures ſur le livre de la Geneſe*, p. 305. He ſays very truly, that, in this ſolution, he had no other part to perform, *que ſuivre la foule des Commentateurs tant Chretiens que Juifs*, p. 301.

Moses, however, appears ſtill unwilling to accept this Commiſſion; and preſumes to tell God, plainly, *Behold they will not believe me, nor hearken to my voice: for they will ſay, The Lord hath not appeared unto thee**. But could this be ſaid or thought by a People, who, groaning in the bittereſt ſervitude, had a meſſage from God, of a long promiſed deliverance, at the very time that, according to the prediction, the promiſe was to be fulfilled, if they had kept him and his diſpenſations in memory? When this objection is removed, Moſes hath yet another; and that is, his inability for the office of an ORATOR. This too is anſwered. And when he is now driven from all his ſubterfuges, he with much paſſion declines the whole employment, and cries out, *O my* God, *ſend I pray thee by the hand of him whom thou wilt ſend* †. This juſtly provokes God's diſpleaſure: and thereon, he finally complies. From all this backwardneſs, (and the cauſe of it could be no other than what is here aſſigned; for Moses, as appears by the former part of his hiſtory ‡, was forward and zealous enough to promote the welfare of his brethren) we muſt needs conclude, that he thought the recovery of this People from EGYPTIAN SUPERSTITIONS to be altogether deſperate. And, humanly ſpeaking, he did not judge amiſs; as may be ſeen from a ſuccinct account of their behaviour during the whole time God was working this amazing Deliverance.

For now Moſes and Aaron diſcharge their meſſage; and having confirmed it by ſigns and wonders, the *People believed:* but it was ſuch a belief, as men have of a new and unexpected matter, well atteſted.—*They bow the head* too, *and worſhip* § ; but it appears to be a thing they had not been lately accuſtomed to. And how little true ſenſe they had of God's promiſes and viſitation is ſeen from their murmuring and deſponding ‖ when things did not immediately ſucceed to their wiſhes; though Moſes, as from God, had told

* Exod. iv. ver. 1.
† Chap. iv. ver. 3.
‡ Chap. ii. ver. 12.
§ Chap. iv. 31.
‖ Chap. v. ver. 21.

them

them before-hand, that Pharaoh would prove cruel and *hard-hearted*; and would defer their liberty to the very laſt diſtreſs *. And at length, when that time came, and GOD had ordered them to purify themſelves from all the *idolatries* of EGYPT, ſo prodigiouſly attached were they to theſe follies, that they diſobeyed his command even at the very eve of their deliverance †. A thing altogether incredible, but that we have GOD's own word for it, by the prophet Ezekiel: *In the day* (ſays he) *that I lifted up mine hand unto them to bring them forth of the land of Egypt, into a land that I had ſpied for them flowing with milk and honey, which is the glory of all lands: Then ſaid I unto them, Caſt ye away every man the abominations of his eyes, and defile not yourſelves with the idols of Egypt: I am the Lord your* GOD. *But they rebelled againſt me, and would not hearken unto me: they did not every man caſt away the abominations of their eyes, neither did they forſake the idols of Egypt: Then I ſaid, I will pour out my fury upon them, to accompliſh my anger againſt them in the midſt of the land of Egypt. But I wrought for my name's ſake, that it ſhould not be polluted before the heathen, amongſt whom they were, in whoſe ſight I made myſelf known unto them, in bringing them forth out of the land of Egypt. Wherefore I cauſed them to go forth out of the land of Egypt, and brought them into the wilderneſs* ‡.

From all this it appears, that their *Cry, by reaſon of their bondage, which came up unto* GOD, was not for ſuch a deliverance as was promiſed to their forefathers, to be *brought up out of Egypt*; but for ſuch a one as might enable them to live at eaſe, amongſt their *fleſh-pots*, in it.

But now they are delivered: and, by a ſeries of miracles performed in their behalf, got quite clear of the power of Pharaoh. Yet on every little diſtreſs, *Let us return to Egypt*, was ſtill the cry. Thus, immediately after their deliverance at the Red-Sea, on

* Chap. iii. ver. 19, 20, 21.

† See note [NNNN], at the end of this Book.

‡ Ezek. xx. 6. & ſeq.

ſo common an accident, as meeting with *bitter waters* in their rout, they were preſently at their *What ſhall we drink* *? And no ſooner had a miracle removed this diſtreſs, and they gotten into the barren wilderneſs, but they were, again, at their *What ſhall we eat* †? Not that indeed they feared to die either of hunger or of thirſt; for they found the hand of God was ſtill ready to ſupply their wants; all but their capital want, to return again into Egypt; and theſe pretences were only a leſs indecent cover to their deſigns: which yet, on occaſion, they were not aſhamed to throw off, as where they ſay to Moſes, when frightened by the purſuit of the Egyptians at the Red-Sea, *Is not this the word that we did tell thee in Egypt, Let us alone that we may ſerve the Egyptians* ‡. And again, *Would to* God, *we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we ſat by the fleſh-pots and did eat bread to the full* §. That is, in plain terms, "Would we had died with our "brethren the Egyptians." For they here allude to the *deſtruction* of the *firſt-born*, when the deſtroying angel (which was more than they deſerved) paſſed over the habitations of Iſrael.

But they have now both fleſh and bread, when they cry out the ſecond time for water: and even while, again, at their *Why haſt thou brought us up out of Egypt* ‖, a rock, leſs impenetrable than their hearts, is made to pour out a ſtream ſo large that *the water run down like rivers* **: yet all the effect it ſeemed to have upon them was only to put them more in mind of *the way of Egypt, and the* WATERS *of Sihor* ††.

Nay even after their receiving the LAW, on their free and ſolemn acceptance of *Jehovah* for their God and KING, and their being conſecrated anew, as it were, for his peculiar People, Moſes only happening to ſtay a little longer in the Mount than they ex-

* Exod. xv. 24.
† Chap. xvi. ver. 2.
‡ Chap. xiv. ver. 12.
§ Chap. xvi. 3.
‖ Chap. xvii. ver. 3.
** Pſ. lxxviii. 16.
†† Jer. ii. 18.

pected,

pected, They fairly took the occaſion of projecting a ſcheme, and, to ſay the truth, no bad one, of returning back into Egypt. They went to Aaron, and pretending they never hoped to ſee Moſes again, deſired another Leader. But they would have one in the mode of Egypt; an Image, or viſible repreſentative of GOD, *to go before them* *. Aaron complies, and makes them a GOLDEN CALF, in conformity to the ſuperſtition of Egypt; whoſe great God Oſiris was worſhipped under that repreſentation †; and, for greater holineſs too, out of the jewels of the Egyptians. In this ſo horrid an impiety to the GOD of their fathers, their ſecret drift ‡, if we may believe St. Stephen, was this; they wanted to get back into Egypt; and while the CALF, ſo much adored in that country, went before them, they could return with an atonement and reconciliation in their hands. And doubtleſs their worthy Mediator, being made all of ſacred, Egyptian metal, would have been conſecrated in one of their temples, under the title of OSIRIS REDVCTOR. But Moſes's ſudden appearance broke all their meaſures: and the ringleaders of the deſign were puniſhed as they deſerved.

At length, after numberleſs follies and perverſities, they are brought, through GOD's patience and long-ſuffering, to the end of all their travels, to the promiſed place of reſt, which is juſt opening to receive them; When, on the report of the cowardly explorers of the Land, they relapſe again into their old delirium, *Wherefore hath the Lord brought us unto this land, to fall by the ſword, that our wives and our children ſhould be a prey? were it not better for us to return into Egypt? And they ſaid one to another, Let us make a captain, and let us return into Egypt* §. This ſo

* Exod. xxxii. 1.

† Ὁ ΜΟΣΚΟΣ ὗτος, ὁ ΑΠΙΣ καλεόμενος. Herodot. l. iii. 28.

‡ —"To whom our fathers would not obey, but thruſt him from them, and in "their hearts turned back again into Egypt, ſaying unto Aaron, Make us Gods to "go before us," &c. Acts vii. 39, 40.

§ Numb. xiv. 3, 4.

provoked

provoked the Almighty, that he condemned that Generation to be worn away in the Wilderneſs. How they ſpent their time there, the prophet Amos will inform us, *Have ye offered unto me* (ſays God) *any ſacrifices and offerings in the Wilderneſs, forty years, O houſe of Iſrael* ?*

In a word, this unwillingneſs to leave Egypt, and this impatience to return thither, are convincing proofs of their fondneſs for its cuſtoms and ſuperſtitions. When I conſider this, I ſeem more inclined than the generality even of ſober Critics to excuſe the falſe accounts of the Pagan writers concerning the Exodus; who concur in repreſenting the Jews as expelled or forcibly driven out of Egypt; For ſo indeed they were. The miſtake was only about their driver. The Pagans ſuppoſed him to be the King of Egypt; when indeed it was the God of Iſrael himſelf, by the miniſtry of Moſes.

Let us view them next, in poſſeſſion of the PROMISED LAND. A land *flowing with milk and honey, the glory of all lands.* One would expect now their longing after Egypt ſhould have entirely ceaſed. And ſo without doubt it would, had it aroſe only from the *fleſh-pots*; but it had a deeper root; it was the ſpiritual luxury of Egypt, their *ſuperſtitions*, with which the Iſraelites were ſo debauched. And therefore no wonder they ſhould ſtill continue ſlaves to their appetite. Thus the prophet Ezekiel, *Neither* LEFT *ſhe her whoredoms brought from Egypt* †. So that after all God's mercies conferred upon them in putting them in poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan, Joſhua is, at laſt, forced to leave them with this fruitleſs admonition: *Now therefore fear the Lord, and ſerve him in ſincerity and in truth; and* PUT AWAY *the Gods which your fathers ſerved on the other ſide of the flood and in* EGYPT ‡. It is true, we are told that *the people ſerved the Lord all the days of Joſhua, and all the days of the elders that outlived Joſhua, who had ſeen all the*

* Am. v. 25. † Ezek. xxiii. 8. ‡ Joſ. xxiv. 14.

great

great works of the Lord that he did for Iſrael *. But, out of ſight out of mind. It is then added—*And there aroſe another generation after them, which knew not the Lord, nor yet the works which he had done for Iſrael—And they forſook the Lord God of their fathers, which brought them out of the land of Egypt, and followed other Gods, of the Gods of the people that were round about them* †. And in this ſtate they continued throughout the whole adminiſtration of their JUDGES; except, when, from time to time, they were awakened into repentance by the ſeverity of GOD's judgments; which yet were no ſooner paſſed, than they fell back again into their old lethargy, a forgetfulneſs of his mercies.

Nor did their fondneſs for Egypt at all abate when they came under the iron rod of their KINGS; the Magiſtrate they had ſo rebelliouſly demanded; and who, as they pretended, was to ſet all things right. On the contrary, this folly grew ſtill more inflamed; and inſtead of one CALF they would have TWO. Which Ezekiel hints at, where he ſays, *Yet ſhe* MULTIPLIED *her whoredoms in calling to remembrance the days of her youth wherein ſhe had played the harlot in Egypt* ‡. And ſo favourite a ſuperſtition were the CALVES of Dan and Beth-el, that they ſtill kept their ground againſt all thoſe general Reformations which divers of their better ſort of Kings had made, to purge the land of Iſrael from idolatries. It is true, their extreme fondneſs for Egyptian ſuperſtition was not the only cauſe of this inveterate adherence to their CALVES. There were two others:

They flattered themſelves that this ſpecific idolatry was not altogether ſo groſs an affront to the GOD of their fathers as many of the reſt. Other of their idolatries conſiſted in worſhipping Strange Gods in conjunction with the GOD of Iſrael; this of the CALVES, only in worſhipping the GOD of Iſrael in an idolatrous manner: as appears from the hiſtory of their erection. *And*

* Judges ii. 7. † Chap. ii. 10—12. ‡ Ezek. xxiii. 19.

Jeroboam

Jeroboam ſaid in his heart, Now ſhall the kingdom return to the houſe of David: if this people go up to do ſacrifice in the houſe of the Lord at Jeruſalem, then ſhall the heart of this people turn again unto their lord, even unto Rehoboam King of Judah, and they ſhall kill me, and go again to Rehoboam king of Judah. Whereupon the King took counſel, and made two* CALVES *of gold, and ſaid unto them, It is too much for you to go up to Jeruſalem, Behold thy Gods, O Iſrael, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. And he ſet the one in Beth-el, and the other put he in Dan* †.—*It is too much for you* (ſays he) *to go up to Jeruſalem.* Who were the men diſpoſed *to go up?* None ſurely but the worſhippers of the GOD of Iſrael. Conſequently the CALVES, here offered to ſave them a journey, muſt needs be given as the repreſentatives of that God. And if theſe were ſo, then certainly the CALF *in Horeb:* ſince, at their ſeveral conſecrations, the very ſame proclamation was made of all three: *Behold thy* GODS, *O Iſrael, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.*

The other cauſe of the perpetual adherence of the Kingdom of Iſrael to their GOLDEN CALVES was their being erected for a prevention of re-union with the Kingdom of Judah. *If this people* (ſays the politic contriver) *go up to do ſacrifice in the houſe of the Lord at Jeruſalem, then ſhall the heart of this people turn again unto their lord, even unto Rehoboam king of Judah.* The ſucceeding kings, therefore, we may be ſure, were as careful in preſerving them, as He was in putting them up. So that, good or bad, the character common to them all was, that *he departed not from the ſins of Jeroboam the ſon of Nebat, who made Iſrael to ſin*; namely, in worſhipping the Calves in Dan and Beth-el. And thoſe of them who appeared moſt zealous for the Law of GOD, and utterly exterminated the idolatry of Baal, yet connived at leaſt, at this political worſhip of the CALVES.—*Thus Jehu deſtroyed Baal out of*

* It is to be obſerved of this Jeroboam, that he had ſojourned in Egypt, as a refugee, during the latter part of the reign of Solomon. 1 Kings xi. 40.

† 1 Kings xii. 26. & ſeq.

Iſrael.

Iſrael. Howbeit from the ſins of Jeroboam the ſon of Nebat who made Iſrael to ſin, Jehu departed not, to wit, the golden CALVES *that were in Beth-el, and that were in Dan* *.

But the Iſraelites had now contracted all the faſhionable habits of Egypt. We are aſſured that it had been long peculiar to the Egyptian ſuperſtition for every city of that empire to have its own tutelary God, beſides thoſe which were worſhipped in common: But now Jeremiah tells us the people of Judah bore a part with them in this extravagance: *Where are thy Gods that thou haſt made thee? Let them ariſe, if they can ſave thee in the time of thy trouble:* FOR ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF THY CITIES, ARE THY GODS, O JUDAH †.

And by the time that the ſins of this wretched People were ripe for the puniſhment of their approaching Captivity, they had polluted themſelves with all kind of *Egyptian abominations:* as appears from the famous VISIONS of EZEKIEL, where their three capital idolatries are ſo graphically deſcribed. The Prophet repreſents himſelf as brought, in a viſion, to Jeruſalem: and, at *the door of the inner gate that looked towards the north*, he ſaw *the ſeat of the* IMAGE OF JEALOUSY *which provoketh to jealouſy* ‡. Here, by the nobleſt ſtretch of an inſpired imagination, he calls this *ſeat* of their idolatries, the *ſeat of the Image of Jealouſy*, whom he perſonifies, and the more to catch the attention of this corrupt people, converts into an *Idol*, THE IMAGE OF JEALOUSY *which provoketh to jealouſy*; as if he had ſaid, God, in his wrath, hath given you one idol more, to avenge himſelf of all the reſt. After this ſublime prelude, the prophet proceeds to the various ſcenery of the inſpired Viſion.

I. The firſt of their capital idolatries is deſcribed in this manner: *And he brought me to the door of the court, and when I looked, behold a* HOLE IN THE WALL. *Then ſaid he unto me, Son of man,*

* 2 Kings x. 28, & ſeq. † Chap. ii. ver. 28. ‡ Ezek. viii. 3.

dig now in the wall; *and when I had digged in the wall, behold a* DOOR. *And he ſaid unto unto me, Go in, and behold the wicked abominations that they do here. So I went in and ſaw, and behold* EVERY FORM OF CREEPING THINGS, AND ABOMINABLE BEASTS, *and all the idols of the houſe of Iſrael,* POURTRAYED UPON THE WALL ROUND ABOUT. *And there ſtood before them ſeventy men of the ancients of the houſe of Iſrael, and in the midſt of them ſtood Jaazaniah the ſon of Shaphan, with every man his cenſer in his hand, and a thick cloud of incenſe went up. Then ſaid he unto me, Son of man, haſt thou ſeen what the ancients of the houſe of Iſrael do* IN THE DARK, *every man in the* CHAMBERS OF HIS IMAGERY * ?

1. The firſt inference I draw from theſe words is, That the Superſtition here deſcribed was EGYPTIAN. This appears from its object's being the Gods peculiar to Egypt, *every form of creeping things and abominable beaſts*; which, in another place, the ſame prophet calls, with great propriety and elegance, the *abominations of the eyes* of the Iſraelites †.

2. The ſecond inference is, That they contain a very lively and circumſtantial deſcription of the ſo celebrated MYSTERIES OF ISIS AND OSIRIS. For 1. The rites are repreſented as performed in a ſecret ſubterraneous place. *And when I looked, behold a* HOLE *in the wall*; *Then ſaid he unto me, Son of man, dig now in the wall*; *and when I had digged in the wall, behold a* DOOR. *And he ſaid unto me, Go in — Haſt thou ſeen what the Ancients of the houſe of Iſrael do in the* DARK? This ſecret place was, as the Prophet tells us, in the Temple. And ſuch kind of places, for this uſe, the Egyptians had in their Temples, as we learn from a ſimilitude of Plutarch's. *Like the diſpoſition* (ſays he) *and ordonance of their Temples*; *which, in one place, enlarge and extend themſelves into long wings, and fair and open iſles*; *in another, ſink into dark and ſecret ſubterranean Veſ-*

* Ezek. viii. 6, & ſeq.

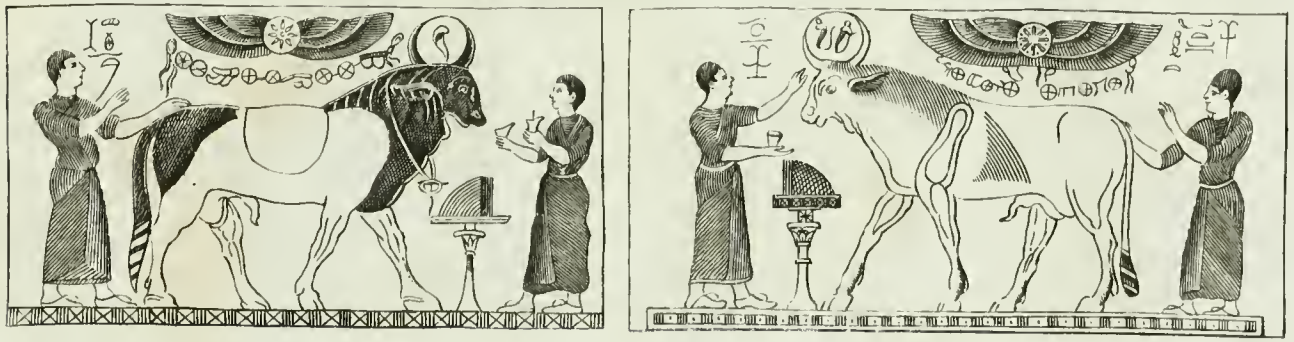
† Chap. xx. 7, 8. This ſhews *brute-worſhip* in *Egypt* to have been vaſtly extenſive at the *Exodus*; the time the prophet is here ſpeaking of.

tries,

facing p. 579 V. II.

From the Bembine Table?

PLATE X.



J. Mynd. sc.

tries, like the Adyta of the Thebans *: which Tacitus deſcribes in theſe words—atque alibi anguſtiæ, et profunda altitudo, nullis inquirentium ſpaciis penetrabilis †." 2. Theſe rites are celebrated by the SANHEDRIM, or the elders of *Iſrael: And there ſtood before them ſeventy men of the ancients of the houſe of Iſrael.* Now it hath been ſhewn in the Account of the MYSTERIES, that none but princes, rulers, and the wiſeſt of the people, were admitted to their more ſecret celebrations. 3. The paintings and imagery, on the walls of this ſubterraneous apartment, anſwer exactly to the deſcriptions the ancients have given us of the myſtic cells of the Egyptians ‡. *Behold every form of creeping things and abominable beaſts, and all the idols of the houſe of Iſrael pourtrayed upon the wall round about.* So Ammianus Marcellinus—" Sunt et ſyringes ſub-" terranei quidam et flexuoſi ſeceſſus, quos, ut fertur, periti, rituum " vetuſtorum—penitus operoſis digeſtos fodinis, per loca diverſa " ſtruxerunt: *et exciſis parietibus volucrum ferarumque genera multa* " *ſculpſerunt, quas hieroglyphicas literas appellarunt* §." There is a famous antique monument, once a conſecrated utenſil in the rites of Iſis and Oſiris, and now well known to the curious by the name of the ISIAC or BEMBINE TABLE; on which (as appears by the order of the ſeveral compartiments) is pourtrayed all the imagery that adorned the walls of the *Myſtic Cell.* Now if one were to deſcribe the engravings on that table, one could not find juſter or more emphatic terms than thoſe which the Prophet here employs.

* Ὡς——ἅ τε τῶν Ναῶν διαθέσεις, ϖῆ μὲν ἀνειμέναν εἰς ϖίερὰ καὶ δρόμες ὑπαιθρίες καὶ καθαρᾶς, ϖῆ δὲ κρυπλὰ καὶ σκότια καὶὰ γῆς χάνλων ϛολισήρια Θηβαίοις ἐοικότα καὶ σηκοῖς.——Περὶ Ισ. καὶ Οσ· p. 632. Steph. ed.

† Ann. xi. c. 62.

‡ Thus deſcribed by a learned Antiquary, Adyta Ægyptiorum, in quibus ſacerdotes ſacra operari, rituſque et cæremonias ſuas exercere ſolebant, *ſubterranea loca erant*, ſingulari quodam artificio ita conſtructa, ut nihil non myſterioſi in iis occurreret. *Muri ex omni parte pleni tum hieroglyphicis picturis, tum ſculpturis*——Kircher.

§ Lib. xxii. c. 15.

3. The third inference I would draw from this viſion is, that the Egyptian ſuperſtition was that to which the Iſraelites were more particularly addicted. And thus much I gather from the following words, *Behold every form of creeping things and abominable beaſts, and* ALL THE IDOLS OF THE HOUSE OF ISRAEL, *pourtrayed upon the wall round about.* I have ſhewn this to be a deſcription of an Egyptian myſtic cell: which certainly was adorned only with Egyptian Gods: and yet thoſe Gods are here called, by way of diſtinction, *all the idols of the houſe of Iſrael:* which ſeems plainly to infer this People's more particular addiction to them. But the words, *houſe of Iſrael*, being uſed in a viſion deſcribing the idolatries of the *houſe of Judah*, I take it for granted, that in this indefinite number of *All the idols of the houſe of Iſrael*, were eminently included thoſe two prime idols of the *houſe of Iſrael*, the calves of Dan and Beth-el. And the rather, for that I find the original Calves held a diſtinguiſhed ſtation in the paintings of the Myſtic Cell; as the reader may ſee by caſting his eye upon the Bembine Table. And this, by the way, will lead us to the reaſon of Jeroboam's erecting two Calves. For they were, we ſee, worſhipped in pairs by the Egyptians, as repreſenting Iſis and Oſiris. And what is remarkable, the Calves were *male* and *female*, as appears from 2 Kings, c. x. ver. 29. compared with Hoſea, c. x. ver. 5. where in one place the maſculine, and in the other the feminine term is employed. But though the Egyptian Gods are thus, by way of eminence, called the *idols of the houſe of Iſrael*, yet other idols they had beſides Egyptian; and of thoſe good ſtore, as we ſhall now ſee.

For this prophetic viſion is employed in deſcribing the three maſter-ſuperſtitions of this unhappy people, the EGYPTIAN, the PHENICIAN, and the PERSIAN.

II. The Egyptian we have ſeen. The PHENICIAN follows in theſe words: *He ſaid alſo unto me, Turn thee yet again, and thou ſhalt ſee greater abominations that they do. Then he brought me to the gate of*

of the Lord's houſe which was towards the NORTH, *and behold there ſat* WOMEN WEEPING FOR TAMMUZ*.

III. The PERSIAN ſuperſtition is next deſcribed in this manner: *Then he ſaid unto me, Haſt thou ſeen this, O ſon of man? Turn thee yet again, and thou ſhalt ſee greater abominations than theſe. And he brought me into the inner court of the Lord's houſe, and behold at the door of the temple of the Lord, between the porch and the altar, were about five and twenty men with their backs towards the temple of the Lord, and* THEIR FACES TOWARDS THE EAST, AND THEY WORSHIPPED THE SUN TOWARDS THE EAST †.

1. It is to be obſerved, that when the Prophet is bid to turn from the Egyptian to the Phenician rites, he is then ſaid to look towards the *north*; which was the ſituation of Phenicia with regard to Jeruſalem; conſequently, he before ſtood *ſouthward*, the ſituation of Egypt, with regard to the ſame place. And when, from thence, he is bid to turn into the inner court of the Lord's houſe, to ſee the Perſian rites, this was *eaſt*, the ſituation of Perſia. With ſuch exactneſs is the repreſentation of the whole Viſion conducted.

2. Again, as the myſterious rites of Egypt are ſaid, agreeably to their uſage, to be held in ſecret, by their ELDERS AND RULERS only: ſo the Phenician rites, for the ſame reaſon, are ſhewn as they were celebrated by the PEOPLE, in open day. And the Perſian worſhip of the ſun, which was performed by the Magi, is here ſaid to be obſerved by the PRIESTS alone, *five and twenty men with their faces towards the eaſt.*

Theſe three capital Superſtitions, the Prophet, again, diſtinctly objects to them, in a following chapter. *Thou haſt alſo committed fornication with the* EGYPTIANS *thy neighbours, great of fleſh* ‡; *and haſt increaſed thy whoredoms to provoke me to anger. Thou haſt*

* Ezek. viii. 13, & ſeq. † Ver. 15, & ſeq.

‡ See note [OOOO], at the end of this Book.

played

played the whore alſo with the ASSYRIANS, *becauſe thou waſt unſatiable: yea thou haſt played the harlot with them, and yet couldſt not be ſatisfied. Thou haſt moreover multiplied thy fornication in the land of* CANAAN *unto Chaldea, and yet thou waſt not ſatisfied herewith* *.

And when that miſerable Remnant, who, on the taking of Jeruſalem by Nebuchadnezzar, had eſcaped the fate of their enſlaved countrymen, were promiſed ſafety and ſecurity, if they would ſtay in Judea; they ſaid, *No, but we will go into the land of* EGYPT, *where we ſhall ſee no war, nor hear the ſound of the trumpet, nor have hunger of bread, and there will we dwell* †.

Thus we ſee what a ſurprizing fondneſs this infatuated people had for Egypt, and how entirely they were ſeized and poſſeſſed with its ſuperſtitions. Which the more I conſider, the more I am confirmed in the truth of Scripture-hiſtory (ſo oppoſite to Sir Iſaac Newton's Egyptian Chronology), that Egypt was, at the egreſſion of the Iſraelites, a great and powerful empire. For nothing ſo much attaches a people to any particular Conſtitution, or mode of Government, as the high opinion of its power, wealth, and felicity; theſe being ever ſuppoſed the joint product of its RELIGION and CIVIL POLICY.

II. Having thus proved the firſt part of the Propoſition, *That the* Jewiſh *people were extremely fond of Egyptian manners, and did frequently fall into Egyptian ſuperſtitions*, I come now to the ſecond; *That many of the Laws given to them by the miniſtry of* Moſes *were inſtituted partly in compliance to their prejudices, and partly in oppoſition to thoſe and to the like ſuperſtitions.* But to ſet what I have to ſay in ſupport of this ſecond part of the Propoſition in a fair light, it may be proper juſt to ſtate and explain the ENDS of the Ritual Law. Its firſt and principal, was to guard the choſen people from the contagion of IDOLATRY: a ſecond, and very impor-

* Ezek. xvi. 26, & ſeq. † Jerem. xlii. 14.

tant

tant end, was to prepare them for the reception of the MESSIAH. The firſt required that the Ritual Law ſhould be OBJECTIVE to the Pagan ſuperſtitions; and the ſecond, that it ſhould be TYPICAL of their great Deliverer. Now the coincidencies of theſe two ends, not being ſufficiently adverted to, hath been the principal occaſion of that obſtinate averſion to the truth here advanced, *That much of the Ritual was given,* PARTLY *in compliance to the People's prejudices, and* PARTLY *in oppoſition to Egyptian ſuperſtitions:* Theſe men thinking the falſhood of the Propoſition ſufficiently proved in ſhewing the Ritual to be *typical*; as if the one end excluded the other: whereas we ſee they were very conſiſtent; and hereafter ſhall ſee, that their concurrency affords one of the nobleſt proofs of the divinity of its original.

And now, to go on with our ſubject: The intelligent reader cannot but perceive, that the giving a RITUAL in oppoſition to Egyptian ſuperſtition, was a neceſſary conſequence of the People's propenſity towards it. For a people ſo prejudiced, and who were to be dealt with as free and accountable Agents, could not poſſibly be kept ſeparate from other nations, and pure from foreign idolatries, any otherwiſe than by giving them laws IN OPPOSITION to thoſe ſuperſtitions. But ſuch being the corrupt ſtate of man's Will as ever to revolt againſt what directly oppoſeth its prejudices, wiſe Governors, when under the neceſſity of giving ſuch Laws, have, in order to break and evade the force of human perverſity, always intermixed them with others which eluded the perverſity, by flattering the prejudice; where the indulgence could not be ſo abuſed as to occaſion the evil which the *laws of oppoſition* were deſigned to prevent*. And in this manner it was that our inſpired Lawgiver acted with his people, if we will believe JESUS himſelf, where, ſpeaking of a certain poſitive inſtitution, he ſays, *Moſes for*

* See this reaſoning inforced, and explained more at large in the proof of the next propoſition.

the

the HARDNESS OF YOUR HEARTS *wrote you this precept* *. Plainly intimating their manners to be ſuch, that, had not Moſes indulged them in ſome things, they would have revolted againſt all †. It follows thefore, that Moſes's giving Laws to the Iſraelites, *in compliance* to theſe their prejudices, was a natural and neceſſary conſequence of Laws given *in oppoſition* to them. Thus far from the nature of the thing.

Matter of fact confirms this reaſoning. We find in the Law a ſurprizing relation and reſemblance between Jewiſh and Egyptian rites, in circumſtances both *oppoſite* and *ſimilar*. But the learned SPENCER hath fully exhauſted this ſubject, in his excellent work, *De legibus Hebræorum ritualibus & earum rationibus*; and thereby done great ſervice to divine revelation: For the RITUAL LAW, when thus explained, is ſeen to be an Inſtitution of the moſt beautiful and ſublime contrivance. Which, without its CAUSES, (no where to be found but in the road of this theory), muſt lie for ever open to the ſcorn and contempt of Libertines and Unbelievers. This noble work is no other than a paraphraſe and comment on the third part of a famous treatiſe called *More Nevochim*, of the Rabbi MOSES MAIMONIDES: of whom only to ſay (as is his common Encomium) that *he was the firſt of the Rabbins who left off trifling*, is a poor and invidious commendation. Thither I refer the impartial reader; relying on his juſtice to believe that I mean to charge myſelf with no more of Spencer's opinions than what directly tend to the proof of this part of my Propoſition, by ſhewing, That there is a great and ſurprizing relation and reſemblance between the Jewiſh and Egyptian rites, in circumſtances both *oppoſite* and *ſimilar*.

I aſk nothing unreaſonable of the reader, when I deſire him to admit of this as proved; ſince the learned HERMAN WIT-

* Mark x. 5. and Matth. xix. 8.

† This is ſtill farther ſeen from God's being pleaſed to be conſidered by them as a *local tutelary Deity*: which, when we come to that point, we ſhall ſhew was the prevailing ſuperſtition of thoſe times.

SIUS

sius in a book profeſſedly written to confute the hypotheſis of Maimonides and Spencer, confeſſes the fact in the fulleſt and ampleſt manner *.

What is it then (a ſtranger to Controverſy would be apt to inquire) which this learned man addreſſes himſelf, in a large quarto volume, to confute? It is the plain and natural conſequence of this reſemblance, namely, That *the Jewiſh Ritual was given partly in compliance to the People's prejudices, and partly in oppoſition to Egyptian ſuperſtitions*; the Propoſition we undertake to prove. Witſius thinks, or is rather willing to think, that the Egyptian Ritual was invented in imitation of the Jewiſh. For the reader ſees, that both ſides are agreed in this, *That either the Jews borrowed from the Egyptians, or the Egyptians from the Jews*; ſo ſtrong is the reſemblance which forces this confeſſion from them.

No, the only plauſible ſupport of Witſius's party being a thing taken for granted, viz. that the rites and cuſtoms of the Egyptians, as delivered by the Greeks, were of much later original than theſe writers aſſign to them; and my diſcourſe on the ANTIQUITIES OF EGYPT, in the preceding ſection, proving it to be entirely groundleſs; the latter part of the propoſition, *viz. That many of the laws given to the Jews, by the miniſtry of Moſes, were inſtituted partly in compliance to their prejudices, and partly in oppoſition to Egyptian ſuperſtitions*, is ſufficiently proved.

* *Ita autem commodiſſime me proceſſurum exiſtimo, ſi* primo *longa exemplorum inductione ex doctiſſimorum virorum mente, et eorum plerumque verbis, demonſtravero,* MAGNAM ATQUE MIRANDAM PLANE CONVENIENTIAM IN RELIGIONIS NEGOTIO VETERES INTER ÆGYPTIOS ATQUE HEBRÆOS ESSE. *Quæ cum* fortuita *eſſe non poſſit, neceſſe eſt ut vel* Ægyptii *ſua ab* Hebræis, *vel ex adverſo* Hebræi *ſua ab* Ægyptiis *abeant.* And again, *Porro, ſi, levato antiquitatis obſcurioris velo, gentium omnium ritus oculis vigilantibus intueamur,* Ægyptios & Hebræos, PRÆ OMNIBUS ALIIS *moribus* SIMILLIMOS *fuiſſe comperiemus. Neque hoc* Kircherum *fefellit, cujus hæc ſunt verba:* Hebræi tantam habent ad ritus, ſacrificia, cærimonias, ſacras diſciplinas Ægyptiorum affinitatem, ut vel *Ægyptios hebraizantes*, vel *Hebræos ægyptizantes* fuiſſe, plane mihi perſuadeam.—*Sed quid verbis opus eſt? in rem præſentem veniamus,* [Ægyptiaca, p. 4.] And ſo he goes on to tranſcribe, from Spencer and Marſham, all the eminent particulars of that reſemblance.

But to let nothing that hath the appearance of an argument remain unanſwered, I ſhall, in as few words as may be, examine this opinion, That *the Egyptians borrowed from the Iſraelites*; regarding both Nations in that very light in which holy Scripture hath placed them. The periods then in which this muſt needs be ſuppoſed to have happened, are one or other of theſe. 1. The time of Abraham's reſidence in Egypt. 2.—of Joſeph's government. 3.—of the ſlavery of his, and his brethren's deſcendants: or, 4. Any indefinite time after their egreſſion from Egypt.

Now not to inſiſt on the utter improbability of a potent nation's borrowing its religious Rites from a private Family, or from a People they held in ſlavery; I anſwer, that of theſe four periods, the three firſt are beſide the queſtion. For the *characteriſtic* reſemblance inſiſted on, is that which we find between the Egyptian ritual, and what is properly called MOSAICAL. And let it not be ſaid, that we are unable to diſtinguiſh the Rites which were purely LEGAL from ſuch as were PATRIARCHAL *: for Moſes, to add the greater force and efficacy to the whole of his Inſtitution, hath been careful to record each ſpecific Rite which was properly Patriarchal.

Thus, though Moſes enjoined CIRCUMCISION, he hath been careful to record the patriarchal inſtitution of it with all its circumſtances—*Moſes gave unto you circumciſion (not becauſe it is of Moſes, but of the fathers)* ſays JESUS †. So again, where he inſtitutes the Jewiſh ſabbath of reſt, he records the patriarchal obſervance of it, in theſe words: – *In ſix days the Lord made heaven and earth, &c. and reſted the ſeventh day, wherefore the Lord bleſſed the ſabbath day and hallowed it* ‡.

The laſt period then only remains to be conſidered, namely, from the Egreſſion. Now at that time and from thence-forward, we

* See note [PPPP], at the end of this Book.

† 1 John vii. 22. And ſee note [QQQQ], at the end of this Book.

‡ Exod. chap. xx. ver. 11. And ſee note [RRRR], at the end of this Book.

ſay,

ſay, the Egyptians would not borrow of the Iſraelites, for theſe two plain and convincing reaſons. 1. They held the Iſraelites in the greateſt contempt, and abhorrence, as SHEPHERDS, SLAVES, and ENEMIES, men who had brought a total devaſtation on their Country: and had embraced a Religion whoſe Ritual daily treated the Gods of Ægypt with the utmoſt ignominy and deſpite *. But people never borrow their religious Rites from thoſe towards whom they ſtand in ſuch inveterate diſtance. 2. It was part of the Religion of the old Egyptians to borrow from none †: moſt certainly, not from the Jews. This is the account we have, of their natural diſpoſition, from thoſe Ancients who have treated of their manners. While, on the other hand, we are aſſured from infallible authority that the Iſraelites, of the time of Moſes, were in the very extreme of a contrary humour, and were for BORROWING all they could lay their hands on. This is ſo notorious, that I was ſurpriſed to find the learned Witſius attempt to prove, that the *Egyptians were greatly inclined to borrowing* ‡: but much more ſurpriſed with his arguments; which are theſe. 1. Clemens Alex. ſays, that it was the cuſtom of the Barbarians, and particularly the Egyptians, to honour their legiſlators and benefactors as Gods. 2. Diodorus Siculus confirms this account, where he ſays, that the Egyptians

* See Spencer, De Leg. Heb. Rit. vol. I. p. 296.

† *Ægyptii deteſtari videntur quicquid* οἱ γονεῖς ἀ παιδεύξαν, *parentes non commonſtrarunt*, Witſii *Ægyptiaca*, p. 6.—Παλαίοισι δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι, ἄλλον ἀδένα ἐπικλέωνται. Herodot. l. ii. c. 78.—Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι φεύγουσι χρᾶσθαι· τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, μηδ' ΑΛΛΩΝ ΜΗΔΑΜΑ ΜΗΔΑΜΩΝ ἀνθρώπων νομαίοισι. οἱ μὲν νῦν ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι ἔτω τέτο φυλάσσουσι. c. 91.

‡ His words are theſe: *Magna quidem laterum contentione reclamat Doctiſſimus* Spencerus, *prorſuſque incredibile eſſe contendit, conſiderato gentis utriuſque genio, ut ab* Hebræis Ægyptii *in ſuam tam multa religionem adſciverint. At quod ipſi incredibile videtur, id mihi, poſt alios eruditione atque judicio clariſſimos, perquam probabile eſt:* IPSO ÆGYPTIORUM ID SUADENTE GENIO. *In eo quippe præſtantiſſimi Auctores conſentiunt, ſolitos fuiſſe Ægyptios maximâ eos exiſtimatione proſequi, quos ſapientia atque virtute excellentiores cernerent, & a quibus ſe ingentibus beneficiis affectos eſſe meminerant: adeo quidem ut ejuſmodi mortales, non defunctos ſolum, ſed & ſuperſtites, pro Diis haberent.* Lib. iii. c. 12. p. 262.

were the moſt grateful of all mankind to their benefactors. And 3. The ſame hiſtorian tells us, that when Egypt was become a province to Perſia, the Egyptians deified Darius, while yet alive; which honour they never had done to any other king *.—This is the whole of his evidence to prove the Egyptian genius ſo greatly inclined to foreign Rites. Nor ſhould I have expoſed the nakedneſs of this learned and honeſt man, either in this place or in any other, but for the uſe which hath been made of his authority; of which more hereafter. But Witſius, and thoſe in his way of thinking, when they talk of the Egyytians' borrowing Hebrew rites, ſeem to have entertained a wrong idea of that highly policied People. It was not in ancient Egypt, as in ancient Greece, where every private man, who had travelled for it, found himſelf at liberty to ſet up what *lying vanity* he pleaſed. For in that wary Monarchy, Religion was in the hand of the magiſtrate, and under the inſpection of the Public: ſo that no *private* novelties could be introduced, had the people been as much diſpoſed, as they were indeed averſe, to innovations; and that any *public* ones would be made, by rites borrowed from the Hebrews, is, as we have ſhewn above, highly improbable.

Hitherto I have endeavoured to diſcredit this propoſition, *(that the Egyptians borrowed of the Iſraelites)* from the nature of the thing. I ſhall now ſhew the falſhood of it, from the infallible teſtimony of God himſelf: who upbraiding the Iſraelites with their

* Clemens Alexandrinus clarum eſſe dicit, *Barbaros eximie ſemper honoraſſe ſuos legumlatores & præceptores Deos ipſos appellantes.*—Inter Barbaros autem maxime id præſtiterunt Ægyptii. *Quin etiam genus Ægyptium diligentiſſime illos in Deos retulit.* Aſſentitur Diodorus; *Ægyptios denique ſupra cæteros Mortales quicquid bene de ipſis meretur grata mente proſequi affirmant.*—Neque popularibus modo ſuis atque indigenis——ſed Peregrinis—— Facit huc Darii Perſarum regis exemplum, quod Diodori iterum verbis exponam. *Tandem Darius legibus Ægyptiorum animum appuliſſe dicitur—Nam cum Sacerdotibus Ægypti familiaritatem iniit,* &c.——*Propterea tantum honoris conſecutus eſt, ut ſuperſtes adhuc Divi appellationem quod nulli regum aliorum contigit, promeruerit.* Lib. iii. c. 12. p. 263.

borrowing

borrowing idolatrous Rites of all their neighbours, expreſſes himſelf in this manner, by the prophet Ezekiel: *The contrary is in thee from other Women,* WHEREAS NONE FOLLOWETH THEE TO COMMIT WHOREDOMS: *and in that thou giveſt a reward, and no reward is given to thee, therefore thou art contrary* *. The intelligent reader perceives that the plain meaning of the metaphor is this, *Ye Jews are contrary to all other nations: you are fond of borrowing their Rites, while none of them care to borrow yours.* But this remarkable fact, had it not been ſo expreſſly delivered, might eaſily have been collected from the whole courſe of ſacred hiſtory. The reaſon will be accounted for hereafter. At preſent I ſhall only need to obſerve, that by the words, *Whereas none followeth thee to commit whoredoms,* is not meant, that no particular Gentile ever embraced the Jewiſh religion; but, that no Gentile people took in any of its Rites into their own national Worſhip. That this is the true ſenſe of the paſſage, appears from hence, 1. The idolatry of the COMMUNITY of Iſrael is here ſpoken of: and this, as will be ſhewn in the next book, did not conſiſt in renouncing the Religion of Moſes, but in polluting it with idolatrous mixtures. 2. The embracing the Jewiſh religion, and renouncing idolatry, could not, in figurative propriety, be called *committing whoredom,* though polluting the Jewiſh Rites, by taking them into their own ſuperſtitions, gives elegance to the figure thus applied.

The Reader, perhaps, may wonder how men can ſtand out againſt ſuch kind of evidence. It is not, I will aſſure him, from the abundance of argument on the other ſide; or from their not ſeeing the force on this; but from a pious, and therefore very excuſable, apprehenſion of danger to the Divinity of the Law, if it ſhould be once granted that any of the Ceremonial part was given *in compliance to the people's prejudices.* Of which imaginary danger lord Bolingbroke hath availed himſelf, to calumniate the Law, for a COMPLIANCE too evident to be denied.

* Ezek. xvi. 34.

The

The apprehenſion therefore of this conſequence being that which makes Believers ſo unwilling to own, and Deiſts, againſt the very genius of their infidelity, ſo ready to embrace an evident truth; I ſeem to come in opportunely to ſet both parties right: while I ſhew, in ſupport of my THIRD PROPOSITION, that the conſequence is groundleſs; and that the fears and hopes, built upon this ſuppoſed *compliance*, are vain and fantaſtic: which, I venture to predict, will ever be the iſſue of ſuch fears and hopes as ariſe only from the Religioniſt's honeſt adherence to *common ſenſe* and to the *word of God.*

II.

Our THIRD PROPOSITION is, That *Moſes's Egyptian learning, and the Laws he inſtituted in compliance to the People's prejudices, and in oppoſition to Egyptian ſuperſtitions, are no reaſonable objection to the divinity of his miſſion.*

The firſt part of the Propoſition concerns Moſes's *Egyptian wiſdom.* Let us previouſly conſider what that was. MOSES (ſays the holy martyr Stephen) WAS LEARNED IN ALL THE WISDOM OF THE EGYPTIANS, *and mighty in words and deeds* *. Now where the WISDOM of a Nation is ſpoken of, that which is characteriſtic of the Nation muſt needs be meant: where the *wiſdom* of a particular man, that which is peculiar to his quality and profeſſion. St. Stephen, in this place, ſpeaks of both. In both, therefore, he muſt needs mean CIVIL or POLITICAL wiſdom; becauſe, for that (as we have ſhewn) the Egyptian nation was principally diſtinguiſhed: and in that conſiſted the eminence of character of one who had a royal adoption, was bred up at court, and became at length the Leader and Lawgiver of a numerous People. More than this,—St. Stephen is here ſpeaking of him under this public character, and therefore he muſt be neceſſarily underſtood to mean, that *Moſes was conſummate in the ſcience of Legiſlation.* The words

* Acts vii. 22.

indeed

indeed are, ALL *the learning of the Egyptians.* But every good logician knows, that where the thing ſpoken of refers to ſome particular uſe (as here, Moſes's LEARNING, to his CONDUCTING the Iſraelites out of Egypt) the particle ALL does not mean *all of every kind*, but *all the parts of one kind.* In this reſtrained ſenſe, it is frequently uſed in the ſacred Writings. Thus in the Goſpel of St. John, JESUS ſays, *When he, the ſpirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into* ALL *truth* *. But further, the concluding part of the character,—*and mighty in* WORDS *and* DEEDS, will not eaſily ſuffer the foregoing part to admit of any other interpretation; ἦν δὲ δυνατὸς ἐν ΛΟΓΟΙΣ καὶ ἐν ΕΡΓΟΙΣ. This was the preciſe character of the ANCIENT CHIEF: who leading a free and willing People, needed the arts of peace, ſuch as PERSUASION and LAW-MAKING, the ΛΟΓΟΙ; and the arts of war, ſuch as CONDUCT and COURAGE, the ΕΡΓΑ in the text. Hence it is, that Jeſus, who was *The prophet like unto Moſes*, the Legiſlator of the *new* covenant as the other was of the *old*, and the Conductor of our ſpiritual warfare, is characteriſed in the ſame words, δυνατὸς ἐν ΕΡΓΩ καὶ ΛΟΓΩ ἐναντίον τοῦ ΘΕΟΥ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ †.—*A prophet, mighty in* DEED *and* WORD, *before* GOD *and all the* PEOPLE. This *wiſdom*, therefore, in which Moſes was ſaid to be verſed, we conclude, was the τὸ πραγματικὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας, in contradiſtinction to the τὸ θεωρητικόν. Hence may be ſeen the impertinence of thoſe long inquiries, which, on occaſion of theſe words, men have run into, concerning the ſtate of the ſpeculative and mechanic arts of Egypt, at this period.

This being the WISDOM, for which Moſes is here celebrated, the Deiſt haſtily concluded, *that therefore the eſtabliſhment of the Jewiſh Policy was the ſole contrivance of Moſes himſelf*; He did not reflect, that a fundamental truth (which he will not venture to diſpute any more than the Believer) ſtands very much in the way of his concluſion; namely, *That* GOD, *in the moral government*

* John xvi. 13. † Luke xxiv. 19.

of

of the world, never does that in an extraordinary way which can be equally well effected in an ordinary.

In the ſeparation of the Iſraelites, a civil Policy and a national Religion were to be eſtabliſhed, and incorporated with one another, by God himſelf. For that end, he appointed an under-agent, or inſtrument: who, in this work of Legiſlation, was either to underſtand the government of a People, and ſo, be capable of comprehending the general plan delivered to him by God, for the erection of this extraordinary Policy: or elſe he was not to underſtand the government of a People, and ſo, God himſelf, in the execution of his plan, was, at every ſtep, to interfere, and direct the ignorance and inability of his Agent. Now, as this perpetual interpoſition might be ſpared by the choice of an able Leader, we conclude, on the maxim laid down, that God would certainly employ ſuch an one in the execution of his purpoſe.

There was yet another, and that no ſlight expediency, in ſuch a Leader. The Iſraelites were a ſtubborn People, now firſt forming into Civil government; greatly licentious; and the more ſo, for their juſt coming out of a ſtate of ſlavery. Had Moſes therefore been ſo unequal to his deſignation, as to need God's direction at every turn to ſet him right, he would ſoon have loſt the authority requiſite for keeping an unruly multitude in awe; and have ſunk into ſuch contempt amongſt them, as muſt have retarded their deſigned eſtabliſhment.

But it will be ſaid, "if there wanted ſo able a Chief at the firſt ſetting up of a THEOCRACY, there would ſtill be the ſame want, though not in an equal degree, during the whole continuance of that divine form of government." It is likely there would, becauſe I find, God did make a proper proviſion for it; firſt in the erection of the SCHOOLS OF THE PROPHETS: and afterwards, in the eſtabliſhment of the GREAT SANHEDRIM, which ſucceeded them. But ſacred hiſtory mentioning theſe *Schools of the prophets*, and the aſſembly of the *Seventy elders*, only occaſionally, the accounts we have

have of both are very ſhort and imperfect. Which is the reaſon why interpreters, who have not well weighed the cauſes of that occaſional mention, have ſuffered themſelves to be greatly miſled by the Rabbins.

I. The moſt particular account we have of the *Schools of the prophets* is in the firſt book of Samuel, and on this occaſion: David, in his eſcape from the rage of Saul, fled to his protector, Samuel, who then preſided over a *School of the prophets*, at Naioth in Ramah *. When this was told to Saul, he ſent meſſengers in purſuit of him †. And, on the ill ſucceſs of their errand, went afterwards himſelf ‡. But as it was the intent of the hiſtorian, in this mention of the *Schools of the Prophets*, only to acquaint us with the effect they had on Saul and his meſſengers, when the ſpirit of GOD came upon them, we have only a partial view of theſe Collegiate bodies, that is, a view of them while at their DEVOTIONS only, and not at their STUDIES. For Saul and his meſſengers coming when the Society was *propheſying* §, or at divine worſhip, the ſpirit of GOD fell upon them, and they *propheſied* alſo. And thus the *Chal. Par.* underſtands *propheſying*, as did the apoſtolic writers, who uſe the word in the ſame ſenſe, of adoring God, and ſinging praiſes unto him. For we may well ſuppoſe theſe Societies began and ended all their daily ſtudies with this holy exerciſe.

But from hence, writers of contrary parties have fallen into the ſame ſtrange and abſurd opinion; while they imagined that, becauſe theſe *Schools* were indeed nurſeries of the Prophets, that therefore they were places of inſtruction for I don't know what kind of ART OF PROPHESY. Spinoza borrowed this ſenſeleſs fancy from the Rabbins, and hath delivered it down to his followers ‖; from whence they conclude that PROPHESY was amongſt the mechanic

* 1 Sam. xix. 18. † Ver. 21.
‡ Ver. 23. § Ver. 20.
‖ See note [SSSS], at the end of this Book.

arts of the Hebrews. But an inquirer of either common ſenſe or common honeſty would have ſeen it was a College for the ſtudy of the Jewiſh Law only; and, as ſuch, naturally and properly, a ſeminary of *Prophets*. For thoſe who were moſt knowing as well as zealous in the Law, were ſurely the moſt fit to convey God's commands to his People.

This account of the nature of the *Schools of the prophets* helps to ſhew us how it became a proverb in Iſrael, Is Saul also amongst the Prophets *? which, I apprehend, has been commonly miſtaken. The proverb was uſed to expreſs a thing unlooked for and unlikely. But ſurely the *ſpirit of God* falling occaſionally on their ſupreme Magiſtrate, at a time when it was ſo plentifully beſtowed on private men, could be no ſuch unexpected matter to the people; who knew too, that even Idolaters and Gentiles had partaken of it, while concerned in matters which related to their Oeconomy. But more than this, They could not be ignorant that the *ſpirit of God* had uſually made its abode with Saul; as appears from the following words of the ſacred hiſtorian, *But the ſpirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil ſpirit from the Lord troubled him* †. From all this I conclude that the people's ſurpriſe, which occaſioned this proverb, was not becauſe they heard the *ſpirit of God* had fallen upon him: but a very different reaſon, which I ſhall now endeavour to explain.

Saul, with many great qualities, both of a public man and a private, and in no reſpect an unable Chief, was yet ſo poorly prejudiced in favour of the human Policies of the neighbouring Nations, as to become impiouſly cold and negligent in the ſupport and advancement of the Law of God; though raiſed to regal power from a low and obſcure condition, for this very purpoſe. He was, in a word, a mere Politician, without the leaſt zeal or love for the divine Conſtitution of his Country. This was his great,

* 1 Sam. xix. 24.

† 1 Sam. xvi. 14.—And ſee note [TTTT], at the end of this Book.

and

and no wonder it ſhould prove his unpardonable crime. For his folly had reduced things to that extremity, that either He muſt fall, or the Law. Now, this Pagan turn of mind was no ſecret to the People. When, therefore, they were told that he had ſent frequent meſſengers to the ſupreme School of the prophets, where zeal for the Law was ſo eminently profeſſed; and had afterwards gone himſelf thither, and entered with divine raptures and extaſy into their devotions; they received this extraordinary news with all the wonder and amazement it deſerved. And, in the height of their ſurpriſe, they cried out, *Is Saul alſo amongſt the prophets?* i. e. Is Saul, who throughout his whole reign, hath ſo much ſlighted and contemned the Law, and would conduct all his actions by the mere rules of human Policy, is he at length become ſtudious of and zealous for the *Law of God?* And the *miracle*, of ſuch a change in a Politician, brought it into a proverb before the miſtake was found out.

This matter will receive farther light from what we are told, in the ſame ſtory, concerning DAVID; a man of ſo oppoſite a character, with regard to his ſentiments of the Law, that it appears to have been for this difference only that he was decreed by GOD to ſucceed the other, in his kingdom. Now David, the ſtory tells us, ſojourned for ſome time in this School.—*So David fled and eſcaped, and came to Samuel at Ramah, and told him all that Saul had done to him, and* HE AND SAMUEL WENT AND DWELT IN NAIOTH *. And here it was, as we may reaſonably conclude, that he ſo greatly cultivated and improved his natural diſpoſition of love and zeal for the Law, as to merit that moſt glorious of all titles, THE MAN AFTER GOD'S OWN HEART; for, till now, his way of life had been very diſtant from accompliſhments of this nature; his childhood and youth were ſpent in the country; and his early manhood in camps and courts †. But it is of importance

* 1 Sam. xix 18.

† See note [UUUU], at the end of this Book.

to the cauſe of truth to know, that this CHARACTER was not given him for his PRIVATE morals, but his PUBLIC; his zeal for the advancement of the glory of the THEOCRACY. This is ſeen from the firſt mention of him under this appellation, by Samuel, who tells Saul—*But now thy kingdom ſhall not continue.—The Lord hath ſought him* A MAN AFTER HIS OWN HEART, *and the Lord hath commanded him to be Captain over his People* *. And again, God himſelf ſays, *I have choſen Jeruſalem that my name might be there, and have choſen* DAVID *to be over my people Iſrael* †. Here David's vicegerency, we ſee, is repreſented to be as neceſſary to the ſupport of the Oeconomy, as God's peculiar reſidence in Jeruſalem. Conformably to theſe ideas it was, that Hoſea, propheſying of the reſtoration of the Jews, makes the God of Iſrael and his Vicegerent inſeparable parts of the Oeconomy.—*Afterwards ſhall the children of Iſrael return, and ſeek the* LORD *their* GOD *and* DAVID *their* KING ‡; i. e. they ſhall have the ſame zeal for the diſpenſation which king David had; and on account of which they ſhall honour his memory. Now if we would but ſeek for the reaſon of this pre-eminence, in David's *public*, not in his *private* character, we ſhould ſee it afforded no occaſion of ſcandal §. His zeal for the Law was conſtantly the ſame: as is manifeſt by this diſtinguiſhing circumſtance, that he never fell into Idolatry. But the phraſe itſelf, of *a man after God's own heart*, is beſt explained in the caſe of Samuel. ELI the prophet was rejected, and SAMUEL put in his place juſt in the ſame manner that DAVID ſuperſeded SAUL. On this occaſion, when God's purpoſe was denounced to Eli, we find it expreſſed in the ſame manner, *And I will raiſe me up a faithful prieſt*, THAT SHALL DO ACCORDING TO THAT WHICH IS IN MINE HEART ||. What was then *in God's heart*

* 1 Sam. xiii. 14. † 2 Chron. vi. 6. ‡ Hoſ. iii. 5.

§ See note [XXXX], at the end of this Book.

|| 1 Sam. ii. 35.

(to

(to ſpeak in the language of humanity) the context tells us, *The eſtabliſhment of his Diſpenſation.* Thus, we ſee, *the man after God's own heart* is the man who ſeconds God's views in the ſupport of the Theocracy. No other virtue was here in queſtion. Though in an indefinite way of ſpeaking, where the ſubject is only the general relation of man to God, no one can, indeed, be called a *man after God's own heart*, but he who uſes his beſt endeavours to imitate God's purity as far as miſerable humanity will allow, in the uniform practice of every virtue.

By this time, therefore, I preſume, the ſerious Reader will be diſpoſed to take for juſt what it is worth, that refined obſervation of the noble author of the Characteriſtics, where he ſays, "It is "not poſſible, by the *muſe's art*, to make that royal Hero appear "amiable in human eyes, who found ſuch favour in the eye of "Heaven. Such are mere human hearts, that they can hardly "find the leaſt ſympathy with that ONLY ONE which had the "character of being after the pattern of the Almighty.*."—— His lordſhip ſeems willing to make any thing *the teſt of truth*, but that only which has a claim to it, RIGHT REASON. Sometimes this *teſt* is RIDICULE; here, it is the ART OF POETRY— *it is not poſſible* (ſays he) *for the muſe's art to make that royal Hero appear amiable in human eyes.* Therefore, becauſe DAVID was not a character to be managed by the Poet, for the Hero of a fiction, he was not a fit inſtrument in the hands of God, to ſupport a Theocracy: and having nothing amiable in the eyes of our noble Critic, there could be nothing in him to make him acceptable to his Maker. But when claſſical criticiſm goes beyond its bounds, it is liable to be bewildered: as here. The noble Author aſſures us that David was the only man *characteriſed*, to be AFTER GOD'S OWN HEART, whereas we ſee the very ſame character is given of Samuel; and both honoured with this glorious appellation for the ſame reaſon.

* Advice to an Author, Sect. 3. vol. I.

II. As for the GREAT SANHEDRIM, it ſeems to have been eſtabliſhed after the failure of Prophecy. And concerning the members of this body, the Rabbins tell us, there was a tradition, that they were bound to be ſkilled in all ſciences *. So far is certain, that they extended their juriſdiction to the judging of doctrines and opinions, as appears by their deputation to JESUS, to know by what authority he did his great works. And as the addreſs of our bleſſed Saviour on this occaſion deſerves well to be illuſtrated, I ſhall ſet down the occurrence as it is recorded by St. Matthew:—"When "he was come into the temple, the chief prieſts and the elders of "the people came unto him as he was teaching, and ſaid, By what "authority doſt thou theſe things? And who gave thee this autho-"rity? And JESUS anſwered and ſaid unto them, I alſo will aſk "you one thing, which if you tell me, I in like wiſe will tell you "by what authority I do theſe things. The baptiſm of *John* "whence was it? from heaven, or of men? And they reaſoned "with themſelves ſaying, If we ſhall ſay from heaven, he will "ſay unto us, Why did ye not then believe him? But if "we ſhall ſay of men, we fear the people: for all hold *John* as a "prophet. And they anſwered JESUS and ſaid, We cannot "tell. And he ſaid unto them, Neither tell I you by what autho-"rity I do theſe things †." We are not to ſuppoſe this to be a captious evaſion of a queſtion made by thoſe whoſe authority he did not acknowledge. On the contrary, it was a direct reply to an acknowledged juriſdiction, (as JESUS was obedient to all the inſtitutions of his country) convincing them that the queſtion needed not, even on the principles of that juriſdiction, any preciſe anſwer. They ſent to him to know the authority on which he acted. He aſks them whether they had yet determined of John's: they ſay, they had not. Then replies JESUS, "I need not tell you my authority; ſince the Sanhedrim's not having yet determined of John's, ſhews ſuch a determination unneceſſary; or

* See Smith's Select Diſcourſes, p. 258.

† Chap. xxi. ver. 23, & ſeq.

at

at leaſt, ſince (both by John's account and mine) he is repreſented as the fore-runner of my miſſion, it is fit to begin with his pretenſions firſt." The addreſs and reaſoning of this reply are truly divine.

The foregoing obſervations concerning this method of divine wiſdom, in the eſtabliſhment of the Jewiſh Theocracy, will be much ſupported, if we contraſt it with that which Providence was pleaſed to take in the propagation of Chriſtianity.

The bleſſed JESUS came down to teach mankind a ſpiritual Religion, the object of each individual as ſuch; and offered to their acceptance on the ſole force of its own evidence. The Propagators of this religion had no need to be endowed with worldly authority or learning; for here was no Body of men to be conducted: nor no civil Policy or government to be erected or adminiſtered. Had JESUS, on the contrary, made choice of the Great and Learned for this employment, they had diſcredited their own ſucceſs. It might have been then objected, that the Goſpel had made its way by the aid of human power or ſophiſtry. To preſerve, therefore, the ſplendour of its evidence unſullied, the meaneſt and moſt illiterate of a barbarous people were made choice of for the inſtruments of GOD's laſt great Revelation to mankind: armed with no other power but of Miracles, and that only for the credence of their miſſion; and with no other wiſdom but of Truth, and that only to be propoſed freely to the underſtandings of Particulars. St. Paul, who had fathomed the myſterious depths of divine wiſdom under each Oeconomy, was ſo penetrated with the view of this laſt Diſpenſation, that he breaks out into this rapturous and triumphant exclamation, *Where is the Wiſe? Where is the Scribe? Where is the Diſputer of this world? Hath not God made fooliſh the wiſdom of this world* ?*

But further, Divine wiſdom ſo wonderfully contrived, that the inability and ignorance of the Propagators of Chriſtianity were as

* 1 Cor. i. 20.

uſeful

uſeful to the advancement of this Religion, as the authority and wiſdom of the Leader of the Jews were for the eſtabliſhment of theirs.

I ſhall only give one inſtance out of many which will occur to an attentive reader of the Evangelic hiſtory.

When Jesus had choſen theſe mean and weak inſtruments of his power, he ſuffered them to continue in their national prejudices concerning his Character; the nature of his kingdom; and the extent of his juriſdiction; as the ſole human means of keeping them attached to his ſervice, not only during the courſe of their attendance on his miniſtry, but for ſome time after his reſurrection, and the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon them; that Power which was to *lead them into all truth*; but by juſt and equal ſteps. Let us ſee the uſe of this, in the following circumſtance: From the order of the whole of God's Diſpenſation to mankind, as laid down in Scripture, we learn, that the offer of the Goſpel was to be firſt fairly made to the Jews; and then afterwards to the Gentiles. Now when, ſoon after the aſcenſion of our Lord, the Church was forced, by the perſecution of the Synagogue, to leave Judea, and to diſperſe itſelf through all the regions round about; had the Apoſtles, on this diſperſion, been fully inſtructed in the deſign of God to call the Gentiles into his church, reſentment for their ill uſage within Judea, and the ſmall proſpect of better ſucceſs amongſt thoſe who were without, which they of Jeruſalem had prejudiced againſt the Goſpel, would naturally have diſpoſed them to turn immediately to the Gentiles. By which means God's purpoſe, without a ſupernatural force upon their minds, had been defeated; as ſo great a part of the Jews would not have had the Goſpel *firſt preached unto them*. But now puſhed on by this commodious prejudice, that the benefits belonged properly to the race of Abraham, they directly addreſſed themſelves to their brethren of the *diſperſion*: where meeting with the ſame ill ſucceſs, their ſenſe of the deſperate condition of the houſe of Iſrael would now begin to abate that

that prejudice in their favour. And then came the time to enlighten them in this matter, without putting too great a force upon their minds; which is not GOD's way of acting with free agents. Accordingly, his purpose of calling the Gentiles into the Church was now clearly revealed to PETER at Joppa; and a proper subject, wherewith to begin this great work, was ready provided for him.

But though ignorance in the Propagator of a divine truth amongst particulars, may serve to these important ends, yet to shew still plainer how pernicious this inability would be whereever a Society is concerned, as in the establishment of the Jewish Religion, I shall produce an occasional example even in the Christian.

For when now so great numbers of the Gentiles were converted to CHRIST, that it became necessary to form them into a Church; that is, a religious Society; which of course hath its Policy as well as the Civil; so hurtful was ignorance in its governing members, that divers of them, though graced with many gifts of the holy Spirit, caused such disorders in their assemblies as required all the abilities of the LEARNED APOSTLE to reform and regulate. And then it was, and for this purpose, that PAUL, the proper Apostle of the Gentiles *, was, in an extraordinary manner, called in, to conduct, by his learning and abilities, and with the assistance of his companion LUKE, a learned man also, this part of GOD's purpose to its completion. The rest were properly Apostles of the Jews; which people having a religious Society already formed, the converts from thence had a kind of rule to go by, which served them for their present occasions; and therefore these needed no great talents of parts or learning; nor had they any. But a new Society was to be formed amongst the Gentile converts; and this

* *The gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the gospel of the circumcision was unto* Peter. Gal. ii. 7.

required an able conductor; and such an one they had in Paul. But will any one say that his learning afforded an objection against the divinity of his mission? We conclude therefore, that none can arise from the abilities, natural and acquired, of the great Jewish Lawgiver. The point to be proved.

II. We come now to the second part of the Proposition, *That the Laws instituted in compliance to the People's prejudices, and in opposition to Egyptian superstitions, are no reasonable objection to the divinity of the Jewish Religion.* That most of these Laws were given in *opposition* to Egyptian superstitions, believers seem not unwilling to allow; as apprehending no consequence from such a concession that will give them trouble. The thing which startles them is the supposition that some of these Laws were given in *compliance* to the Jewish prejudices; because infidels have inforced this circumstance to the discredit of Moses's pretensions. To satisfy believers therefore, I shall shew, "that the Laws in *compliance* were a consequence of the Laws in *opposition*." And to reconcile them to both sorts, I shall attempt to prove, from the double consideration of their NECESSITY and FITNESS, that the institution of such Laws is no reasonable objection to the divinity of their original.

I. If GOD did indeed interfere in the concerns of this People, it will, I suppose, be easily granted, that his purpose was to separate them from the contagion of that universal idolatry, which had now overspread the whole earth; and to which, especially to the EGYPTIAN, they were most inveterately prone.

There were two ways, in the hand of GOD, for effecting this separation: either to overrule the Will; and this required only the exercise of his power: or, by leaving the Will at liberty, to counterwork the passions; and this required the exercise of his WISDOM.

Now, as all the declared purposes of this separation shew, that GOD acted with the Israelites as MORAL AGENTS, we must needs conclude, notwithstanding the peculiar favour by which they were elected,

elected, and the extraordinary providence by which they were conducted, that yet, amidſt all this diſplay and blaze of almighty Power, the WILL ever remained free and uncontrolled. This not only appears from the nature of the thing, but from the whole hiſtory of their reduction out of Egypt. To give only one inſtance: Moſes tells us, that GOD led the Iſraelites into the land of Canaan, not by the direct way of the Philiſtines, leſt the ſight of danger, in an expedition againſt a ſtrong and warlike People, ſhould make them chuſe to return to Egypt, and ſeek for refuge in their ſlavery: But he led them about, by the way of the Wilderneſs, to inure them by degrees to fatigue and hardſhips; the beſt foundation of military proweſs *. And when GOD, to puniſh them for their cowardice, on the report of the faithleſs explorers of the land, had decreed that that generation ſhould be worn away in the Wilderneſs †, the wiſe policy of this ſentence was as conſpicuous as the juſtice of it.

If then the Wills of this people were to be left free, and their minds influenced only by working on their paſſions, it is evident, that GOD, when he became their Lawgiver, would act by the ſame policy in uſe amongſt human Lawgivers for reſtraining the vicious inclinations of the People. The ſame, I ſay, in kind, though differing infinitely in degree. For all People, whether conducted on divine or human meaſures, having the ſame nature, the ſame liberty of Will, and the ſame terreſtrial ſituation, muſt needs require the ſame mode of guidance. And, in fact, we find the Jewiſh to be indeed conſtituted like other Civil governments, with regard to the integral parts of a Political ſociety.

According to all human conception therefore, we ſee no way left to keep ſuch a People, thus ſeparated, free from the contagion of idolatry, but,

Firſt, by ſevere penal Laws againſt idolaters;

And, Secondly, by framing a multifarious Ritual, whoſe whole direction, looking contrary to the forbidden ſuperſtitions, would, by

* Exod. xiii. 17. † Numb. xiii. and xiv.

degrees, wear out the preſent fondneſs for them; and at length bring on an habitual averſion to them. This is the way of wiſe Lawgivers; who, in order to keep the Will from revolting, forbear to do every thing by direct force and fear of puniſhment; but employ, where they can, the gentler methods of reſtraint.

Thirdly, but as even in the practice of this gentler method, when the paſſions and prejudices run high, a direct and profeſſed oppoſition will be apt to irritate and inflame them; therefore it will be further neceſſary, in order to break and elude their violence, to turn mens fondneſs for the forbidden practice into a harmleſs channel; and by indulging them in thoſe cuſtoms, which they could not well abuſe to ſuperſtition, enable the more ſevere and oppoſite inſtitutions to perform their work. Such, for inſtance, might be the *lighting up of lamps* in religious Worſhip: which practice, Clemens Alexandrinus aſſures us, came firſt from the Egyptians *: nor would Witſius himſelf venture to deny it †. But, for the ſame reaſon, we conclude that the *brazen ſerpent* was no imitation of an Egyptian practice, as Sir J. Marſham would perſuade us; becauſe we ſee how eaſily it might, and did ſuffer abuſe. Which concluſion, not only our principle leads us to make, but matter of fact enables us to prove ‡.

Such a conduct therefore as this, where the Will is left free, appears to be NECESSARY.

II. Let us ſee next whether it were FIT, that is, Whether it agreed with the wiſdom, dignity, and purity of GOD.

1. His WISDOM indeed is the Attribute peculiarly manifeſted in this method of government; and certainly with as great luſtre as we ſhould have ſeen his POWER, had it been his good pleaſure to have over-ruled the Will. To give an inſtance only in one particu-

* Αἰγύπτιοι λύχνους καίειν πρῶτοι κατέδειξαν. Strom. l. i. p. 306. Edit. Colon. 1688. fol.

† Earum [lucernarum] prima ad religionem accenſio, utrum Hebræis debeatur, an Ægyptiis, haud facile dixero. Ægypt. p. 190.

‡ See above.

lar,

lar, moſt liable to the ridicule of unbelievers; I mean, in that part of the Jewiſh Inſtitute which concerns *clean* and *unclean* meats; and deſcends to ſo low and minute a detail, that men, ignorant of the nature and end of this regulation, have, on its apparent *unfitneſs* to engage the concern of GOD, concluded againſt the divine original of the Law. But would they reflect, that the purpoſe of ſeparating one People from the contagion of univerſal idolatry, and this, in order to facilitate a ſtill greater good, was a deſign not unworthy the Governor of the Univerſe, they would ſee this part of the Jewiſh Inſtitution in a different light: They would ſee the brighteſt marks of divine wiſdom in an injunction which took away the very grounds of all commerce with foreign Nations. For thoſe who can neither eat nor drink together, are never likely to become intimate. This will open to us the admirable method of divine Providence in PETER's *viſion*. The time was now come that the Apoſtle ſhould be inſtructed in GOD's purpoſe of calling the Gentiles into the Church: At the hour of repaſt, therefore, he had a ſcenical repreſentation of all kind of meats, *clean* and *unclean*; of which he was bid to take and eat indifferently and without diſtinction *. The primary deſign of this viſion, as appears by the context, was to inform him that the *partition-wall* was now broken down, and that the Gentiles were to be received into the church of CHRIST. But beſides its figurative meaning, it had a literal; and ſignified, that the diſtinction of MEATS, as well as of MEN, was now to be aboliſhed. And how neceſſary ſuch an information was, when he was about to go upon his miſſion to the Gentiles, and was to conciliate their benevolence and good-will, I have obſerved above. But although this was the principal cauſe of the diſtinction of meats into clean and unclean, yet another was certainly for the preſervation of health. This inſtitution was of neceſſity to be obſerved in the firſt caſe, to ſecure the great object of a *ſeparation*: and in the ſecond caſe (which is no trivial mark of the wiſdom of the Inſtitutor)

* Acts x. 10, et ſeq.

it

it might be ſafely and commodiouſly obſerved by a People thus *ſeparated*, who were conſequently to be for ever confined within the limits of one country. And here the abſurdity of this part of Mahometaniſm evidently betrays itſelf. Mahomet would needs imitate the Law of Moſes, as in other things, ſo in this *the diſtinction of meats, clean and unclean*; without conſidering that in a Religion formed for conqueſt, whoſe followers were to inhabit Regions of the moſt different and contrary qualities, the food which in one climate was hurtful or nutritive, in another changed its properties to their contraries. But to ſhew ſtill more clearly the difference between Inſtitutions formed at hazard, and thoſe by divine appointment, we may obſerve, that when Judaiſm arrived at its completion in Chriſtianity, the followers of which were the inhabitants of all Climes, the diſtinction between meats clean and unclean was aboliſhed; which, at the ſame time, ſerving other great ends explained above, ſhew the Diſpenſation (in the courſe of which theſe ſeveral changes of the Oeconomy took place) to be really Divine.

2. As to the DIGNITY and Majeſty of GOD, that, ſurely, does not ſuffer, in his not interfering with his power, to force the Will, but permitting it to be drawn and inclined by thoſe *cords of a man*, his natural motives. The dignity of any Being conſiſts in obſerving a conformity between his actions, and his quality, or ſtation. Now it pleaſed the GOD of heaven to take upon himſelf the office of ſupreme Magiſtrate of the Jewiſh Republic. But it is (as we have ſhewn) the part of a wiſe Magiſtrate to reſtrain a People, devoted to any particular ſuperſtition, by a Ritual directly *oppoſite* in the general to that ſuperſtition; and yet *ſimilar* in ſuch particular practices as could not be abuſed or perverted: becauſe compliance with the popular prejudices in things indifferent, naturally eludes the force of their propenſity to things evil. In this wiſe Policy, therefore, the dignity of the GOD of heaven was not impaired.

3. Nor is his PURITY any more affected by this ſuppoſed conduct. The Rites, in queſtion, are owned to be, in themſelves, indifferent;

different; and good or evil only as they are directed to a true or falſe object.

If it be ſaid "that their carnal nature, or weariſome multiplicity, or ſcrupulous obſervance, render them unworthy of the purity and ſpiritual nature of GOD:" To Believers, I reply, that this objection holds equally againſt theſe Rites in whatever view they themſelves are wont to regard them:—To Unbelievers; that they forget, or do not underſtand GOD's primary end, in the inſtitution of the Jewiſh Ritual; which was, to preſerve the people from the contagion of theſe idolatrous practices with which they were ſurrounded. But nothing could be ſo effectual to this purpoſe, as ſuch a Ritual. And ſince the continual proneneſs of that People to idolatry hath been ſhewn to ariſe from the inveterate prejudice of *intercommunity of worſhip*, nothing could be ſo effectual as the extreme minuteneſs of their Ritual.

If it be ſaid, "that the former abuſe of theſe *indulged Rites* to an abominable ſuperſtition had made them unfit to be employed in the ſervice of the GOD of purity:" I reply, that there is nothing in the nature of things, to make them *unfit*. That a material ſubſtance, materially ſoiled, ſtained, and infected, is unfit to approach and be joined to one of great cleanneſs and purity, is not to be denied. But let us not miſtake words for things; and draw a metaphyſical concluſion from a metaphorical expreſſion. The ſoil and ſtain, in the caſe before us, is altogether figurative, that is, unreal. And in truth, the very objection is taken from the command of this very Law, to abſtain from things polluted by idolatry: But we now underſtand, that the reaſon of its ſo ſeverely forbidding the uſe of ſome things that had been abuſed to ſuperſtition, was the very ſame with its indulging the uſe of others which had been equally abuſed; namely, to compaſs, by the beſt, though different yet concording means, that one great end, *the* EXTIRPATION OF IDOLATRY. Notwithſtanding this, the Law concerning things polluted, like many other of the Jewiſh obſervances, hath occaſionally been adopted by different Sects in the Chriſtian church. Thus our PURITANS, who

ſeem

ſeem to have had their name from the ſubject in debate, quarrelled with the eſtabliſhed uſe of the croſs in baptiſm, the ſurplice, and the poſture of communicating, becauſe they had been abuſed to the ſupport of popiſh ſuperſtition *. I chuſe this inſtance, that the Men whom I am arguing againſt, may ſee the iſſue of their objection; and that They, from whom the inſtance is taken, may be ſhewn the unreaſonableneſs of their ſeparation; as far at leaſt as it was occaſioned on account of ceremonies.

If, laſtly, it be ſaid, "that theſe Rites, which once had been, might be again, abuſed to ſuperſtition; and were therefore *unfit* to be employed in this new ſervice;" I reply, that this is a miſtake. For, 1. We go on the ſuppoſition, that the Jews were indulged in no practices capable of being ſo abuſed. 2. That though they might in themſelves be ſubject to abuſe, yet they carried their corrective with them: which was, firſt, their being intermixed with a vaſt number of other Rites directly oppoſite to all idolatrous practice; and, ſecondly, their making part of a burdenſome multifarious Worſhip, which would keep the people ſo conſtantly employed, as to afford them neither time nor occaſion, from the cauſe in queſtion, of falling into foreign idolatries.

But how can I hope to be heard in defence of this conduct of the God of Iſrael, when even the believing part of thoſe whom I oppoſe ſeem to pay ſo little attention to the reaſoning of Jesus himſelf; who has admirably illuſtrated and vindicated the wiſdom of this conduct, in the familiar parable of *new cloth in old garments*, and *new wine in old bottles* †: which, though given in anſwer to a particular queſtion, was intended to inſtruct us in this general truth, That it is the way of God to accommodate his Inſtitutions to the ſtate, the condition, and contracted habits, of his creatures.

* See note [YYYY], at the end of this Book.

† *And he ſpake alſo a parable unto them, No man putteth a piece of a new garment upon an old: if otherwiſe, then both the new maketh a rent, and the piece that was taken out of the new, agreeth not with the old. And no man putteth new wine into old bottles, elſe the new wine will burſt the bottles, and be ſpilled, and the bottles ſhall periſh.* Luke v. 36.

But

But as this notion hath been condemned ex cathedra *; and the *Ægyptiaca* of HERMAN WITSIUS recommended to the clergy, *as a diſtinct and ſolid confutation* of *Spencer's book, de legibus Hebræorum ritualibus*; I ſhall examine what that learned Foreigner hath to ſay againſt it. All Witſius's reaſoning on this point is to be found in the fourteenth chapter of his third book; which I ſhall endeavour to pick out, and ſet in the faireſt light.

1. His firſt argument is, "that it is a diſhonouring of GOD, who has the hearts of men in his power, and can turn them as he pleaſes, to conceive of him as ſtanding in need of the tricks of crafty Politicians; not but, he confeſſes, that GOD deals with men as reaſonable creatures, and attains his end by fit and adequate means; and, in the choice of theſe means, manifeſts a wiſdom perfectly admirable." Yet, for all this, he ſays, "we cannot, without the higheſt contumely, preſume to compare the ſacred Policy of Heaven with the arts and ſhifts of the beggarly politics of this world †."—All I find here is only miſrepreſentation. Spencer never compared the wiſdom of GOD, in the inſtitution of the Jewiſh republic, to the *tricks* and *ſhifts* of politicians; but to their *legitimate arts* of Government, conducted on the rules of ſtrict morality. And if, as this writer owns, GOD *dealt with the Iſraelites as reaſonable creatures, and attained his end by fit and adequate means*, he muſt needs uſe a wiſdom the ſame in kind, though vaſtly different in degree, with what we call human policy. But indeed, he ſeems reconciled to

* Waterland's Charge to the Clergy of Middleſex.

† Verum enimvero quantamcunque hæc civilis prudentiæ ſpeciem habeant, præter Dei verbum cuncta dicuntur, & humani commenta ſunt ingenii, divini numinis majeſtate haud ſatis digna. Nimirum cauti catique in ſeculo mortales Deum ex ſua metiuntur indole: arcanaſque imperandi artes, & vaframenta politicorum, quæ vix terra probet, cœlo locant. Quaſi vero in populo ſibi formando firmandoque iis aſtutiarum ambagibus indigeat is, qui, mortalium corda in manu ſua habens, ea, quorſum vult, flectit. Non nego equidem Deum cum hominibus, uti cum creaturis rationalibus, agentem, media adhibere iis perſuadendis idonea, inque eorum mediorum delectu ſapientiam oſtendere prorſus admirabilem. Attamen Dei ſanctiſſima iſta ſapientia cum politicorum aſtibus ac vafritie comparari ſine inſigni illius contumelia non poteſt. p. 282.

the thing: it is the name only which he diſlikes. If his followers ſay otherwiſe, I deſire they would explain, in ſome intelligible manner, their idea of that *wiſdom*, in God's civil government of a people, which is not founded in the exerciſe of almighty power, and is yet different in kind from what we call Policy.

2. His ſecond argument is, "That, as God erected a new Republic, it was his will that it ſhould *appear* new to the Iſraelites. Its ſtructure was not to be patched up out of the rubbiſh of the Canaanitiſh or Egyptian Rites, but was formed according to the model brought down from heaven, and ſhewn to Moſes in the Mount. Nor was it left to the people to do the leaſt thing in religious matters, on their own head. All was determinately ordered, even to the moſt minute circumſtance; which was ſo bound upon them, that they could not do, or omit, any the leaſt thing contrary to the Law, without becoming liable to immediate puniſhment *."—— If, by this NEWNESS of the Jewiſh Republic, be meant, that it was different in many fundamental circumſtances from all other civil policies, ſo as to vindicate itſelf to its divine Author; I not only agree with him, but, which is more than he and his recommender could do, have proved it. But this ſenſe makes nothing to the point in queſtion. If by NEWNESS be meant, that it had nothing in common with any of the neighbouring Inſtitutions; To make this credible, he ſhould have proved that God gave them new *hearts*, new *natures*, and a new *world*, along with their new *Government*. There is the ſame ambiguity in what he ſays of the *appearance* of newneſs to the Iſraelites. For it may ſignify either

* Uti revera novam moliebatur rempublicam, ita et novam, qualis erat, videri eam Iſraëlitis voluit. Quippe cujus forma ſive ſpecies, non ex rituum ruderibus Canaaniticorum aut Ægyptiacorum efficta, ſed cœlitus delapſa, Moſi primum in ſacro monſtrata monte erat, ut ad illud inſtar cuncta in Iſraële componerentur. Neque permiſſum eſſe populo voluit, ut in religionis negotio vel tantillum ſuo ageret arbitratu. Omnia determinavit ipſe, ad minutiſſimas uſque circumſtantias; quibus ita eos alligavit, ut non ſine præſentaneo vitæ diſcrimine quicquam vel omittere, vel aliter agere potuerint. p. 282, 283.

that

that the Inſtitution appeared ſo new as to be ſeen to come from GOD; or that it appeared ſo new as not to reſemble, in any of its parts, the Inſtitutions of men. The firſt is true, but not to the purpoſe: the latter is to the purpoſe, but not true.—From the fact, of the Law's *coming down entire from heaven*, he concludes that the genius and prejudices of the Iſraelites were not at all conſulted: From the ſame fact, I conclude, that they were conſulted: which of us has concluded right is left to the judgment of the public. Let me only obſerve, That ignorant men may compoſe, and have compoſed Laws in all things oppoſite to the bent and genius of a people; and they have been obeyed accordingly. But, when divine wiſdom frames an Inſtitution, we may be ſure that no ſuch ſoleciſm as that of *putting new wine into old bottles* will ever be committed.—*But the people were not conſulted even in the leaſt thing that concerned religious matters.* How is this to be reconciled with their free choice of GOD for their King; and with his indulgence of their impious clamours afterwards for a Vicegerent or another king? This ſurely *concerned religious matters.* and very capitally too, in a Policy where both the Societies were perfectly incorporated.—*But every thing was determined even to the moſt minute circumſtances, and to be obſerved under the ſevereſt penalties.* What this makes for his point, I ſee not. But this I ſee, that, if indeed there were that indulgence in the Law which I contend for, theſe two circumſtances of *minute preſcription*, and *ſevere penalties*, muſt needs attend it: and for this plain reaſon; Men, when indulged in their prejudices, are very apt to tranſgreſs the bounds of that indulgence; it is therefore neceſſary that thoſe bounds ſhould be minutely marked out, and the tranſgreſſion of them ſeverely puniſhed.

3. His third argument is—"That no religious Rites, formerly uſed by the Iſraelites, on their own head, were, after the giving of the law, PERMITTED, out of regard to habitude; but all things PRESCRIBED and COMMANDED: and this ſo preciſely, that it was

unlawful to deviate a finger's breadth either to the right hand or to the left *." – This indeed is an obſervation which I cannot reconcile to the learned writer's uſual candour and ingenuity. He is writing againſt Spencer's ſyſtem: and here he brings an argument againſt it, which he ſaw in Spencer's book had been brought againſt Grotius (who was in that ſyſtem), and which Spencer anſwers in defence of Grotius. Therefore, as this anſwer will ſerve in defence of Spencer himſelf againſt Witſius, I ſhall give it at the bottom of the page †. For the reſt, I apprehend all the force of this third argument to lie only in a quibble on the equivocal uſe of the word PERMISSION, which ſignifies either a *tacit connivance*, or *legal allowance*. Now Spencer uſed the word in this latter ſenſe ‡. But *permiſſion*, in this ſenſe, is very conſiſtent with *every thing's being expreſsly preſcribed and commanded in the law*.

* Nec ulli in religione ritus fuerunt, ab Iſraëlitis olim ſine numine uſurpati, quibus propter aſſuetudinem ut in poſterum quoque uterentur lege lata *permiſit*: ſed præſcripta *juſſaque* ſunt omnia. Et quidem ita diſtincte, ut nec tranſverſum digitum dextrorſum aut ſiniſtrorſum declinare fas fuerit. Deut. v. p. 283.

† Teſtium meorum agmen claudit Grotius——Authoris verba ſunt hæc: "*Sicut* "*fines ſacrificiorum diverſi ſunt,—ita et ritus, qui aut ab Hebræis ad alias gentes venere, aut, quod credibilius eſt, a Syris & Ægyptiis uſurpati, correcti ſunt ab Hebræis, & ab aliis gentibus ſine ea emendatione uſurpati.* Hic in Grotium paulo animoſius inſurgit auctor nuperus: nam *hoc*, ait ille, *cum impietate et abſurditate conjunctum eſt.* Quid ita? *Num enim*, reſpondet ille, *Deum ſanctiſſima ſua inſtituta, quæ ipſe prolixe ſancivit, et conſcribi in religioſam obſervationem, per inſpirationem numinis ſui, voluit credemus ab idolatria Syrorum & Ægyptiorum mutuo ſumpſiſſe? Neque ea pro libitu Ebræi aſſumpſerunt, aut aſſumpta emendarunt, ſed omnia & ſingula divinitus in lege præſcripta ſunt, et juxta ejus normam exactiſſime obſervari debuerunt.*" At opinio Grotii multo ſolidior eſt, quam ut mucrone tam obtuſo confodi poſſit. Non enim aſſerit ille, vel ſanus quiſpiam, Hebræos ritum ullum a gentibus, pro libitu ſuo, ſumpſiſſe, vel ſumptum pro ingenio ſuo correxiſſe. Id unum ſub locutione figurata, contendit Grotius, Deum nempe ritus aliquos, uſu veteri confirmatos (emendatos tamen, et ignem quaſi purgatorium paſſos) a gentibus accepiſſe, et Hebræis uſurpandos tradidiſſe; ne populus ille, rituum ethnicorum amore præceps, ad cultum et ſuperſtitionem Gentilium rueret, ni more plurimum veteri cultum præſtare concederetur. De Leg. Heb. rit. vol. II. p. 748, 749.

‡ See note [ZZZZ], at the end of this Book.

4. His

4. His fourth argument proceeds thus,—"But farther, God neither *permitted*, not *commanded*, that the Iſraelites ſhould worſhip him after the Pagan mode of worſhip. For it had been the ſame thing to GOD not to be worſhipped at all, as to be worſhipped by Rites uſed in the ſervice of Demons. And Moſes teaches us that the Laws of God were very different from what Spencer imagined; as appears from Deut. xii. 30, 31, 32. and from Lev. xviii. 2, 3, 4. Here the reaſon given of forbidding the vanities of Egypt, is, that Jehovah, who brought them out from amongſt that people, will, from henceforth, allow no farther communication with Egypt. Small appearance of any indulgence. And hence indeed it is, that moſt of the ritual Laws are directly levelled againſt the Egyptian, Zabian, and Canaanitiſh ſuperſtitions, as Maimonides confeſſeth *."——As to what this learned man ſays, that we may as well not worſhip GOD at all as worſhip him by Rites which have been employed in Paganiſm, we have already overturned the foundation of that fanatical aſſertion. It is true, the argument labours a little in the hands of SPENCER and MAIMONIDES; while they ſuppoſe the Devil himſelf to be the principal Architect of Pagan Superſtition: for to believe that GOD would employ any Rites introduced by this evil Spirit is indeed of ſome-

* Porro nec *permiſit*, nec *juſſit* Deus, ut eo ſe modo Iſraëlitæ colerent, quo modo Deos ſuos colebant Gentiles; veritus ſcilicet ne per veteres iſtas vanitates Dæmoni cultum deferrent, ſi minus Deo licuiſſet. Nam et inanis ille metus erat: quum Deo propemodum perinde ſit, ſive quis Dæmoni cultum deferat, ſive per vanitates aliquas veteres Deo cultum deferre præſumat. Et longe aliter Deum inſtituiſſe Moſes docet, Deut. xiii. 30, 31, 32. adde Levit. xviii. 2, 3, 4. Audin', Spencere, qua ratione ab Ægyptiacis vanitatibus ad ſuorum obſervantiam præceptorum Iſraëlitas Deus avocet? Eo id facit nomine, quod ipſe Jehova et Deus ipſorum ſit, qui ex Ægypto eos eripiens nihil poſthac cum Ægyptiorum vanitatibus commune habere voluit. Hoc profecto non eſt, id quod tu dicis, allicere eos per umbratiles veterum Ægypti rituum reliquias. Atque hinc factum eſt ut plurima Deus legibus ſuis ritualibus inſeruerit, Ægyptiorum, Zabiorum, Canaanæorum inſtitutis ἐκ παραλλήλου oppoſita——Cujus rei varia, a nobis exempla alibi allata ſunt. p. 283, 284.

what

what hard digeſtion. But that writer, who conceives them to be the inventions of ſuperſtitious and deſigning men only, hath none of this difficulty to encounter. As for the obſervation, that *moſt of the ritual Laws were levelled againſt idolatrous ſuperſtition*, we are ſo far from ſeeing any inconſiſtency between this truth and that other, "that ſome of thoſe *ritual Laws* did indulge the people in ſuch habituated practices, as could not be abuſed to ſuperſtition," that, on the contrary, we ſee a neceſſary connexion between them. For if ſevere Laws were given to a people againſt ſuperſtitions, to which they were violently bent, it would be very proper to indulge them in ſome of their favourite habits, ſo far forth as ſafely they could be indulged, in order to break the violence of the reſt, and to give the body of oppoſed Laws a fuller liberty of working their effect. And if they had Laws likewiſe given them in indulgence, it would be neceſſary to accompany ſuch Laws with the moſt ſevere prohibitions of idolatrous practice, and of the leaſt deviation from a tittle of the Inſtitute. In a word, Laws in direct *oppoſition*, and Laws in *conformity* or compliance, had equally, as we ſay, the ſame tendency, and jointly concurred to promote the ſame end; namely, the preſervation of the Iſraelites from idolatry *.

5. His fifth argument runs thus.—"Indulgence was ſo far from being the end of the Law, that the Ritual was given as a moſt heavy yoke, to ſubdue and conquer the ferocity of that ſtiff-necked people, Gal. iv. 1, 2, 3. Col. ii. 21 †."—By this one would imagine, his adverſaries had contended for ſuch a kind of indulgence as aroſe out of God's fondneſs for a choſen People; when indeed, they ſuppoſe it to be only ſuch an indulgence as tended the more effectually and expeditiouſly to ſubdue and conquer the ferocity of their ſavage tempers:

* See note [AAAAA], at the end of this Book.

† Id ſibi primum in rituum juſſione propoſitum habuit Deus, ut laborioſis iſtis exercitiis *ferociam* populi indomitam, veluti *difficillimo jugo*, *ſubigeret*, Gal. iv. 1, 2, 3. Col. ii. 21. p. 286.

Quos

Quos optimus
Fallere & effugere eſt triumphus.

If, therefore, *that* were the END of the Law which Witſius himſelf contends for, we may be aſſured that this indulgence was one of the MEANS. But the principal and more general *means* being Laws in direct oppoſition, this juſtified the character the Apoſtle gives of the Jewiſh Ritual, in the two places urged againſt us.

6. His ſixth argument is,—"That the intent of the Law was to ſeparate the Iſraelites, by a partition-wall, as it were, from all other people, which, by its diverſity, might ſet them at a diſtance from idolaters, and create an averſion to idolatry *."——As to the firſt effect of the diverſity of the Jewiſh Law, the keeping the people diſtinct; if the learned writer would thereby inſinuate (which is indeed to his point) that this diſtinction could be kept up only while the Jews and other nations had no ſimilar Rites; it could never, even by the means he himſelf preſcribes, be long kept up at all. For if the Jews were not indulged in the imitation of any Pagan Rites, the Pagans might indulge themſelves in the imitation of the Jewiſh: as indeed they are ſuppoſed to have done in the practice of CIRCUMCISION: and ſo this *partition-wall*, if only built of this untempered mortar of Witſius's providing, would ſoon tumble of itſelf. But the very caſe here given ſhews no neceſſity for ALL the laws to be in oppoſition, in order to ſecure a ſeparation; the Jews being as effectually ſeparated from all their neighbours when moſt of them uſed the rite of *circumciſion*, as when theſe Jews practiſed it without a rival. And the reaſon is this, CIRCUMCISION was not given to Abraham and to his race as a

* Deinde hæc quoque Dei in rituum juſſione intentio fuit, ut eorum obſervantia, veluti *pariete intergerino*, eos à gentium communione longe ſemoveret, Eph. ii. 14, 15.—Quum autem legem præceptorum in ritibus *inimicitias* Apoſtolus vocat, hoc inter cætera innuit, fuiſſe eam ſymbolum atque inſtrumentum diviſionis atque odii inter Iſraëlem & gentes, p. 287, 288.

mark

mark of diſtinction and ſeparation from all other people, but, what its conſtant uſe made it only fit for, a ſtanding memorial of the covenant between God and Abraham. *And ye ſhall circumciſe* (ſays God) *the fleſh of your foreſkin, and it ſhall be a* TOKEN OF THE COVENANT *between me and you*, Gen. xvii. 11. But though it was not given as a mark of ſeparation, yet it effectually anſwered that purpoſe: for it preſerved the memory, or was the *token*, of a covenant, which neceſſarily kept them ſeparate and diſtinct from the reſt of mankind. As to the other effect of this diverſity of the Jewiſh Law, namely the creating an averſion to the Rites of all other nations; in this, the learned writer hath betrayed his ignorance of human nature. For we always find a more inveterate hatred and averſion, between people of differing Religions where ſeveral things are alike, than where every thing is diametrically oppoſite: of which a plain cauſe might be found in the nature of man, whoſe heart is ſo much corrupted by his paſſions. So that the retaining ſome innocent Egyptian practices, all accompanied with their proviſional oppoſites, would naturally make the Jews more averſe to Egypt, than if they had differed in every individual circumſtance.

7. His laſt argument concludes thus,—"The ceremonies of the Jewiſh Ritual were types and ſhadows of heavenly things: It is therefore highly improbable that God ſhould chuſe the impious and diabolic Sacra of Egypt, and the mummery of Magic practices, for the ſhadows of ſuch holy and ſpiritual matters *." Thus he ends, as he began, with hard words and ſoft arguments. No one ever pretended to ſay that ſuch kinds of practices were ſuffered or imitated in the Jewiſh Ritual. All the indulgence ſup-

* Denique & hic cærimoniarum ſcopus fuit, ut *rerum ſpiritualium figuræ* atque *umbræ* eſſent, & exſtaret in iis artificioſa *pictura Chriſti*, ac gratiæ per ipſum impetrandæ—Non eſt autem probabile, Deum ex impiis Ægyptiorum ac diabolicis ſacris, ex veteribus vanitatibus, ex magicæ artis imitamentis, picturas feciſſe rerum ſpiritualium atque cœleſtium. p. 289.

poſed,

poſed, is of ſome harmleſs Rite or innocent Ornament, ſuch sa the *lighting up of Lamps, or wearing a Linen garment.* And let me aſk, whether theſe things, though done, as we ſuppoſe, in conformity to an Egyptian practice, were more unfit to be made a type or ſhadow of heavenly things, than the erection *of an altar without ſteps*; done, as they will allow, in direct oppoſition to Pagan practice. But it will be ſhewn under the next head, that the ſuppoſition that the Jewiſh Ritual was framed, partly in compliance to the people's prejudices, and partly in oppoſition to idolatrous ſuperſtitions, and, at the ſame time, typical of a future Diſpenſation, tends greatly to raiſe and enlarge our ideas of the divine Wiſdom.

But it is ſtrange, that ſuch a writer as WITSIUS (whatever we may think of the admirers of his argument) ſhould not ſee, that the character given of the RITUAL LAW by God himſelf did not imply that it had a mixture at leaſt of no better ſtuff than Egyptian and other Pagan practices.

GOD, by the prophet EZEKIEL, upbraiding the Iſraelites with their perverſity and diſobedience, from the time of their going out of Egypt to their entrance into the land of Canaan, ſpeaks to them in this manner.—

Ver. 1. "And it came to paſs, in the ſeventh year, in the "fifth month, the tenth day of the month, that certain of "the elders of Iſrael came to inquire of the Lord, and ſat be-"fore me.

2. "Then came the word of the Lord unto me ſaying:

3. "Son of man, ſpeak unto the elders of Iſrael, and ſay unto "them, Thus ſaith the Lord God, Are ye come to inquire of "me? as I live, ſaith the Lord God, I will not be inquired of "by you.

4. "Wilt thou judge them, ſon of man, wilt thou judge them? "cauſe them to know the abominations of their fathers:

5. " And ſay unto them, Thus ſaith the Lord God, in the day " when I choſe Iſrael, and lifted up mine hand unto the ſeed of " the houſe of Jacob, and made myſelf known unto them in the " land of Egypt, when I lifted up mine hand unto them, ſaying I " am the Lord your God.

6. " In the day that I lifted up mine hand unto them to bring " them forth of the land of Egypt, into a land that I had eſpied " for them, flowing with milk and honey, which is the glory of " all lands:

7. " Then ſaid I unto them, Caſt ye away every man the abo- " minations of his eyes, and defile not yourſelves with the idols of " Egypt: I am the Lord your God.

8. " But they rebelled againſt me, and would not hearken unto " me: they did not every man caſt away the abominations of " their eyes, neither did they forſake the idols of Egypt: Then " I ſaid, I will pour out my fury upon them, to accompliſh my " anger againſt them in the midſt of the land of Egypt.

9. " But I wrought for my name's ſake, that it ſhould not be " polluted before the heathen, among whom they were, in whoſe " ſight I made myſelf known unto them, in bringing them forth " out of the land of Egypt.

10. " Wherefore I cauſed them to go forth out of the land of " Egypt, and brought them into the wilderneſs.

11. " And I gave them my ſtatutes, and ſhewed them my judg- " ments, which if a man do, he ſhall even live in them.

12. " Moreover alſo, I gave them my ſabbaths, to be a ſign " betwen me and them, that they might know that I am the Lord " that ſanctify them.

13. " But the houſe of Iſrael rebelled againſt me in the wilder- " neſs: they walked not in my ſtatutes, and they deſpiſed my " judgments, which if a man do, he ſhall even live in them; and " my ſabbaths they greatly polluted: then I ſaid I would pour out " my fury upon them in the wilderneſs to conſume them.

14. " But

14. "But I wrought for my name's ſake, that it ſhould not "be polluted before the heathen, in whoſe ſight I brought them "out.

15. "Yet alſo I lifted up my hand unto them in the wilderneſs, "that I would not bring them into the land which I had given "them, flowing with milk and honey, which is the glory of all "lands:

16. "Becauſe they deſpiſed my judgments, and walked not in "my ſtatutes, but polluted my ſabbaths: for their heart went after "their idols.

17. "Nevertheleſs, mine eye ſpared them from deſtroying them, "neither did I make an end of them in the wilderneſs.

18. "But I ſaid unto their children in the wilderneſs, Walk ye "not in the ſtatutes of your fathers, neither obſerve their judg- "ments, nor defile yourſelves with their idols.

19. "I am the Lord your God; walk in my ſtatutes, and keep "my judgments, and do them:

20. "And hallow my ſabbaths, and they ſhall be a ſign be- "tween me and you, that ye may know that I am the Lord your "God.

21. "Notwithſtanding the children rebelled againſt me: they "walked not in my ſtatutes, neither kept my judgments to "do them, which if a man do, he ſhall even live in them; "they polluted my ſabbaths: then I ſaid I would pour out my "fury upon them, to accompliſh my anger againſt them in the "wilderneſs.

22. "Nevertheleſs, I withdrew mine hand, and wrought for "my name's ſake, that it ſhould not be polluted in the ſight of "the heathen, in whoſe ſight I brought them forth.

23. "I lifted up mine hand unto them alſo in the wilderneſs, that "I would ſcatter them among the heathen, and diſperſe them "through the countries.

24. "Becauſe they had not executed my judgments, but had "deſpiſed my ſtatutes, and had polluted my ſabbaths, and their "eyes were after their fathers idols.

25. "WHEREFORE I GAVE THEM ALSO STATUTES THAT "WERE NOT GOOD, AND JUDGMENTS WHEREBY THEY SHOULD "NOT LIVE.

26. "And I polluted them in their own gifts, in that they "cauſed to paſs through the fire all that openeth the womb, that "I might make them deſolate, to the end that they might know "that I am the Lord *."

Could the Prophet have poſſibly given a plainer or more graphical deſcription of the character and genius of the RITUAL LAW, than in thoſe laſt words? Yet to ſuit it to theologic purpoſes, Syſtem-makers have endeavoured, in their uſual manner, *to interpret it away*, as if it only ſignified GOD's ſuffering the Iſraelites to fall into idolatry. Now if it were not indulged to theſe men to make uſe of any arms they can catch hold of, one ſhould be a little ſcandalized to find that they had borrowed this forced interpretation from the RABBINS; who holding their Law to be perfect, and of eternal obligation, were indeed much concerned to remove this opprobrium from it. Kimchi is recorded for his dexterity in giving it this meaning: though done with much more caution than the Chriſtian writers who took it from him. He ſuppoſed that the *ſtatutes not good* were the Tributes impoſed on the Iſraelites while in ſubjection to their Pagan neighbours. And this takes off ſomething from the unnatural violence of the expreſſion, of GIVING STATUTES, when underſtood only to ſignify the permiſſion of abuſing their free-will, when they fell into idolatry.

Now, becauſe the right explanation and proper inforcement of this famous paſſage will, beſides its uſe in the preſent argument, ſerve for many conſiderable purpoſes, in the ſequel of this work,

* Chap. xx. ver. 1—26. incluſive.

it

it may not be time miſ-ſpent to expoſe this ſpurious pilfered interpretation. And, as the laſt inforcer of it, and the moſt ſatisfied with his exploit, the late Author of the *Connexions between ſacred and profane hiſtory*, takes the honour of it to himſelf, I ſhall examine his reaſoning at large.

Dr. Spencer, and (I ſuppoſe) every capable judge before him, underſtood the *ſtatutes and judgments* in the eleventh verſe, to ſignify the MORAL law; and the *ſtatutes and judgments* in the twenty-fifth verſe, to ſignify the RITUAL. But Dr. Shuckford, who always takes a ſingular pleaſure in carping at that faithful Servant of Common-ſenſe, directs the defence of his borrowed novelty, againſt the great Author of *the Reaſons of the Ritual Law*, in the following manner.— "The perſons ſpoken of, who had the *ſtatutes given* to them, which were *not good*, were not that generation of men to whom the *whole Law* was given, but their children or poſterity. To this poſterity, God made no additions to his laws; the whole being completed in the time of their forefathers. Therefore all he GAVE to them of *ſtatutes not good* was the PERMISSION of falling into the Pagan idolatries round about *." This, I believe, his followers will confeſs to be his argument, though repreſented in fewer words, yet with greater force: for a perplexed combination of needleſs repetitions, which fill two or three large pages, have much weakened and obſcured his reaſoning.

However it concludes in theſe very terms: "And thus it muſt "be undeniably plain, that the Prophet could not, by the *ſtatutes* "*not good*, mean any part of the Ritual law: for the whole Law "was given to the fathers of thoſe whom the Prophet now ſpeaks "of; but *theſe ſtatutes* were not given to the fathers, but to the "deſcendants. If we go on, and compare the narrative of the "Prophet with the hiſtory of the Iſraelites, we ſhall ſee further, "that the *ſtatutes and judgments not good* are ſo far from being "any part of Moſes's law, that they were not *given* earlier than

* Con. v. p. 159—161.

"the

"the times of the Judges*;" *i. e.* the Iſraelites then fell into the idolatries, here called (as this learned interpreter will have it) *ſtatutes and judgments* GIVEN.

And now, to canvaſs a little this deciſive argument——Thus (ſays he) *it muſt be undeniably plain——Thus!* that is, Grant him his premiſſes, and the concluſion follows. Without doubt. But the whole context ſhews that his premiſſes are falſe.

Firſt then let it be obſerved, that the occaſion of the Prophecy, in the xxth chapter of Ezekiel, was this,—The Jews, by certain of their Elders, had, as was uſual in their diſtreſſes, recourſe to the God of Iſrael for direction and aſſiſtance [ver. 1.]. On this we are informed [ver. 3.], that the word of the Lord came to Ezekiel, bidding him tell theſe Elders, that God would not be inquired of by them: for that their continued rebellions, from their coming out of Egypt, to that time, had made them unworthy of his patronage and protection. Their idolatries are then recapitulated, and divided into three periods. The FIRST, from God's meſſage to them while in Egypt, to their entrance into the promiſed land.—*Thus ſaith the Lord God, In the day when I choſe Iſrael, and lifted up mine hand unto the ſeed of Jacob, and made myſelf known unto them in the land of Egypt*, &c. and ſo on, from the fifth to the twenty-ſixth verſe incluſively. The SECOND period contains all the time from their taking poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan, to their preſent condition when this prophecy was delivered.—*Therefore, ſon of man, ſpeak unto the houſe of Iſrael, and ſay unto them, Thus ſaith the Lord God, Yet in this your fathers have blaſphemed me, in that they have committed a treſpaſs againſt me. For* WHEN I HAD BROUGHT THEM INTO THE LAND, *for the which I lifted up mine hand to give it to them, then they ſaw every high hill*, &c. and ſo on, from the twenty-ſeventh to the thirty-ſecond verſe incluſively. The THIRD period concerns the iniquities, and the

* Con. v. p. 161.

conſequent

conſequent puniſhment of the preſent generation, which had now applied to him in their diſtreſſes.—*As I live, ſaith the Lord God, ſurely with a mighty hand, and with a ſtretched out arm, and with fury poured out,* WILL I RULE OVER YOU, &c. And this is the ſubject of what we find between the thirty-third and the forty-fourth verſe, incluſively.

This ſhort, but exact analyſis of the Prophecy, is more than ſufficient to overturn Dr. Shuckford's ſyſtem, founded on a diſtinction between the *fathers* and the *children* in the eighteenth verſe, (which is within the firſt period) as if the *fathers* related to what happened in the wilderneſs, and the *children*, to what happened under the judges; whereas common ſenſe is ſufficient to convince us, that the whole is confined to the two generations, between the exodus from Egypt and the entrance into Canaan.

But the confutation of a fooliſh ſyſtem, diſhonourable indeed to Scripture, is the leaſt of my concern. Such things will die of themſelves. My point, in delivering the truths of GOD as they lie in his Word, is to illuſtrate the amazing wiſdom of that Diſpenſation to which they belong. Let me obſerve therefore, as a matter of much greater moment, that this diſtinction, which the text hath made between the FATHERS and the CHILDREN, in the firſt period, during their abode in the wilderneſs, affords us a very noble inſtance of that divine *mercy* which extends to *thouſands*.

The Prophet thus repreſents the fact. When GOD brought his choſen people out of Egypt, *he gave them his ſtatutes and ſhewed them his judgments, which if a man do, he ſhall live in them. Moreover alſo he gave them his ſabbaths, to be a ſign between him and them* *. That is, he gave them the *moral* law of the Decalogue, in which there was one *poſitive* inſtitution †, and no more; but this one, abſolutely neceſſary as *the token of a covenant*, to be a perpetual

* Ver. 11, 12, † The Sabbath.

memorial

memorial of it, and, by that means, to preſerve them a ſelect people, unmixed with the nations. What followed ſo gracious and generous a diſpenſation to the houſe of Iſrael? Why, *they rebelled againſt him in the wilderneſs: they walked not in his ſtatutes, and they deſpiſed his judgments, and his Sabbaths they greatly polluted* *. On which, he threatened *to pour out his fury upon them in the wilderneſs, and conſume them* †. But, in regard to his own glory, leſt the Heathen, before whom he brought them out of Egypt, ſhould blaſpheme, he thought fit to ſpare them ‡. Yet ſo far puniſhed that generation, as never to ſuffer them to come into the land of Canaan §. Their *children* he ſpared, that the race might not be conſumed as he had firſt threatened ||. And hoping better things of them than of their Fathers, he ſaid *to them in the wilderneſs, Walk ye not in the ſtatutes of your fathers, neither obſerve their judgments, nor defile yourſelves with their idols. Walk in my ſtatutes, and keep my judgments and do them: and hallow my Sabbaths, and they ſhall be a ſign between me and you* **. Here we ſee, the Children, or immediate progeny, were again offered, as their ſole rule of government, what had been given to, and had been violated by their Fathers; namely, the moral law of the Decalogue, and the poſitive inſtitution of the Sabbath. Well, and how did they behave themſelves on this occaſion? Juſt as their fathers had done before them.—*Notwithſtanding* [the repetition of this offered grace] *the Children rebelled againſt me, they walked not in my ſtatutes, they polluted my Sabbaths* †† – What followed? The ſame denunciation which had hung over the Fathers, utter deſtruction *in the wilderneſs* ‡‡. However, mercy again prevails over judgment; and the ſame reaſon for which he ſpared their Fathers inclines him to ſpare them; leſt his *name ſhould be polluted in the ſight of the heathen* §§. However due puniſhment attended their tranſgreſſions, as it had

* Ver. 13. † Ver. 16. ‡ Ver. 14.
§ Ver. 16. || Ver. 17. ** Ver. 18, 19, 20.
†† Ver. 21. ‡‡ Ver. 21. §§ Ver. 22.

done

done their Fathers'. Their Fathers left their bones in the wilderneſs: but this perverſe race being pardoned, as a People, and ſtill poſſeſſed of the privilege of a ſelect and choſen Nation, were neither to be ſcattered amongſt the Heathen, nor to be confined for ever in the wilderneſs: Almighty Wiſdom therefore ordained that their puniſhment ſhould be ſuch, as ſhould continue them, even againſt their Wills, a ſeparated race, in poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan. What this puniſhment was, the following words declare;—*Becauſe they had not executed my judgments, but had deſpiſed my ſtatutes, and had polluted my Sabbaths, and their eyes were after their fathers idols. Wherefore* I GAVE THEM ALSO STATUTES THAT WERE NOT GOOD, AND JUDGMENTS WHEREBY THEY SHOULD NOT LIVE*. That is, becauſe they had violated my FIRST ſyſtem of laws, the DECALOGUE, I added to them [I GAVE THEM ALSO, words which imply the giving as a ſupplement] my SECOND ſyſtem, the RITUAL LAW; very aptly characteriſed (when ſet in oppoſition to the MORAL LAW) by *ſtatutes that were not good, and by judgments whereby they ſhould not live.*

What is here obſerved, opens to us the admirable reaſons of both puniſhments: and why there was a forbearance, or a ſecond trial, before the *yoke of Ordinances* was impoſed. For we muſt never forget, that the God of Iſrael tranſacted with his people according to the mode of human Governors. Let this be kept in mind, and we ſhall ſee the admirable progreſs of the Diſpenſation. God brought the *Fathers* out of Egypt, to put them in poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan. He gave them the MORAL LAW to diſtinguiſh them for the worſhippers of the true God: And he gave them the POSITIVE LAW of the Sabbath to diſtinguiſh them for God's peculiar people. Theſe *Fathers* proving perverſe and rebellious, their puniſhment was death in the wilderneſs, and excluſion from that good land which was reſerved for their *Children*. But then

* Ver. 24, 25.

theſe *Children*, in that very Wilderneſs, the ſcene of their Fathers, crime and calamity, fell into the ſame tranſgreſſions. What was now to be done? It was plain, ſo inveterate an evil could be only checked or ſubdued by the curb of ſome ſevere Inſtitution. A ſevere Inſtitution was prepared; and the RITUAL LAW was eſtabliſhed. For the firſt offence, the puniſhment was *perſonal*: but when a repetition ſhewed it to be inbred, and, like the Leproſy, ſticking to the whole race, the puniſhment was properly changed to *national*.

How clear, how coherent, is every thing, as here explained! How conſonant to reaſon! How full of divine wiſdom! Yet, in defiance of Scripture and Common-ſenſe (which have a cloſer connexion than the Enemies of religion ſuſpect, or than the common advocates of it dare venture to maintain) comes a Doctor, and tells us, that theſe *Children in the Wilderneſs* of the time of Moſes, were *Children of the land of Canaan* in the time of the Judges; and that the *ſtatutes given* which were *not good*, were Pagan idolatries, *not given*, but *ſuffered*; indeed not *ſuffered*; becauſe ſeverely, and almoſt always immediately puniſhed.

What miſled our Doctor (whoſe *Connexions*, by what we have ſeen, appear to be little better than a *chain* of errors) ſeems to have been this, The *Ritual law* was given during the life of the *Fathers*, and ſoon after their tranſgreſſion mentioned in the 13th verſe of this Prophecy. So he could not conceive how the Prophet ſhould mean that this Law was given to the *Children*. But he did not conſider, that the proper puniſhment of the *Fathers* was extinction in the wilderneſs: the proper puniſhment of the *Children*, who were reſerved to poſſeſs the holy land, was the infliction of the RITUAL LAW.

The Doctor, however, notwithſtanding all his complacency in this his adopted ſyſtem, yet appears conſcious of its want of ſtrength; for he owns that an objection may be made to it from the following words of the Prophecy.——*But I ſaid unto their Children*

IN

IN THE WILDERNESS, *Walk ye not in the ſtatutes of your Fathers—walk in my ſtatutes – and hallow my Sabbath* *. And again, of theſe *Children—then I ſaid I would pour out my fury upon them to accompliſh mine anger againſt them* IN THE WILDERNESS †. And again,—*I lifted up my hand unto them alſo* IN THE WILDERNESS ‡. "Here "(ſays the learned Doctor) the prophet may SEEM TO HINT, that "God's anger againſt the Children was *while they were in the* "*wilderneſs* §."

May ſeem to hint! The Doctor muſt be immoderately fond of preciſe expreſſion when he eſteems this to be no more than a *hint* or doubtful intimation.

But MOSES having omitted to tell us, that theſe Children did indeed play theſe pranks *in the Wilderneſs*, he will not take a later Prophet's word for it. *As Moſes* (ſays the Doctor) *wrote before Ezekiel propheſied; his propheſy could not alter facts.* It will be more than the Doctor deſerves, if the Freethinker neglects to reply, that both the Prophet and the Doctor here *ſeem to hint*; the former, *that God's anger againſt the Children was while they were in the wilderneſs*; the latter, that Moſes and Ezekiel contradict one another. But to let this paſs.—*Propheſy*, he ſays, *could not alter facts*; by which he means that Propheſy, any more than the author of Propheſy, could not make that to be undone which was already done. Who ever thought it could? But might not Ezekiel's Propheſy explain facts, and relate them too, which a former Prophet had omitted? However Ezekiel is not the only one who informs us of this fact. AMOS upbraids theſe ſojourners *in the wilderneſs* with a ſtill more general apoſtacy. "Have ye offered unto "me ſacrifices and offerings IN THE WILDERNESS forty years, O "houſe of Iſrael? But ye have born the tabernacle of your Mo- "loch and Chiun, your images, the Star of your God, which ye

* Ver. 18, 19, 20.
† Ver. 21.
‡ Ver. 23.
§ P. 169.

" made to yourſelves *." Now if the Iſraelites committed idolatry all the time they ſojourned in the Wilderneſs, the crime neceſſarily included the CHILDREN with the *Fathers*.

The Doctor's ſecond expedient to evade the determinate evidence of the text is as ridiculous as the firſt is extravagant. The text ſays,—*I will pour out my fury upon them to accompliſh mine anger againſt them* IN THE WILDERNESS.—" Theſe words, *in the wilder-*" *neſs*, (ſays the acute Expoſitor) do not hint the place where " the *anger* was to be *accompliſhed*, but rather refer to *anger*, and " ſuggeſt the *anger* to be, as if we might almoſt ſay in Engliſh, " the WILDERNESS-ANGER †."—If the Doctor's Rhetoric is to be enriched with this new phraſe, I think his Logic ſhould not be denied the benefit of a like acquiſition, of which it will have frequent uſe, and that is, WILDERNESS-REASONING. And ſo much for this learned ſolution.

But the abſurdity of ſuppoſing with theſe men, that the words, *I gave them alſo ſtatutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they ſhould not live*, might ſignify, their *taking* (without *giving*) *Baal and Aſhteroth for their Gods* ‡, is beſt expoſed by the Prophet himſelf, as his words lie in the text. Conſider then the caſe of theſe Rebels. God's firſt intention (as in the other caſe of their Fathers' rebellion) is repreſented to be the renouncing them for his people, and ſcattering them amongſt the nations. *Then I ſaid I would pour out my fury upon them to accompliſh my anger againſt them in the wilderneſs* §. But his mercy prevails.—*Nevertheleſs I withdrew mine hand, and wrought for my name's ſake, that it ſhould not be polluted in the ſight of the Heathen, in whoſe ſight I brought them forth* ||. In theſe two verſes, we ſee, that the puniſhment intended, and the mercy ſhewn, are delivered in general; without the circumſtances of the puniſhment, or the conditions of the mercy.

* Chap. v. 25, 26. † P. 171. ‡ P. 163.
§ Ver. 21. ‖ Ver. 22.

The

The three following verſes, in the mode of the eaſtern compoſition, which delights in repetition, informs us more particularly of theſe *circumſtances*, which were DISPERSION, &c. and of theſe *conditions*, which were the impoſition of a *Ritual Law*.—*I lifted up my hand unto them alſo in the wilderneſs, that I would* SCATTER THEM *amongſt the heathen, and* DISPERSE THEM *through the countries; becauſe they had not executed my judgments, but had deſpiſed my ſtatutes, and had polluted my Sabbaths, and their eyes were after their Fathers' idols**. Here, the intended puniſhment is explained ſpecifically, that is, with its circumſtances.—The mercy follows; and the terms, on which it was beſtowed, are likewiſe explained.—*Wherefore I gave them alſo Statutes that were* NOT GOOD, *and Judgments whereby they ſhould* NOT LIVE †. And now the beggarly ſhifts of the new interpretation appear in all their nakedneſs. Whatever is meant by *ſtatutes not good*, the end of giving them, we ſee, was to preſerve them a peculiar people to the Lord; for the puniſhment of diſperſion was remitted to them. But if by *ſtatutes not good* be meant the permitting them to fall into Idolatries, God is abſurdly repreſented as decreeing an *end* (the keeping his people ſeparate); and at the ſame time providing *means* to defeat it: For every lapſe into idolatry was a ſtep to their diſperſion and *utter conſumption*, by abſorbing them into the Nations. We muſt needs conclude therefore, that, by STATUTES NOT GOOD is meant the RITUAL LAW, the only means of attaining that end of mercy, The preſerving them a ſeparate people.

Who now can chuſe but ſmile to hear our learned Expoſitor quoting theſe words of the book of Judges,—*The* CHILDREN *of Iſrael did evil in the ſight of the Lord, and followed other Gods of the Gods of the people, that were round about them, and provoked the Lord to anger, and ſerved Baal, and Aſhteroth* ‡; and then gravely adding,—"So that here the ſcene opens which Ezekiel alludes to; and

* Ver. 23, 24. † Ver. 25. ‡ Cap. ii. ver. 11, 12, 13.

"accordingly,

" accordingly, what Ezekiel mentions as the punishment of these " wickednesses began now to come upon them *."

However, it must be owned, that if words alone could shake the solidity of the interpretation I have here given, these which immediately follow the contested passage of *statutes not good*, would be enough to alarm us—*And I polluted them* (says the text) *in their own gifts, in that they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb, that I might make them desolate, to the end that they might know that I am the Lord* †. The common interpretation of which is this, " I permitted them to fall into that wicked inhumanity, " whereby they were polluted and contaminated, in making their " Children to pass through the fire to Moloch, in order to root them " out and utterly to destroy them."

Dr. Spencer (who follows the general sense of the prophesy which I have here explained and supported) appeared but too sensible how much this text stood in his way. He endeavours therefore to shew, that " it relates to God's rejecting the first born of the Israelites " from the priesthood, and appointing the tribe of Levi to the " sacred office in their stead:" and that, therefore, the verse should be rendered thus, *I pronounced them polluted in their gifts* [i. e. unfit to offer me any oblation], *in that I passed by all that openeth the womb* [i. e. the first born] *in order to humble them that they might know that I am the Lord.* And this rendering may be the right, for any thing Dr. Shuckford has to oppose to the contrary ‡; the main of which is, what has been already confuted, (or rather, what the very terms, in which the assertion is advanced, do themselves confute) namely, that *the Children in the wilderness* were not the immediate issue of those who died *in the wilderness*, but a remote posterity. As for his Hebrew criticism, that the word *maas*, and not *nabar*, would probably have been used by the Prophet, if

* P. 163. † Ver. 26. ‡ P. 168—169.

rejecting

rejecting from the prieſthood had been the ſenſe intended by him *, this is the ſlendereſt of all reaſoning, even though it had been applied to a Rhetorician by profeſſion, and in a language very copious, and perfectly well underſtood: How evanid is it therefore, when applied to a Prophet under the impulſe of inſpiration, and ſpeaking in the moſt ſcanty of all languages; the ſmall knowledge of which is to be got from one ſingle volume of no large bulk, and conveyed in a mode of writing ſubject to perpetual equivocations and ambiguities! From the miſchiefs of which, God in his good providence preſerved us by the Septuagint Tranſlation, made while the Hebrew was a living language, and afterwards authenticated by the recognition of the inſpired writers of the New Teſtament.

However, the truth is, that this explanation of the learned Spencer muſt appear forced, even though we had no better to oppoſe to it: But when there is a better at hand, which not only takes off all the countenance which this 26th verſe affords to Dr. Shuckford's interpretation of *ſtatutes not good*, but ſo exactly quadrates with the ſenſe here given, that it completes and perfects the narrative, we ſhall be no longer frighted with its formidable look.

To underſtand then what it aims at, we muſt conſider the context as it has been explained above. The 21ſt and 22d verſes (it hath been ſhewn) contain God's purpoſes of *judgment* and of *mercy* in general. The 23d, 24th, and 25th, explain in what the intended *judgment* would have conſiſted, and how the prevailing *mercy* was qualified. The Iſraelites were to be pardoned; but to be kept under, by the yoke of a ritual Law, deſcribed only in general by the title of *ſtatutes not good*. The 26th verſe opens the matter ſtill further, and explains the nature and genius of that yoke, together with its effects, both ſalutary and baleful. The *ſalutary*, as it was a barrier to idolatry, the moſt enormous ſpecies of which was that

* P. 169.

of

of *cauſing their children to paſs through the fire to Moloch:* the *baleful*, as it brought on their *deſolation* when they became deprived of the Temple-worſhip. But to be more particular.—*I polluted them in their own gifts.* By *gifts* I underſtand that homage (univerſally expreſſed, in the ancient world, by Rites of ſacrifice) which a People owed to their God. And how were theſe *gifts polluted?* By a multifarious Ritual, which, being oppoſed to the idolatries of the Nations, was preſcribed in reference to thoſe idolatries; and, conſequently, was incumbered with a thouſand Ceremonies, reſpecting the choice of the animal; the qualities and purifications of the Sacrificers; and the direction and efficacy of each ſpecific Offering. This account of their *pollution*, by ſuch a Ritual, exactly anſwers to the character given of that Ritual, [*ſtatutes not good, &c.*] in the text in queſtion. Then follows the reaſon of God's thus *polluting them in their own gifts—in that* [or, becauſe that] *they cauſed to paſs through the fire all that openeth the womb*—i. e. the *polluting* Ritual was impoſed as a PUNISHMENT FOR, as well as BARRIER TO their idolatries; characteriſed under this moſt enormous and horrid of them all, the cauſing of their children *to paſs through the fire to Moloch.* Then follows the humiliating circumſtance of this ritual yoke, – *that I might make them deſolate*, i. e. that they ſhould, even from the nature of that Ritual, be deprived, when they moſt wanted it, of their neareſt intercourſe with their God and King. A real ſtate of *deſolation!* To underſtand which, we are to conſider, that at the time this Propheſy was delivered, the Jews, by their accumulated iniquities, were accelerating, what doubtleſs the Prophet had then in his eye, their puniſhment of the ſeventy years Captivity. Now, by the peculiar Conſtitution of the ritual Law, their Religion became, as it were, local; it being unlawful to offer ſacrifice but in the temple of Jeruſalem only. So that when they were led captive into a foreign land, the moſt ſolemn and eſſential intercourſe between God and them (*the morning and evening ſacrifice*) was entirely cut off: and thus, by means of the ritual Law, they were emphatically

ſaid

ſaid to be *made deſolate.* The verſe concludes in telling us, for what end this puniſhment was inflicted—*that they might know that I am the Lord.* How would this appear from the premiſſes? Very evidently. For if, while they were in Captivity, they were under an interdict, and their Religion in a ſtate of Suſpenſion, and yet that they were to continue God's ſelect people (for the ſcope of the whole Propheſy is to ſhew, that, notwithſtanding all their provocations, God ſtill *worked for his name's ſake)*, then, in order to be reſtored to their Religion, they were to be reinſtated in their own Land: which work, Propheſy always deſcribes as the utmoſt manifeſtation of God's power. Their redemption from the *Aſſyrian* captivity particularly, being frequently compared, by the Prophets, to that of the *Egyptian.* From hence therefore all men *might know* and collect, that the God of Iſrael *was the Lord.*

This famous text then, we ſee, may be thus aptly paraphraſed—*And I polluted them in their own gifts, in that they cauſed to paſs through the fire all that openeth the womb, that I might make them deſolate, to the end that they might know that I am the Lord*; i. e. "I loaded the religious Worſhip due to me, as their God and King, with a number of operoſe Ceremonies, to puniſh their paſt, and to oppoſe to their future, idolatries; the moſt abominable of which was their making their children to paſs through the fire to Moloch: And further, that I might have the Ceremonial Law always at hand as an inſtrument for ſtill more ſevere puniſhments, when the full meaſure of their iniquities ſhould bring them into Captivity in a ſtrange land, I ſo contrived, by the very conſtitution of their Religion, that it ſhould then remain under an interdict, and all ſtated intercourſe be cut off between me and them; From which evil, would neceſſarily ariſe this advantage, an occaſion to manifeſt my power to the Gentiles, in bringing my People again, after a due time of penance, into their own land."

Here we ſee, the text, thus expounded, connects and compleats the whole narrative, concerning the impoſition of the ritual Law,

and its nature and conſequences, from the 21ſt to the 26th verſe incluſively: and opens the hiſtory of it by due degrees, which the moſt juſt and elegant compoſitions require. We are firſt informed of the threatened judgement, and of the prevailing mercy in general:—we are then told the ſpecific nature of that judgement, and the circumſtance attending the accorded mercy;—and laſtly, the Prophet explains the nature and genius of that attendant circumſtance; together with its adverſe as well as benignant effects.

I have now deprived the Connecter of all his arguments but one, for this ſtrange interpretation of *ſtatutes not good*; and that one is, "That the worſhippers of *Baal* and *Aſhteroth*, in the book of Judges, and the ſlaves to *ſtatutes not good* in the prophet Ezekiel, having the common name of Children, muſt needs be the ſame individuals:" But this I make a conſcience of taking from him.

Yet ſuch confidence has the learned perſon in his goodly expoſition, that he concludes his reaſoning againſt the obvious ſenſe of the Propheſy, in this extraordinary manner—"Dr. Spencer imagined, this text alone was ſufficient to ſupport his hypotheſis: but I cannot but think, if what has been offered be fairly conſidered, no honest writer can ever cite it again for that purpoſe *."

What is Dr. Spencer's hypotheſis? Juſt this and no other, that *Moſes gave the ritual Law to the Jews becauſe of the hardneſs of their hearts* †; the very Hypotheſis of Jeſus Chriſt himſelf.

But the Connecter thinks, that, *if what he has offered be fairly conſidered*, no honest writer *can ever cite it again for that purpoſe*. This ſmells ſtrong of the Bigot. One can hardly think one's ſelf in the cloſet of a learned and ſober Divine; but rather in ſome wild Conventicle of Methodiſts or Hutchinſonians; whoſe criticiſms are all Revelations: which, though you cannot embrace but at the expence of common sense, you are not allowed to queſtion without renouncing common honesty.

* Page 167. † Matt. chap. xix. ver. 8.

I have

I have *fairly conſidered* (as the *Connecter* expects his Reader ſhould do) *what he has offered againſt Dr. Spencer's hypotheſis*; and if there be any truth in the concluſions of human reaſon, I think a writer may go on very advantageouſly, as well as with a good conſcience, to defend *that Hypotheſis*. How ſuch a writer ſhall be qualified by Bigots, is another point. Many an HONEST MAN, I am perſuaded, will ſtill adhere to Dr. *Shuckford's hypotheſis*; and with the ſame good faith, with which he himſelf ſupported it: for though his charity will not allow that title to thoſe who diſſent from him, yet God forbid, that I ſhould not give it to Him.

But it is now time to proceed to the *third period* of THIS Propheſy. For the principal deſign of this work is to vindicate and illuſtrate ſacred Scripture, though in my progreſs I be ſtill obliged, from time to time, to ſtop a little, while I remove the moſt material obſtructions which lie in my way.

This Propheſy hitherto contains a declaration of the various puniſhments inflicted on the rebellious Iſraelites, from the time of Moſes's miſſion, to the preaching of Ezekiel. We have ſhewn that their puniſhment in the firſt period, was *death in the wilderneſs:* their puniſhment in the ſecond period, was *the faſtening on their necks the yoke of the ritual Law.*

Their puniſhment in the *third period* is now to be conſidered: and we ſhall ſee that it conſiſted in rendering the yoke of the ritual Law ſtill more galling, by withdrawing from them that EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE, which once rewarded the ſtudious obſervers of it, with many temporal bleſſings. The puniſhment was dreadful: and ſuch, indeed, the Prophet deſcribes it to have been. But we may be aſſured, their crimes deſerved it, as having riſen in proportion with it; and this likewiſe, he tells us, was the caſe. Their idolatries were at firſt, and ſo, for ſome time, they continued to be, the mixing Pagan worſhip with the worſhip of the God of Iſrael. But though they had ſo often ſmarted for this folly, they were yet ſo beſotted with the Gods of the nations, *the ſtocks and*

ſtones of the high places, that their laſt progreſs in impiety was the project of caſting off the God of Iſrael entirely, at leaſt as their TUTELAR God, and of mixing themſelves amongſt the Nations. They had experienced, that the *God of Iſrael* was a JEALOUS God, who would not ſhare his glory with another; and they hoped to avoid his wrath by renouncing their Covenant with him, and leaving him at liberty to chuſe another people. To ſuch a degree of impiety and madneſs was this devoted Nation arrived, when Ezekiel propheſied at the eve of their approaching Captivity. All this will be made plain, by what follows.

We have ſeen their behaviour in the two former periods; in EGYPT, and in the WILDERNESS. The third begins with a deſcription of their Manners when they had taken poſſeſſion of the land of CANAAN.

Ver. 27. "Son of man, ſpeak unto the houſe of Iſrael, and ſay "unto them, Thus ſaith the Lord God, yet in this, your fathers "have blaſphemed me, in that they have committed a treſpaſs "againſt me.

28. "For when I had brought them into the land, for the which "I lifted up my hand to give it to them, then they ſaw every high "hill, and all the thick trees, and they offered there their ſacri-"fices, and there they preſented the provocation of their offer-"ing."

This was their continual practice, even to the delivery of this Propheſy; at which time, their enormities were come to the height, we juſt mentioned; to contrive in their hearts to renounce the God of Iſrael, altogether. But being ſurrounded with calamities, and a powerful enemy at their door, they were willing to procure a preſent relief from him, whom they had ſo much offended; though at this very inſtant, they were projecting to offend ſtill more. The ſingular impudence of this conduct was, apparently, the immediate occaſion of this famous Propheſy; as we ſhall now ſee.

Ver.

Ver. 30. "Wherefore ſay unto the houſe of Iſrael, Thus ſaith "the Lord God, Are ye polluted after the manner of your fathers? "and commit ye whoredoms after their abominations?

31. "For when ye offer your gifts, when ye make your ſons to "paſs through the fire, ye pollute yourſelves with all your idols "EVEN TO THIS DAY. And ſhall I be enquired of by you, O "houſe of Iſrael? As I live, ſaith the Lord God, I will not be "enquired of by you."

That this recourſe to the God of their Fathers was only a momentary impulſe, ariſing from their preſſing neceſſities, is evident from what immediately follows; the mention of that ſpecific crime which brought upon them the puniſhment annexed to the third period.—

Ver. 32. "AND THAT WHICH COMETH INTO YOUR MIND "SHALL NOT BE AT ALL, THAT YE SAY, WE WILL BE AS THE "HEATHEN, AS THE FAMILIES OF THE COUNTRIES, TO SERVE "WOOD AND STONE.

33. "As I live, ſaith the Lord God, Surely with a mighty hand, "and with a ſtretched out arm, AND WITH FURY POURED OUT, "WILL I RULE OVER YOU.

34. "AND I WILL BRING YOU OUT FROM THE PEOPLE, AND "WILL GATHER YOU OUT OF THE COUNTRIES WHEREIN YE ARE "SCATTERED, with a mighty hand, and with a ſtretched out arm, "AND WITH FURY POURED OUT.

35. "And I will bring you into the WILDERNESS OF THE PEO-"PLE, and there will I plead with you face to face.

36. "Like as I pleaded with your fathers in the *wilderneſs* of "the land of Egypt, ſo will I plead with you face to face."

By all this it appears, that the Jews of this time were little anxious to *avoid* their approaching Captivity, denounced and thereatened by all their Prophets. What they wanted was a light and eaſy ſervitude, which might enable them to mingle with, and at laſt to be loſt amongſt the Nations; like the Ten Tribes which had

had gone before them. Againſt the vileneſs of theſe hopes is this part of the Propheſy directed. God aſſures them, he will bring them out of the *Aſſyrian* Captivity, as he had done out of the *Egyptian*; but not in mercy, as that deliverance was procured, but in judgment, and *with fury poured out*. And as he had brought their Fathers into the *wilderneſs of the land* of Egypt, ſo would he bring them into the WILDERNESS OF THE PEOPLE, that is, the land of Canaan, which they would find, on their return to it, was become deſart and uninhabited: and therefore elegantly called, the *wilderneſs of the people*. But what now was to be their reception, on their ſecond poſſeſſion of the promiſed Land? a very different welcome from the firſt. God indeed leads them here again with a *mighty hand and a ſtretched out arm*; and it was to take poſſeſſion; but not, as at firſt, of a *land flowing with milk and honey*, but of a priſon, a houſe of correction where they were to paſs under the rod, and to remain in bonds.

37. "AND I WILL CAUSE YOU (ſays God) TO PASS UNDER THE "ROD, AND I WILL BRING YOU INTO THE BOND OF THE CO-"VENANT."

Words which ſtrongly and elegantly expreſs ſubjection to a ritual Law, after the extraordinary Providence, which ſo much alleviated the yoke of it, was withdrawn: And we find it withdrawn ſoon after their return from the Captivity.—But, the Propheſy, carrying on the compariſon to the Egyptian deliverance, adds——

Ver. 38. "And I will purge out from amongſt you, the Rebels, "and them that tranſgreſs againſt me: I will bring them forth "out of the country where they ſojourn, and they ſhall not enter "into the land of Iſrael."

Theſe *Rebels*, like their FATHERS *in the wilderneſs*, were indeed to be brought out of Captivity, but were never to enjoy the promiſed Land; and the reſt, like the CHILDREN *in the wilderneſs*, were

were to have the yoke of the ritual Law ſtill made more galling. And thus the COMPARISON is compleated.

Theſe were the three different puniſhments inflicted in theſe three different periods. The firſt PERSONAL; the ſecond and the third, NATIONAL; only the third made heavier than the ſecond, in proportion to their accumulated offences.

But as, in the height of God's vengeance on the ſins of this wretched people, the diſtant proſpect always terminated in a mercy; So, with a mercy, and a promiſe of better times, the whole of this prophetic Scene is cloſed; in order that the NATION to which it is addreſſed, ſhould, however criminal they were, not be left in an utter ſtate of deſperation, but be afforded ſome ſhadow of repoſe, in the proſpect of future peace and tranquillity. For now, turning again to theſe *temporary Inquirers* after God, the Propheſy addreſſes them, in this manner,

Ver. 39. "As for you, O houſe of Iſrael, thus ſaith the Lord "God, Go ye, ſerve ye every one his idols, and hereafter alſo, "if ye will not hearken unto me: But pollute you my holy name "no more with your gifts, and with your idols."

As much as to ſay, Go on no longer in this divided worſhip; halt no more between two opinions; if Baal be your God, ſerve him; if the God of Iſrael, then ſerve him only. The reaſon follows.

Ver. 40–43. "*For in mine holy mountain—there ſhall all the* "*houſe of Iſrael—ſerve me. There will I accept them, and there* "*will I require your offerings—with all your holy things——and there* "*ſhall ye remember your ways, and all your doings wherein ye have* "*been defiled,* AND YE SHALL LOTHE YOURSELVES IN YOUR OWN "SIGHT."—i. e. "For then, a new order of things ſhall commence. My people, after their return from the Captivity, ſhall be as averſe to idolatry, as till then they were prone and diſpoſed to it: and the memory of their former follies ſhall *make them lothe themſelves* in their own ſight." And this, indeed, was the fact, as we

we learn by their whole hiſtory, from their reſtoration to their own Land, quite down to the preſent hour.

The idea of MERCY is naturally attached to that of repentance and reformation; and with MERCY the Propheſy concludes.

Ver. 44. "*And ye ſhall know that I am the Lord when I have* "*wrought with you for my name's ſake; not according to your wicked* "*ways, nor according to your corrupt doings, O ye houſe of Iſrael,* "*ſaith the Lord God.*"

The Reader hath now a full explanation of the whole Prophecy: whereby he may underſtand how juſtly it hath acquired its eminent celebrity. Its general ſubject being no leſs than the Fate and Fortunes of the Jewiſh Republic; of which the ſeveral parts are ſo important, ſo judiciouſly choſen, ſo elegantly diſpoſed, and ſo nobly enounced, that we ſee the divinity of the original in every ſtep we take.

But to return to the peculiar purpoſe of this Comment. Which is given to ſhew, that God himſelf has delivered the ritual Law of the Jews, under the character of *Statutes that were not good, and Judgments whereby they ſhould not live* *.

The uſe I would make of it againſt WITSIUS, with whom I have been concerned, is to ſhew, that if ſuch be the genius of the ritual Law, it is no wonder it ſhould have, in its compoſition, an alloy of no better materials, than Egyptian and other Pagan Ceremonies; cleanſed indeed and refined from their immoralities and ſuperſtitions: And converſely, that a compoſition of ſuch an alloy was very aptly characteriſed by *Statutes not good, and Judgments whereby they could not live.*

Thus having before ſeen what little force there was in Witſius's arguments, and now underſtanding how little reaſon he had to be ſo tenacious of his opinion; the reader may think he ſcarce merited the diſtinction of being recommended to a learned Body as

* See note [BBBBB], at the end of this Book.

the

the very bulwark of the faith, in this matter. But let what will become of his arguments, he deſerves honour for a much better thing than orthodox diſputation: I mean, for an honeſt turn of mind, averſe to imputing odious deſigns to his adverſaries, or dangerous conſequences to their opinions *.

On the whole then, we conclude, both againſt DEIST and BELIEVER, that the Ritual Law's being made in reference to Egyptian ſuperſtition is no reaſonable objection to the divinity of its original.

But the Deiſt may object, "That though indeed, when the Iſraelites were once deeply infected with that ſuperſtition, ſuch a ritual might be neceſſary to ſtop and cure a growing evil; yet as the remedy was ſo multiplex, burdenſome, and ſlaviſh, and therefore not in itſelf eligible, how happened it, that GOD, who had this family under his immediate and peculiar care, ſhould ſuffer them to contract an infection which required ſo inconvenient and impure a remedy?

I have been ſo accuſtomed to find the ſtrongeſt objections of infidelity end in the ſtronger recommendation of revealed Religion, that I have never been backward, either to produce what they have ſaid, when they write their beſt, or to imagine what they would ſay, if they knew how to write better. To this therefore I reply, That the promiſe GOD had made to Abraham, to give his poſterity the land of Canaan, could not be performed till that Family was grown ſtrong enough to take and keep poſſeſſion of it. In the mean time, therefore, they were neceſſitated to reſide amongſt idolaters. And we have ſeen, although they reſided unmixed, how violent a propenſity they ever had to join themſelves to the Gentile Nations, and to practiſe their Manners. GOD, therefore, in his infinite wiſdom brought them into Egypt, and kept them there during this period; the only place where they could remain, for ſo

* See note [CCCCC], at the end of this Book.

long a time, ſafe and unconfounded with the natives; the ancient Egyptians being, by numerous inſtitutions, forbidden all fellowſhip with ſtrangers; and bearing, beſides, a particular averſion to the profeſſion * of this Family. Thus we ſee, that the natural diſpoſition of the Iſraelites, which, in Egypt, occaſioned their ſuperſtitions; and, in conſequence, the neceſſity of a burthenſome Ritual, would, in any other Country, have abſorbed them in Gentiliſm, and confounded them with Idolaters. From this objection, therefore, nothing comes but a new occaſion to adore the footſteps of eternal Wiſdom in his Diſpenſations to his choſen People.

III.

The laſt propoſition is, *That the very circumſtances of Moſes's Egyptian learning, and the Laws inſtituted in compliance to the people's prejudices, and in oppoſition to Egyptian ſuperſtitions, are a ſtrong confirmation of the divinity of his miſſion.*

Egypt was the great School of legiſlation for the reſt of Mankind. And ſo revered were her oracular dictates, that foreign Lawgivers, who went thither for inſtruction, never ventured to deviate from thoſe fundamental principles of Government which ſhe preſcribed. In religion, particularly, which always made a part of civil Policy, they ſo cloſely adhered to Egyptian maxims, that Poſterity, as we have ſeen, were deceived into an opinion that the Greek Lawgivers had received their very Gods from thence.

What therefore muſt we think had been the caſe of a Native of Egypt; bred up from his infancy in Egyptian wiſdom, and, at length, become a member of their Legiſlative body? would ſuch a man, when going to frame a civil Policy and Religion (though we ſuppoſe nothing of that natural affection, which the beſt and wiſeſt men have ever borne for their own country inſtitutions),

* The profeſſion of Shepherds.

be

be at all inclined to deviate from its fundamental principles of Government?

Yet here we have in Moſes, according to our Adverſaries' account of him, a mere human Lawgiver, come freſh out of the Schools of Egypt, to reduce a turbulent People into Society, acting on fundamental Principles of Religion and Policy directly oppoſite to all the maxims of Egyptian Wiſdom.

One of the chief of which, in the RELIGIOUS POLICY of Egypt, was, That the government of the World had, by the ſupreme Ruler of the univerſe, been committed into the hands of ſubordinate, local, tutelary Deities; amongſt whom the ſeveral Regions of the earth were ſhared out and divided: that theſe were the true and proper objects of all public and popular Religion; and that the knowledge of the ONE TRUE God, the Creator of all things, was highly dangerous to be communicated to the People; but was to be ſecreted, and ſhut up in their MYSTERIES; and in them, to be revealed only occaſionally, and to a few; and thoſe few, the wiſe, the learned, and ruling part of mankind *. Now, in plain defiance and contempt of this moſt venerable Principle, our Egyptian Lawgiver rejects theſe doctrines of inferior Deities, as impoſtures, and *lying vanities*; and boldly and openly preaches up to the People, the belief of the ONE TRUE GOD, the Creator, as the ſole object of the Religion of all mankind †.

Another fundamental maxim, the RELIGIOUS POLICY of Egypt, was to propagate, by every kind of method, the doctrine of A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS; as the neceſſary ſupport of all Religion and Government. Here again, our Lawgiver (no Deiſt can tell why ‡) forſakes all his own principles; intentionally rejects a ſupport, which was as really beneficial to mankind, in all his intereſts, as the other notion, of inferior Dei-

* See an account of theſe MYSTERIES in the firſt volume.

† See note [DDDDD], at the end of this Book.

‡ See View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philoſophy, Letter IV.

ties, was but thought to be; intirely omits to mention it in his Inſtitutes of Law and Religion; and is ſtudiouſly ſilent in all thoſe particulars which lead to the propagation of it *. But of this, more at large, in a future volume.

Again, it was of the CIVIL POLICY of Egypt to prefer an hereditary deſpotic Monarchy to all other forms of Government: Moſes, on the contrary, erects a THEOCRACY on the free choice of the people; to be adminiſtered Ariſtocratically.

Add to all this, that his deviation from the Policy of Egypt was encountering the ſtrongeſt prejudices of his People; who were violently carried away to all the cuſtoms and ſuperſtitions of that Policy.

And now let an ingenuous Deiſt weigh theſe inſtances, with many more that will eaſily occur to him, and then fairly tell us his ſentiments. Let him try, if he can think it was at all likely, that Moſes, a mere human Lawgiver, a Native of Egypt, and learned in all its political Wiſdom, ſhould, in the formation of a Civil policy, for ſuch a People as he undertook to govern, act directly contrary to all the fundamental principles in which he had been inſtructed?

I. To this perhaps it may be ſaid,—"That Moſes well underſtood the folly and falſhood of inferior GODS:—that he did not believe the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments;—that he was too honeſt to employ fraud:—that his love to his People made him indiſpoſed to an hereditary deſpotic Monarchy;—and that the theologic principles of Egypt led him to the invention of a THEOCRACY." To all this, I anſwer,

1. As to *his ſeeing the falſhood of inferior Gods.*—So did many other of the old Lawgivers, inſtructed in Egyptian policy; yet being taught to think Polytheiſm uſeful to Society, they did not, for all that, the leſs cultivate their abominable idolatry.

* See note [EEEEE], at the end of this Book.

2. As

2. As to *his not believing a future ſtate, and his honeſty in not teaching what he did not believe.*—Such Objectors forget that they have already made him a fraudulent impoſtor, in his pretenſion to a divine employment. Now if the end of civil Government made him fraudulent in that inſtance, it would hardly ſuffer him to be ſcrupulous in this; even allowing the extravagance of this fancy, that he *did not believe* a future ſtate; becauſe, as hath been proved at large *, the propagation of this doctrine is, and was always believed to be, the firmeſt ſupport of civil government: But of this more at large, hereafter.

3. With regard to *his concern for the happineſs of his people*;—I will readily allow this to be very conſiſtent with Heroic or Legiſlative fraud. But this happineſs the ancient Lawgivers thought beſt procured by the Egyptian mode of Government. And indeed they had EXPERIENCE, the beſt guide in public matters. For the excellent education which the Egyptians gave their Kings, in training them up to the love of the Public, and high veneration for the Laws, prevented the uſual abuſe of power; and gave to that people the longeſt and moſt uninterrupted courſe of proſperity that any Nation ever enjoyed †. It is no wonder, therefore, that this ſhould make MONARCHY (as it did) the firſt favourite form of Government, in all places civilized by the aid of Egypt.

4. But, *the theologic principles of Egypt led Moſes to the invention of a* THEOCRACY.—Without doubt thoſe principles, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, occaſioned its eaſy reception amongſt the Hebrews. But there is one circumſtance in the caſe that ſhews its invention muſt have been of GOD, and not of Moſes. For the ground of its eaſy reception was the notion of local tutelary Deities. But this notion, Moſes, in preaching up the doctrine of the one true GOD, entirely took away. This, indeed, on a ſuppoſition of a DIVINE LEGATION, has all the marks of admirable wiſdom; but ſuppoſing

* See the firſt volume.

† See note [FFFFF], at the end of this Book.

it

it to be Moſes's own contrivance, we ſee nothing but inconſiſtency and abſurdity. He forms a deſign, and then defeats it; he gives with one hand, and he takes away with the other.

II. But it may be farther objected,—"That, as it was the intention of Moſes to ſeparate theſe people from all others, he therefore, gave them thoſe croſs and oppoſite inſtitutions, as a barrier to all communication." To this I anſwer,

1. That were it indeed GOD, and not Moſes, who projected this SEPARATION, the reaſon would be good. Becauſe the immediate end of GOD's *ſeparation* was twofold, to keep them unmixed; and to ſecure them from idolatry: and ſuch end could not be effected but by oppoſing thoſe fundamental principles of Egypt, with the doctrine of ONE GOD, and the inſtitution of a THEOCRACY. But then this, which would be a good reaſon, will become a very bad objection. Our Deiſt is to be held to the queſtion. He regards Moſes as a mere human Lawgiver. But the ſole end which ſuch a one could propoſe by a *ſeparation*, was to preſerve his people pure and unmixed. Now this could be effected only by laws which kept them at home, and diſcouraged and prevented all foreign commerce: and theſe, by the ſame means, bringing on general poverty, there would be ſmall danger of their being much frequented, while they laboured under that contagious malady. This we know was the caſe of Sparta. It was their Lawgiver's chief aim to keep them diſtinct and unmixed. But did he do this by inſtitutions which croſſed the fundamental principles of the Religion and Policy of Greece? By no means. They were all of them the ſame. The method he employed was only to frame ſuch Laws as diſcouraged commerce and foreign intercourſe. And theſe proved effectual. I the rather inſtance in the Spartan, than in any other Government, becauſe the end, which Moſes and Lycurgus purſued in common, (though for different purpoſes) of keeping their people *ſeparate*, occaſioned ſuch a likeneſs in ſeveral parts of the two Inſtitutions, as was, in my opinion, the real origin of that tradition mentioned

in

in the firſt book of Maccabees, That there was a Family-relation between the two People.

2. But, ſecondly, as it is very true, that the mere intention of keeping a people ſeparate and unmixed (which is all a human Lawgiver could have in view) would occaſion Laws in oppoſition to the cuſtoms of thoſe people with whom, from their vicinity to, or fondneſs for, they were in moſt danger of being confounded; ſo, when I inſiſted on thoſe Anti-Egyptian inſtitutions, which I gave as a certain proof of Moſes's *Divine Legation*, I did not reckon, in my account, any of that vaſt number of ritual and municipal laws, which, Manetho confeſſes, were *given principally in oppoſition to Egyptian cuſtoms* *. This a mere ſeparation would require: But this is a very different thing from the oppoſition to FUNDAMENTALS, here inſiſted on; which a mere ſeparation did not in the leaſt require.

III. But it may be ſtill further urged, "That reſentment for ill uſage might diſpoſe Moſes to obliterate the memory of the place they came from, by a Policy contrary to the *fundamental* Inſtitutions of Egypt." Here again our objecting Deiſt will forget himſelf. 1. He hath urged a CONFORMITY in the LAW to Egyptian Rites; and this, in order to diſcredit Moſes's *Divine Legation*: and we have allowed him his fact. Whatever it was therefore that engaged Moſes to his general OPPOSITION, it could not be reſentment: for that had certainly prevented all kind of conformity or ſimilitude.

2. But, ſecondly, ſuch effects of civil reſentment, the natural manners of men will never ſuffer us to ſuppoſe. We have in ancient hiſtory many accounts of the ſettlement of new Colonies, forced injuriouſly from home by their fellow-citizens. But we

* Ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς νόμοι ἔθεσι, μήτε προσκυνεῖν θεὺς, μήτε τῶν μάλιστα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ σεμνυνομένων ἱερῶν ζώων ἀπέχεσθαι μηδενὸς, πάντα τε θύειν καὶ ἀναλοῦν· συναπλῶσθαι δὲ μηδενὶ πλὴν τῶν συνωμοσμένων. τοιαῦτα δὲ νομοθετήσας καὶ πλεῖστα ἄλλα, μάλιστα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἤθεσιν ἐναντιώμενα. Apud Joſeph. cont. Ap. l. i. p. 460, 461. Haverch. Ed.

never

never find that this imbittered them againſt their Country-inſtitutions. On the contrary, their cloſe adherence to their native cuſtoms, notwithſtanding all perſonal wrongs, has in every age enabled learned men to find out their original, by ſtrong characteriſtic marks of relation to the mother city. And the reaſon is evident: INNATE LOVE OF ONE'S COUNTRY, whoſe attractive power, contrary to that of natural bodies, is ſtrongeſt at a diſtance; and INVETERATE MANNERS which ſtick cloſeſt in diſtreſs (the uſual ſtate of all new Colonies) are qualities infinitely too ſtrong to give way to reſentment againſt particular men for perſonal injuries.

It is not indeed unlikely but that ſome certain ſpecific Law or cuſtom, which did, or was imagined to contribute to their diſgrace and expulſion, might, out of reſentment, be reprobated by the new Colony. And this is the utmoſt that the hiſtory of mankind will ſuffer us to ſuppoſe.

On the whole, therefore, I conclude that MOSES'S EGYPTIAN LEARNING IS A STRONG CONFIRMATION OF THE DIVINITY OF HIS MISSION.

The ſecond part of the propoſition is no leſs evident, *That the laws inſtituted in compliance to the people's prejudices, and in oppoſition to Egyptian ſuperſtitions, ſupport the ſame truth with equal ſtrength.* Had Moſes's Miſſion been only pretended, his conduct, as a wiſe Lawgiver, had doubtleſs been very different. His buſineſs had been then only to ſupport a falſe pretence to inſpiration. Let us ſee how he managed. He pretended to receive the whole frame of a national Inſtitution from GOD; and to have had the pattern of all its parts brought him down from Heaven, to the Mount. But when this came to be promulged, it was ſeen that, the CEREMONIAL LAW being politically inſtituted, partly in compliance to the people's prejudices, and partly in oppoſition to Egyptian ſuperſtitions, ſeveral of its Rites had a reference to the Pagan ſuperſtitions in vogue. This, as we ſee, from the objection of the ignorant in theſe times, might have been an objection in thoſe. And as an

Impoſtor

Impoſtor could not have foreſeen the objection, his fears of a diſcovery would have made him decline ſo hazardous a ſyſtem, and cautiouſly avoid every thing that looked like an imitation. It is true, that, on enquiry, this unfolds a ſcene of admirable and ſuperior wiſdom: but it is ſuch as an Impoſtor could never have projected; or at leaſt would never have ventured to leave to the mercy of popular judgment. We conclude, therefore, that this conduct is a clear proof that Moſes actually received the Inſtitution from GOD. Nor does this in anywiſe contradict what we have ſo much inſiſted on above, That a mere human Lawgiver, or even an inſpired one, acting with free agents, is neceſſitated to comply with the paſſions of the People; a compliance which would neceſſarily induce ſuch a relation to Egypt as we find in the ritual Law: for we muſt remember too what hath been likewiſe ſhewn, that the *ends* of a divine and human Lawgiver, both uſing the common means of a SEPARATION, are vaſtly different; the latter only aiming to keep the people unmixed; the former, to keep them pure from idolatry. Now, in both caſes, where the People are dealt with as free agents, ſome compliance to their prejudices will be neceſſary. But as, in the Inſtitutions of a human Lawgiver pretending only to inſpiration, ſuch compliance in the RITUAL would be ſubject to the danger here ſpoken of; and as compliance in the FUNDAMENTALS, ſuch as the object of Worſhip, a future State, and mode of civil Government, would not be ſo ſubject; and, at the ſame time, would win moſt forcibly on a prejudiced people, to the promoting the Legiſlator's *end*; we muſt needs conclude that theſe would be the things he would comply with and eſpouſe. On the other hand, as a divine Lawgiver could not comply in theſe things; and as a RITUAL, like the Moſaic, was the only means left of gaining his end; we muſt conclude that a divine Lawgiver would make his compliance on that ſide.

1. Let me only add one corollary to our BELIEVING ADVERSARIES, as a farther ſupport of this part of the *propoſition*; "That

allowing the Ritual-law to be generally inſtituted in reference to Egyptian and other neighbouring Superſtitions, the divine wiſdom of the contrivance will be ſeen in redoubled luſtre. One reaſon, as we have ſeen above, of the oppoſition to the notion of *ſuch a reference* is, that the RITUAL LAW WAS TYPICAL, not only of things relating to that Diſpenſation, but to the Evangelical. This then they take for granted; and, as will be ſhewn hereafter, with good reaſon. Now an Inſtitution of a body of Rites, particularly and minutely levelled againſt, and referring to, the idolatrous practices of thoſe ages; and, at the ſame time, as minutely typical, not only of all the remarkable tranſactions under that Diſpenſation, but likewiſe of all the great and conſtituent parts of a future one, to ariſe in a diſtant age, and of a genius directly oppoſite, muſt needs give an attentive conſiderer the moſt amazing idea of divine wiſdom *. And this I beg leave to offer to the conſideration of the unprejudiced Reader, as another ſtrong INTERNAL ARGUMENT THAT THE RITUAL LAW WAS NOT OF MERE HUMAN CONTRIVANCE.

2. Let me add another corollary to the UNBELIEVING Jews. We have ſeen at large how expedient it was for the Jews of the firſt ages, that the Ritual or ceremonial Law ſhould be directed againſt the ſeveral idolatries of thoſe ages. It was as expedient for

* Hear what the learned Spencer ſays on this occaſion: "Atque hac in re Deus ſapientiæ ſuæ ſpecimen egregium edidit, et illi non abſimile quod in mundo frequenter obſervamus: in eo enim, notante *Verulamio*, dum *natura aliud agit, providentia aliud elicit*; nam frondibus quas natura, conſuetudinem ſuam retinens, parit, utitur providentia ad cœli injurias a fructu tenello propulſandas. Pari modo, cum Hebræorum natio, conſuetudinem ſuam exuere neſcia, ritus antiquos impenſe deſideraret. Deus eorum deſiderio ſe morigerum præbebat; ſed eorum ruditate & impotentia puerili ad fines egregios & ſapientia ſua dignos utebatur. Sic enim ritus antiquos populo indultos, circumſtantiis quibuſdam demptis aut additis, immutavit, ut rerum cœleſtium ſchema repræſentarent, oculis purgatioribus facile percipiendum; adeo ut Deus puerilibus Iſraelitarum ſtudiis obſequens, divina promoveret." De Leg. Heb. Rit. p. 218.

the

the Jews of the later ages that this Law ſhould be TYPICAL likewiſe. For had it not been *typical*, God would have given a Law whoſe reaſon would have ceaſed many ages before the *Theocracy* was aboliſhed: and ſo have afforded a plauſible occaſion to the Jews for changing or abrogating them, on their own head.

3. Let me add a third corollary to the UNBELIEVING GENTILES. The Law's being *typical* obviates their fooliſh argument againſt Revelation, that the abolition of the *Moſaic* religion and the eſtabliſhment of the *Chriſtian* in its ſtead, impeaches the wiſdom of God, as implying change and inconſtancy in his acting; for by his making the Law *typical*, the two religions are ſeen to be the two parts of one and the ſame deſign.

The great Maimonides, who firſt * explained the CAUSES of the Jewiſh Ritual in any reaſonable manner (and who, to obſerve it by the way, ſaw nothing in the LAW but *temporal ſanctions*), was ſo ſtruck with the ſplendor of divinity, which this light reflected back upon the law, that in the entry on his ſubject he breaks out into this triumphant boaſt, EA TIBI EXPLICABO UT PLANE NON AMPLIUS DUBITARE QUEAS ET DIFFERENTIAM HABEAS QUA DISCERNERE POSSIS INTER ORDINATIONES LEGUM CONDITARUM AB HOMINIBUS ET INTER ORDINATIONES LEGIS DIVINÆ.

Thus the Reader ſees what may be gained by fairly and boldly ſubmitting to the force of evidence. Such a manifeſtation of the divinity of the Law, ariſing out of the Deiſt's own principles, as is ſufficient to cover him with confuſion!

And what is it, we loſe? Nothing ſure very great or excellent. The imaginary honour of being original in certain Rites (conſidered in themſelves) indifferent; and becoming good or bad by *compariſon*, or by the *authority* which enjoins them, and by the object to which they are directed.

The Deiſt indeed pretends that, in the things borrowed from Egypt, the firſt principles of Law and Morality, and the very

* In his More Nevoch. Par. III.—And ſee note [GGGGG], at the end of this Book.

triteſt cuſtoms of civil life, are to be included. The extravagance of this fancy hath been expoſed elſewhere *. But as it is a ſpecies of folly all parties are apt to give into, it may not be amiſs to conſider this matter of TRADUCTIVE CUSTOMS a little more particularly.

There is nothing obſtructs our diſcoveries in Antiquity (as far as concerns the nobleſt end of this ſtudy, the knowledge of mankind) ſo much as that falſe, though undiſputed Principle, that the general cuſtoms of men, whether civil or religious, (in which a common likeneſs connects, as in a chain, the Manners of its inhabitants, throughout the whole globe) are traductive from one another. When, in truth, the origin of this general ſimilitude is from the ſameneſs of one common Nature, improved by reaſon, or debaſed by ſuperſtition. But when a cuſtom, whoſe meaning lies not upon the ſurface, but requires a profounder ſearch, is the ſubject of inquiry, it is much eaſier to tell us that the uſers borrowed it from ſuch or ſuch a people, than rightly to inform us, what common principle of REASON or SUPERSTITION gave birth to it in both.

How many able writers have employed their time and learning to prove that Chriſtian Rome borrowed their ſuperſtitions from the Pagan city! They have indeed ſhewn an exact and ſurpriſing likeneſs in a great variety of inſtances. But the concluſion from thence, that, therefore, the Catholic borrowed from the Heathen, as plauſible as it may ſeem, is, I think, a very great miſtake; which the followers of this hypotheſis might have underſtood without the aſſiſtance of the principle here laid down: ſince the riſe of the ſuperſtitious cuſtoms in queſtion were many ages later than the converſion of that imperial city to the Chriſtian Faith: conſequently, at the time of their introduction, there were no PAGAN prejudices which required ſuch a compliance from the ruling Clergy. For this, but principally for the general reaſon here advanced, I am rather induced to believe, that the very ſame *ſpirit of ſuperſtition*, operat-

* Vol. I. book ii.

ing

ing in equal circumſtances, made both Papiſts and Pagans truly originals.

But does this take off from the juſt reproach which the Reformed have caſt upon the Church of Rome, for the practice of ſuch Rites, and encouragement of ſuch Superſtitions? Surely not; but rather ſtrongly fixes it. In the former caſe, the rulers of that Church had been guilty of a baſe compliance with the infirmities of their new converts: in the latter, the poiſon of ſuperſtition is ſeen to have infected the very vitals of its Hierarchy *.

But then, truth will fare almoſt as ill when a right, as when a wrong principle, is puſhed to an extravagance. Thus, as it would be ridiculous to deny, that the Roman laws of the Twelve Tables were derived from the Greeks, becauſe we have a circumſtantial hiſtory of their traduction: ſo it would be equally fooliſh not to own, that a great part of the Jewiſh ritual was compoſed in reference to the ſuperſtitions of Egypt; becauſe their long abode in the country had made the Iſraelites extravagantly fond of *Egyptian* cuſtoms: but to think (as ſome Deiſts ſeem to have done) that they borrowed from thence their common principles of morality, and the legal proviſions for the ſupport of ſuch principles †, is, whether we conſider the Iſraelites under a divine or human direction, a thing equally abſurd; and ſuch an abſurdity as betrays the groſſeſt ignorance of human nature, and the hiſtory of mankind.

And thus much concerning the ANTIQUITY of Egypt, and its EFFECTS on the Divine Legation of Moſes.

* See note [HHHHH], at the end of this Book.

† See Marſham.

NOTES

NOTES ON BOOK IV.

P. 343. [A]. DR. Prideaux, in his learned *Connexions*, has indeed told us a very entertaining ſtory of ZOROASTRES: whom, of an early Lawgiver of the Bactrians, Dr. Hyde had made a late falſe prophet of the Perſians, and the preacher-up of one God in the public religion; which doctrine, however, this learned man ſuppoſes to be ſtolen from the Jews. But the truth is, the whole is a pure fable; contradicts all learned antiquity; and is ſupported only by the ignorant and romantic relations of late Perſian writers under the Califes; who make Zoroaſtres contemporary with Darius Hyſtaſpis, and ſervant to one of the Jewiſh prophets; yet, in another fit of lying, they place him as early as Moſes: they even ſay he was Abraham; nay, they ſtick not to make him one of the builders of Babel. It may be thought ſtrange how ſuch crude imaginations, however cooked up, could be deemed ſerviceable to Revelation, when they may be ſo eaſily turned againſt it; for all falſhood is naturally on the ſide of unbelief. I have long indeed looked when ſome *minute philoſopher* would ſettle upon this corrupted place, and give it the infidel taint. And juſt as I thought, it happened. One of them having grounded upon this abſurd whimſy the impious ſlander *of the Jews having received from the followers of Zoroaſtres, during the captivity, juſter notions of God and his providence than they had before.*—See *The Moral Philoſopher*, vol. I. and vol. II. p. 144. Another of theſe *Philoſophers* makes as good an uſe of his Indian Bracmanes, and their *Vedam* and *Ezourvedam*; for this *Vedam* is their Bible, as the *Zend* or *Zendaveſta* is the Bible of the fire worſhippers in Perſia, and both of them apparent forgeries ſince the time of Mahomet to oppoſe to the Alcoran. Yet Mr. Voltaire ſays, of his Κειμήλιον, the *Ezourvedam*, that

that it is apparently older than the conqueſts of Alexander, becauſe the rivers, towns, and countries, are called by their old names, before they were new chriſtened by the Greeks.—Cet ancien Commentaire du Vedam me parait ecrit avant les conquêtes d'Alexandre, car on n'y trouve aucun des noms que le vainqueurs Grecs impoſerent aux fleuves, aux villes, aux contrees. Additions à l' Hiſt. Generale, p. 23, 24. Which is juſt as wiſe, as it would be to obſerve, that the Sarazin and Turkiſh annals were written before the conqueſts of Alexander, becauſe we find in them none of the names which the Greeks impoſed on the rivers, the cities, and the countries, which they conquered in the Leſſer Aſia, but their ancient names, by which they were known from the earlieſt times. It never came into the Poet's head that the Indians and Arabians might be exactly of the ſame humour, to reſtore the native names to the places from which the Greeks had driven them.

P. 343. [B]. μόνῳ δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων γένει τὴν ΕΠΟΠΤΕΙΑΝ ἀνελεῖσθαι τῆς ΘΕΩΡΙΑΣ τὸ τῶν ὅλων ποιητὴν καὶ ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΝ Θεὸν, καὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας. Præp. Evang. l. i. c. ix. p. 20. As the imaginary intereſt of religion engaged Dr. Prideaux to eſpouſe the *Perſian tale* of Zoroaſtres; ſo the ſame motive induced thoſe excellent perſons, Stillingfleet, Cudworth, and Newton, to take the affirmative in the general queſtion, whether the one true God had ever been publicly worſhipped out of Judea, between the introduction of general idolatry, and the birth of Chriſt. As this determination of the *general* queſtion is no leſs injurious to Revelation than the *particular* of Zoroaſtres, we may be aſſured no leſs advantage would be taken of it. Lord Bolingbroke ſaw to what uſe it might be applied, and has therefore inforced it to the diſcredit of Judaiſm: indeed, with his uſual addreſs, by entangling it in a contradiction. But thoſe other venerable names will make it neceſſary hereafter to examine both the one and the other queſtion at large.

P. 352. [C]. See Shuckford's Sacred and profane hiſtory of the world connected, vol. II. edit. 2. p. 317—327. Our countryman Gale, in the like manner, is for deriving all arts and ſciences, without exception, from the Jews——"*Arithmetic*, he ſays, it is evident, had its foundation from "God himſelf; for the firſt computation of time is made by God, Gen. "i. 5, &c. And as for *navigation*, though ſome aſcribe it to the Phenicians; "yet it is manifeſt the firſt idea thereof was taken from Noah's ark. It is

"as

"as plain that *geography* traduced its firſt lines from the Moſaic deſcrip-"tion of the ſeveral plantations of Noah's poſterity."——Court of the Gentiles, part i. p. 18. Who would not think but the learned man, and learned he really was in good truth, was diſpoſed to banter us, had he not given ſo ſad a proof of his being in earneſt as the writing three bulky volumes to ſupport theſe wonderful diſcoveries?

P. 352. [D]. See Canon Chron. Secul. v. tit. *Circumciſio.* I decline entering into this controverſy for two reaſons: 1. Becauſe, which way ſoever the queſtion be decided, the truth of the Moſaic account will be nothing affected by it; for the Scripture no where ſays, that Abraham was the firſt man, circumciſed; nor is the prior uſe of this rite amongſt men, any argument againſt God's enjoining him to obſerve it. The pious biſhop Cumberland little thought he was diſſerving religion, when he followed an interpretation of the fragment of Sanchoniatho, which led him to conclude [Remarks on Sanchon's Phœn. Hiſt. p. 150.] that whole nations had practiſed circumciſion before Abraham: but I quote this great man, not for the weight of his opinion in a matter ſo unconcerning, but as an example of that candour of mind and integrity of heart, without which the purſuit of truth is a vainer employment than the purſuit of butterflies. A leſs able and a leſs ingenuous man, with not a tenth part of this noble writer's invention, would have had a thouſand tricks and fetches to reconcile the firſt inſtitution of this rite in Abraham to the high antiquity he had given to Cronus. Another example of a contrary conduct, in a writer of equal account, will ſhew us how much this ingenuity is to be eſteemed in men of learning. The excellent Dr. Hammond, miſled by the party-prejudices of his time, had perſuaded himſelf to believe, that the propheſies of the Apocalypſe related only to the firſt ages of the Chriſtian Church, and that the book was written, not, as Irenæus ſuppoſed, about the end of Domitian's reign, but, as Epiphanius affirmed, in Claudius Cæſar's. To this, there were two objections; Firſt, that then the propheſy, which, on Hammond's ſyſtem, related to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, would be of an event paſt: while the propheſy ſpeaks of it as a thing future. To this he replies, That it was *cuſtomary with the Prophets to ſpeak of things paſt as of things to come.* So far was well. But then the ſecond objection is, That if this were the time of writing the Revelations, Antipas, who is ſaid, c. ii. ver. 13. to have been martyred, was yet alive.

No

No matter for that, it was *cuſtomary with the Prophets*, as he tells us on the other hand, *to ſpeak of things to come as of things paſt*. And all this within the compaſs of two pages. 2. The other reaſon for my not entering into this matter is, becauſe it is not my intention to examine (except occaſionally) any particular queſtion of this kind. This hath been done already. What I propoſe is to prove in general, that many of the poſitive inſtitutions of the Hebrews were enjoined in oppoſition to the idolatrous cuſtoms of the Egyptians; and that ſome bearing a conformity to thoſe cuſtoms, and not liable to be abuſed to ſuperſtition, were indulged to them, in wiſe compliance with the prejudices which long uſe and habit are accuſtomed to induce.

P. 356. [E] The recovery of exhauſted fertility by compoſt, ſeems not to have been a very early invention. For though Homer deſcribes Laertes in his rural occupations as buſied in this part of agriculture; yet Heſiod, in a profeſſed and detailed poem on the ſubject, never once mentions the method of dunging land.—Not that I regard this circumſtance as any ſure proof to determine the queſtion of Heſiod's priority in point of time. It may be well accounted for, by ſuppoſing, that they deſcribed particular places in the ſtate they were then found, ſome more and ſome leſs advanced in the arts of civil life.

P. 359. [F] Here let me obſerve, that this repreſentation of the high and flouriſhing ſtate of Egypt, in theſe early times, greatly recommends the truth of the Samaritan chronology, and ſhews how much it is to be preferred to the Hebrew. See the learned and judicious M. LEONARD in his *Obſervations ſur l'antiquité des Hieroglyphes ſcientifiques*, p. 359, 2d vol.

P. 360. [G] The various diſaſters to which determined diſputants are obnoxious from their own proper tempers, would make no unentertaining part of literary hiſtory. A learned writer undertaking to confute the Egyptian pretenſions to their high antiquity, thinks it proper firſt to ſhew, that they did indeed pretend to it. And this, it muſt be owned, he does effectually enough. His words are theſe: "Et profecto, ab ANTIQUISSIMIS TEMPORIBUS hâc vanitate infecti erant: dicebat enim, ipſo Iſaiæ "tempore, purpuratorum quiſque Pharaoni ſe eſſe *filium regum* antiquiſſimorum."—*Spicilegia antiq. Egypt. &c. autore Gul. Jameſon.* Now, could any thing be more unlucky? The author only meant to introduce his

ſyſtem by this flouriſh; and in introducing it, he confutes it. For can there be a better evidence of the high antiquity of any people than that they claimed it from the *moſt ancient times?* from times long preceding that general vanity of a high antiquity, which had infected the nations, and prompted them to ſupport their claims againſt one another, by forged evidence and unphiloſophic reaſoning? Not to ſay, that this high antiquity is acknowledged by the Prophet alſo: the force of whoſe exultation depends on the truth of it. For what reaſon was there to inſiſt ſo much on the power and wiſdom of God in *deſtroying the counſel of Egypt*, if *Pharaoh and his Counſellors*, only pretended to be, but were not, *wiſe:* nor yet, *the ſons of ancient kings?*

P. 363. [H] Chæremon, who, as we are told by Joſephus, wrote the hiſtory of Egypt, calls Moſes and Joſeph ſcribes; and Joſeph a ſacred ſcribe, ἡγεῖσθαι δ' αὐτῶν γραμματέως Μωϋσήν τε καὶ ΙΩΣΗΠΟΝ. καὶ τοῦτον ΙΕΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΑ, cont. Ap. lib. i. It is true, the hiſtorian has confounded times, in making Joſeph contemporary with Moſes: but this was a common miſtake amongſt the Pagans. Juſtin the epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius calls Moſes the ſon of Joſeph—*Filius ejus* [Joſeph] *Moſes fuit, quem præter paternæ ſcientiæ hæreditatem, &c.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 2. Thoſe learned men therefore are miſtaken, who, for this reaſon, would have it that Chæremon, by Joſeph, meant Joſhua. Beſides, the ſuperior title here given to Joſeph ſhews plainly we are to underſtand the patriarch, and not the companion of Moſes: for though it appears from Scripture that Joſeph and Moſes were related to, and educated by the Egyptian Prieſthood, yet we have not the leaſt reaſon to think that Joſhua had ever any concern with them; being held with the reſt of his brethren in a ſtate of ſervitude, remote from the benefit of that education, which a ſingular accident had beſtowed upon Moſes.

P. 363. [I] Hence we may collect, how ill-grounded that opinion is of Eupolemus and other authors, ancient and modern, who imagine, that Abraham firſt taught the Egyptians aſtrology. And indeed the contending for this original of the ſciences ſeems to contradict another argument much in uſe amongſt Divines, and deſervedly ſo; which anſwers the objection of infidels againſt the authority of the Bible, from ſeveral inaccuracies in ſcience to be met with in ſacred hiſtory, by obſerving it was not God's purpoſe, in revealing himſelf to mankind, to inſtruct them in the ſciences.

P. 364.

P. 364. [K]. Εὔδοξον μὲν ἴν Χονύφεώς φηπι Μεμφίτα διακῦσαι· Σόλωνα δὲ, Σύγχιν Σαΐτης· ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΝ δὲ, Οἰνύφεως ΗΛΙΟΥΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ. Plut. de Is. & Osir. p. 632. Steph. ed. Here we see, each sage went for that science he was disposed to cultivate, to its proper Mart: for not only Pythagoras studied astronomy at Heliopolis, where it was professed with the greatest celebrity; but Eudoxus learnt his geometry at Memphis, whose priests were the most profound mathematicians; and Solon was instructed in civil wisdom at Sais, whose patron deity being Minerva (as we are told by Herodotus and Strabo) shews that politicks was there in most request: and this doubtless was the reason why Pythagoras, who, during his long abode in Egypt, went through all their schools, chose Minerva for the patroness of his legislation. See Div. Leg. vol. I. book ii. sect. 2, 3.

P. 366. [L]. I cannot forbear on this occasion to commend the ingenuous temper of another learned writer, far gone in the same system: who, having said all he could think of to discredit the antiquity and wisdom of Egypt, concludes in this manner.—"Tandem quæres, in qua "doctrina Ægyptiorum propter quam tantopere celebrati erant in *ipsis* "*Scripturis*, viz. 1 Reg. c. iv. com. 30. et vii. *actorum*, com. 22. Res- "pondeo, non nego magnos *Philosophos*, *Geometras*, & MEDICOS, et alia- "rum artium peritos fuisse in Egypto, tempore Mosis, et postea quoque. "Sed sensim et gradatim illa doctrina exolevit, ut omnino nihil aut parum "ejus permanserit."——G. Jameson, Spicilegia Antiq. Ægypt. p. 400, 1. ——You will ask now, What is become of his system? No matter. He is true to a better thing, the sacred Text: for the sake of which he took up the system; and for the sake of which, upon better information, he lays it down again: and, like an honest man, sticks to his Bible at all hazards.

P. 376. [M]. Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. says, that Melampus was in the number of those civilizers of Greece, who went, to fit themselves for that employment, into Egypt: and, as Orpheus proceeded thence a legislator and philosopher; so Melampus, whose bent lay another way, commenced physician and diviner; those two arts being, as we have said, professed together in Egypt. Apollodorus says, he was the first who cured diseases by medicinal potions. τὴν διὰ φαρμακῶν καὶ καθαρμῶν θεραπείαν πρῶτος εὑρηκώς.—meaning the first among the Greeks. As this Greek went to Egypt to be instructed in his craft, so we meet with an Egyptian who went to practise the very same trade in Greece:

Ἄπις γὰρ ἐλθὼν ἐκ πέρας Ναυπακτείας,
ΙΑΤΡΟΜΑΝΤΙΣ ΠΑΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ, χθόνα
Τήνδ' ἐκκαθαίρει κνωδάλων βροτοφθόρων.

Æſch. Ικετ. p. 316. Stanl. ed.

As to what is ſaid of his being the ſon of Apollo, we muſt underſtand it in the ſenſe of Homer, where he ſpeaks of the Egyptian phyſicians in general:

ΙΗΤΡΟΣ δὲ ἕκαστος ἐπιστάμενος περὶ πάντων
Ἀνθρώπων· ἦ γὰρ ΠΑΙΗΟΝΟΣ ΕΙΣΙ ΓΕΝΕΘΛΗΣ.

P. 386. [N]. Nothing can be more unjuſt or abſurd than the accuſation of Joſeph's making the free monarchy of Egypt deſpotic: for allowing it did indeed at this time ſuffer ſuch a revolution, who is to be eſteemed the author of it but Pharaoh himſelf? Joſeph indeed was prime miniſter; but it does not appear that his maſter was of that tribe of lazy monarchs, who intruſt their ſceptre to the hands of their ſervants. Moſes deſcribes him as active, vigilant, jealous of his authority, anxious for his country, and little indulgent to his officers of ſtate. But the terms in which he inveſts Joſeph in his office, ſhew that office to be purely miniſterial; *Thou ſhalt be over my houſe, and according to thy word ſhall all my people be ruled;* ONLY IN THE THRONE WILL I BE GREATER THAN THOU. [Gen. xli. 40.] i. e. thou ſhalt *adminiſter juſtice*, but I will reſerve to myſelf the prerogative of *giving law*. It is highly reaſonable therefore, when we find, in ſo conciſe a hiſtory as the Moſaick, Joſeph bidding the people give their money, their cattle, and their lands for bread, to ſuppoſe that he only delivered to them the words of Pharaoh, who would ſupply their wants on no other conditions.

P. 388. [O]. This is the general ſentiment of Antiquity: and as generally embraced by modern writers. Kircher makes it the foundation of his *Theatrum Hieroglyphicum*, and ſo conſequently hath written a large volume full of the moſt viſionary interpretations. The great principle, he goes upon, as he himſelf tells us, is this:—Hieroglyphica Ægyptiorum doctrina nihil aliud eſt, quàm Arcana de Deo, diviniſque Ideis, Angelis, Dæmonibus, cæteriſque mundanarum poteſtatum claſſibus ordinibuſque ſcientia, SAXIS potiſſimùm inſculpta. *Oedipus Ægyptiacus*, tom. iii. p. 4. Dr. Wilkins follows the received opinion in the general diviſion of his ſubject,

ſubject, in his *Eſſay towards a real Character:* For ſpeaking of notes for ſecrecy, *ſuch* (ſays he) *were the Egyptian hieroglyphics* —— Yet he adds, with his uſual penetration,—*it ſeems to me queſtionable whether the Egyptians did not at firſt uſe their hieroglyphics as a mere ſhift for the want of letters, as was done by the Mexicans*, p. 12.—And this was all his ſubject led him to ſay of the *Egyptian Hieroglyphics*. Servius had gone further, and aſſerted the priority of hieroglyphics without a doubt. Annus enim ſecundum Ægyptios indicabatur, *ante inventas litcras*, picto dracone caudam ſuam mordente. Apud Virg. Æn. l. v. ver. 85.

P. 392. [P]. The *ſhip and pilot*, bearing this ſignification, would, of courſe, be much uſed in the deſcriptions of their myſteries, in which, as we have ſhewn, the knowledge of the Governor of the univerſe was part of the ἀπόῤῥητα: and ſo we find it more than once delineated in the *Bembine Table*. Kircher, according to cuſtom, makes it full of ſublime knowledge; but the plain truth is no more than this above.—Tacitus, ſpeaking of the religion of the Suevians, ſays they worſhipped Iſis; he could not conceive how this came about, only the figure of a galley, under which image ſhe was repreſented, ſhewed that the worſhip was imported from abroad. "Pars Suevorum & ISIDI ſacrificat: unde cauſa & origo peregrino ſacro, parum comperi, *niſi quod* ſignum ipſum, in modum LIBURNÆ figuratum, docet advectam religionem." De Morib. Germ. c. ix. The latter part of which period Mr. Gordon has thus tranſlated, *unleſs the figure of her image formed like a galley ſhewed, &c.* But *niſi quod* does not ſignify *unleſs*, as implying any doubt, but *ſaving only*. So the ſame author, De Mor. Ger. c. xxv. "Occidere ſolent non diſciplina "et ſeveritate, ſed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, *niſi quod* impune." Tacitus could tell no more of the original than this, that the worſhip of Iſis was imported, becauſe her image was made in the figure of a galley. In this he was poſitive: but for all this, not the leſs miſtaken. It was indeed imported; but the galley was no mark of that original. Strabo tells us, in his fourth book, that, in an iſland near Britain, they performed the ſame myſterious rites to Ceres and Proſerpine as were uſed in Samothrace. Ceres and Iſis were the ſame. The Phenician ſeamen, without doubt, brought them thither, as likewiſe to the Suevians inhabiting the coaſts of the German ocean. The governor of the univerſe was taught in theſe myſteries. Iſis was repreſented by the later Egyptians to be the

governor

governor of the univerſe, as we have ſeen before, in a diſcourſe on the metamorphoſis of Apuleius. But the governor of the univerſe was delineated, in their hieroglyphics, by a *ſhip and pilot*. Hence, amongſt the Suevians, Iſis was worſhipped under the form of a *galley*, and not becauſe her religion was of foreign growth: And ſo amongſt the Romans, which Tacitus did not advert to. For in the *calendarium ruſticum* amongſt the inſcriptions of Gruter, in the month of March, an Egyptian holyday is marked under the title of ISIDIS NAVIGIUM. The ceremonies on this holyday are deſcribed in Apuleius Met. l. ii.—— It was a feſtival of very high antiquity amongſt the Egyptians: and ſeems to be alluded to in theſe words of the Prophet Iſaiah:—*Wo to the land* ſhadowing with wings—*that ſendeth ambaſſadors by the ſea even in* VESSELS OF BULRUSHES *upon the waters, ſaying, Go ye ſwift meſſengers, &c.* chap. xviii. ver. 1, 2.

P. 393. [Q]. The original is, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν διετύπωσεν τοὺς ἱεροὺς τῶν στοιχείων χαρακτῆρας. There is a ſmall fault in this reading; it ſhould be τούς TE ἱεροὺς, with the conjunction: The corruption helped to miſlead Cumberland, who tranſlates,—*and formed the ſacred characters of the other elements* [p. 38. of his *Sanchoniatho's Phenician hiſtory*]; which looks as if the learned prelate underſtood by στοιχείων, the *elements of nature*; *Cælum* or *Ouranos* having (as he ſuppoſed) been mentioned before, as delineated or engraved by Taautus: but ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ ſignifies the elements of hieroglyphic writing, and λοιπῶν refers not to that, but to θεῶν juſt above; which further appears from what follows——τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς θεοῖς; otherwiſe, only Dagon is left, for theſe words, τοῖς λοποῖς θεοῖς to be applied to.—Sanchoniatho had ſaid that Taautus repreſented the gods in a new invented hieroglyphic character; and then goes on to tell us that he invented other hieroglyphic characters, whether by figures or marks; for I apprehend that ἱεροὺς τῶν στοιχείων χαρακτῆρας principally deſigns that part of hieroglyphic writing which was by marks, not figures: for without doubt, at firſt*, the Egyptians uſed the ſame method as the Mexicans, who, we are told, expreſſed in their hieroglyphic writing, thoſe things which had form, by figures; others by arbitrary marks. See p. 389, note (†). But we ſhall ſee, that when the Egyptians employed this writing for the vehicle of

* This Euſtathius intimates in theſe words, ſpeaking of the moſt ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics,——ζώδιά τινα ἱερογλυφοῦντες, καὶ λοιποὺς δὲ χαρακτῆρας εἰς σημασίαν ὧν μέγειν ἐβούλοντο. ——in Iliad, vi. ver. 168.

their

their ſecrets, they then invented the forms of things to expreſs abſtract ideas. However, that this is the meaning of στοιχεῖον is further evident from this place of Euſebius, where he ſpeaks of a quotation of Philo's, from a work of Sanchoniatho, concerning the Phenician elements, Φοινίκων στοιχείων; which work, as appears by his account of the quotation, treated of the nature of ſeveral animals. But we have ſhewn how much the ſtudy of natural hiſtory contributed to the compoſition of hieroglyphic characters.

P. 394. [R]. At the time this account was firſt given to the public, the learned Dr. Richard Pococke coming freſh from Egypt, thought it incumbent on him to contradict that Egyptian learning which was only conceived at home. But as, by a common practice of prudent men, he had not mentioned me by name, it was thought I had no right to reply. Let the reader judge of one, by the other.—This learned and indeed candid writer, in his book of travels, has a chapter, *On the ancient hieroglyphics of Egypt*; in which he expreſſeth himſelf as follows.——"If "hieroglyphical figures ſtood for words or ſounds that ſignified certain "things, the power of hieroglyphics ſeems to be the ſame as of a number "of letters compoſing ſuch a ſound, that by agreement was made to ſig- "nify ſuch a thing. For hieroglyphics, as words, ſeem to have ſtood "for ſounds, and ſounds ſignify things; as for inſtance, it might have "been agreed that the figure of a crocodile might ſtand for the ſound "that meant what we call malice: the children of the prieſts were early "taught that the figure of a crocodile ſtood for ſuch a ſound, and, if "they did not know the meaning of the ſound, it would certainly ſtand "with them for a ſound; though, as the ſound, it ſignified alſo a qua- "lity or thing; and they might afterwards be taught the meaning of "this ſound; as words are only ſounds, which ſounds we agree ſhall ſig- "nify ſuch and ſuch things; ſo that, to children, words only ſtand for "ſounds, which relate to ſuch things as they know nothing of; and, if "this ſenſe, we ſay children learn many things like parrots, what they do "not underſtand, and their memories are exerciſed only about ſounds, "till they are inſtructed in the meaning of the words. This I thought it "might be proper to obſerve, AS SOME SAY HIEROGLYPHICS STOOD FOR "THINGS AND NOT FOR WORDS,—if ſounds articulated in a certain manner

"are

" are words. And though it may be ſaid, that in this caſe, when different " nations of different languages agree on common characters, that ſtand " for certain things they agree on, that then ſuch figures ſtand for things: " this will be allowed; but then they ſtand for ſounds too, that is, " the ſounds in each language that ſignify ſuch things: and, as ob- " ſerved before, to children, who know nothing of the ſeveral things they " ſtand for, to them they are only marks that expreſs ſuch and ſuch " ſounds: ſo that theſe figures ſtand not for things alone, but as words, " for ſounds and things *."

The deſign of this paſſage, the reader ſees, is to oppoſe the principle I went upon, in explaining the nature of Egyptian hieroglyphics, *that they ſtood for things, and not for words.* But that is all one ſees; for the learned writer's expreſſion conforming to his ideas, will not ſuffer us to do more than gueſs at the proof which he advances: it looks, however, like this,—That hieroglyphics cannot be ſaid to ſtand for things only; becauſe things being denoted by words or ſounds; and hieroglyphics exciting the idea of ſounds (which are the notes of things) as well as the idea of the things themſelves, hieroglyphics ſtand both for ſounds and things.—This ſeems to be the argument put into common Engliſh. But, for fear of miſtaking him, let us confine ourſelves to his own words.

If hieroglyphical figures (ſays he) *ſtood for words or ſounds that ſignified certain things, the power of hieroglyphics ſeems to be the ſame as of a number of letters compoſing ſuch a ſound that by agreement was made to ſignify ſuch a thing.* Without doubt, if hieroglyphics ſtood for ſounds, they were of the nature of words, which ſtand for ſounds. But this is only an hypothetical propoſition: let us ſee therefore how he addreſſes himſelf to prove it.—*For hieroglyphics,* AS WORDS, *ſeem to have ſtood for ſounds, and ſounds ſignify things; as for inſtance, it* MIGHT *have been agreed that the figure of a crocodile* MIGHT *ſtand for the ſame ſound that meant what we call malice.* The propriety of the expreſſion is ſuited to the force of the reaſoning. 1. Inſtead of ſaying, *but hieroglyphics,* the learned writer ſays, *for hieroglyphics*; which not expreſſing an illation, but implying a reaſon, obſcures the argument he would illuſtrate. 2. He ſays, *Hieroglyphics, as words, ſeem to have ſtood*

* Pag. 228, 229. of a book intituled, " A deſcription of the Eaſt, &c."

for

for ſounds. Juſt before he ſaid, *hieroglyphics ſtood for words* OR *ſounds.* Here they are AS *words*, or *like words*, and *ſeem to ſtand* FOR *ſound.* What are we to take them for? are words ſound? or, do they ſtand for ſound? He has given us our choice. But we go on. 2. For, he corroborates this ſeeming truth by an inſtance, in which the poſſibility of its ſtanding for a ſound is made a proof of its ſo doing *It* MIGHT (ſays he) *have been agreed that the figure of a crocodile* MIGHT *ſtand, &c.*

But he is leſs diffident in what follows. *The children of the prieſts were early taught that the figure of a crocodile ſtood for ſuch a ſound, and if they did not know the meaning of the ſound, it would certainly ſtand with them for a ſound.* This indeed is an anecdote: but where did he learn that the children, before they could decipher the ſounds of their own language, were taught hieroglyphics? 'Till now, hieroglyphics, when got into exclusive hands, were underſtood to be reſerved for thoſe inſtructed in high and myſterious ſcience. But let us ſuppoſe that they were taught to children amongſt their firſt elements: yet even then, as we ſhall ſee from the nature of the thing, they could never ſtand as marks for words or ſounds. When a child is taught the power of letters, he learns that the letters, which compoſe one word, *malice*, for inſtance, expreſs the *ſound*; which, naturally ariſing from a combination of the ſeveral powers of each letter, ſhews him that the letters ſtand for ſuch a ſound or word. But when he is taught that the figure or picture of a crocodile ſignifies *malice*, he as naturally and neceſſarily conceives (though he knows not the meaning of the word) that it ſtands for ſome *thing*, ſignified by that word, and not for a *ſound:* becauſe there is no natural connexion between *figure* and a *ſound*, as there is between *figure* and a *thing*. And the only reaſon why the word *malice* intervenes, in this connexion, is becauſe of the neceſſity of the uſe of words to diſtinguiſh things, and rank them into ſorts. But the verieſt child could never be ſo ſimple as to conceive that, when he was told the figure of a beaſt with four ſhort legs and a long tail ſignified *malice*, that it ſignified the *ſound* of *malice:* any more than if he were told it ſignified a *crocodile*, that it ſignified the *ſound* of the word *crocodile*. The truth is, the ignorant often miſtake words for things, but never, things for words: that is, they frequently miſtake the name of a thing for its nature: and reſt contented in the knowledge which that gives them: Like him who, on the ſight of a pictured elephant, inquiring what

the creature was, on his being anſwered, that it was the *great Czar*, aſked no further, but went away well ſatisfied in his acquaintance with that illuſtrious Stranger. Yet I apprehend he did not underſtand his informer to mean that it ſignified only the ſound of that word. Perhaps the learned writer will object, that the caſes are different; that the *elephant* was a mere picture, and the *crocodile* a ſign or mark. But I have ſhewn at large that the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics were at firſt mere pictures; and that all the alteration they received, in becoming marks, was only the having their general uſe of conveying knowledge rendered more extenſive and expeditious, more myſterious and profound; while they ſtill continued to be the marks of *things*.

To proceed; our author conſiders next what he apprehends may be thought an objection to his opinion. *And though* (ſays he) *it may be ſaid that, in this caſe, where different nations of different languages agree on common characters, that ſtand for certain things they agree on, that then ſuch figures ſtand for things.* To which he anſwers, *This will be allowed; but then they ſtand for ſounds too, that is, the ſounds in each language that ſignify ſuch things.* He who can grant ſo much, and without injury to his ſyſtem, need be under no fear of ever giving his adverſary advantages. He may, if he pleaſes, ſay next, when diſputing about the colour of an object,—*that it is black, will be allowed; but then it is white too.* For a mark for *things* can no more be a mark for *ſounds*, than *black* can be *white*. The reaſon is the ſame in both caſes; one quality or property excludes the other: thus, if hieroglyphic marks ſtand for *things*, and are uſed as common characters by various nations differing in ſpeech and language, they cannot ſtand for *ſounds*; becauſe theſe men expreſs the ſame *thing* by different ſounds; unleſs, to remove this difficulty, he will go farther, and ſay, not, as he did before, that one *hieroglyphic word* (to uſe his own language) ſtood for one ſound, but, that it ſtands for an hundred. Again, if hieroglyphic marks ſtand for *ſounds*, they cannot ſtand for *things*: not thoſe things which are not ſignified by ſuch ſounds; this he himſelf will allow: nor yet, I affirm, for thoſe which are thus ſignified; becauſe it is the ſound which ſtands for the thing ſignified by the ſound, and not the hieroglyphic mark. But all this miſtake proceeded from another, namely, *that* WORDS *ſtand both for ſounds and things*, which we now come to. For he concludes thus, *So that theſe figures* (viz. *hieroglyphics*) *ſtand*

ſtand not for things alone, but, AS WORDS, *for ſounds and things.* An unhappy illuſtration! which has all the defects, both in point of meaning and expreſſion, that a propoſition can well have. For, if by *words*, be meant *articulated ſounds*, then the expreſſion labours in the ſenſe, as affirming, that ſounds ſtand for ſounds. And that he meant ſo is poſſible, becauſe in the beginning of the paſſage quoted, he uſes words for articulate ſounds.—*Hieroglyphics*, ſays he, *ſtood for words* OR *ſounds.* But if, by words, he meant letters, (and that he might mean ſo is poſſible likewiſe, for he preſently afterwards uſes words in that ſenſe too—*Hieroglyphics, as words*, ſays he, *ſeem to ſtand for ſounds*) then the propoſition is only falſe: the plain truth being this, letters ſtand for ſounds only; which ſounds they naturally produce; as ſounds arbitrarily denote things.

But to be a little more particular; as in this diſtinction lies the judgment which is to be made, if ever it be rightly made, of the controverſy between us. All this confuſion of counter-reaſoning proceeds, as we obſerved before, Firſt, from not reflecting that letters, which ſtand for words, *have not*, and hieroglyphics, which ſtand for things, once *had not*, an arbitrary, but a natural deſignation. For, as the powers of letters naturally produce words or ſounds, ſo the figures of hieroglyphics naturally ſignify things: either more ſimply, by repreſentation, or more artificially by analogy: Secondly, from his not conſidering, that as we cannot think nor converſe about things either accurately or intelligibly without words, ſo their intervention becomes neceſſary in explaining the marks of things. But therefore, to make hieroglyphics the marks of ſounds, becauſe ſounds accompany things, would be as abſurd as to make letters the marks of things, becauſe things accompany ſounds. And who, before our author, would ſay that *letters ſignified things as well as ſounds?* unleſs he had a mind to confound all meaning. If he choſe to inſtruct, or even to be underſtood, he would ſay, that letters naturally produced ſounds or words; and that words arbitrarily denoted things: and had our author ſpoken the ſame intelligible language, and told us that hieroglyphics naturally expreſſed things, and that things were arbitrarily denoted by words, he would indeed have ſpared both of us the preſent trouble; but then he had ſaid nothing new. As it is, I cannot but ſuſpect that this learned writer, though he had been in Egypt, yet found his *hieroglyphics* at home, and miſtook theſe for the Egyptian. No other agreeing with his deſcription

of picture characters ſtanding for *ſounds*, but that fooliſh kind of *rebus-writing* called by the polite vulgar, *hieroglyphics*, the childiſh amuſement of the illiterate; in which, indeed, the figures ſtand only for ſounds; ſounds, diveſted of *ſenſe* as well as *things*. Nor is Dr. Pococke the only *polite* writer who has fallen into this ridiculous miſtake. See a paper called The World, N° XXIV.

P. 403. [S]. It may not be improper, in this place, juſt to take notice of one of the ſtrangeſt fancies, that ever got poſſeſſion of the pericranium of an Antiquary. It is this, that the Chineſe borrowed their *real characters* or *hieroglyphic marks* from the Egyptians. The author of it expreſſes his conceit in this manner.—"Linguam autem primitivam & barbaram vel puram, vel ſaltem parum immutatam, et politam Ægyptiorum conſuetudine, retinere poterant [Sinenſes,] et ſolum hoc ſibi ab ipſis DERIVARE, ET ADOPTARE SCRIBENDI GENUS, ratione habita non ad linguam Ægyptiacam, ſed unice ad ideas his Characteribus expreſſas, quos et ſermonis ſui nativi, immo etiam et linguæ ſuæ ſyllabis ſeparatim ſumptis eodem tempore applicaverunt." De Inſcr. Ægyptica Epiſt. p. 53. Authore Turbervil. Needham.

From what hath been obſerved of the nature and origin of a REAL CHARACTER in general, ſupported by what the Chineſe tell us of the very high antiquity of theirs, it is impoſſible to fix upon any period of time when the Egyptians (whether invited, or ſimply enabled by their improvements in navigation and commerce to penetrate into China) could find this highly policied people without a *real character*.

The queſtion then will be, What poſſible inducements the Chineſe could have to exchange their *real characters* for the Egyptian? Benefit by this change they could receive none, becauſe one *real character* is juſt as good as another: And men at their eaſe, are rarely diſpoſed to change native for foreign, but with the proſpect of ſome advantage. To this it may be ſaid, "that one *alphabetic character* likewiſe is juſt as good as another: and yet nothing has been more common than for one nation to change its own alphabet for the alphabet of another." An inſtance, without doubt, very appoſite. To change the ſhapes of four and twenty letters is but a morning's work; and I ſuppoſe a ſmall ſhare of civility and complaiſance might go thus far, between neighbours. But to throw away a million of *old* marks, and to have a million of *new* to learn, is an amuſement of

of quite another nature. I apprehend, that ſuch a propoſal (had the Egyptians made it, with an offer of all their learning along with it) would have much alarmed the indolent unenterpriſing temper of the Chineſe. But the Critic ſeems to think, that an old character, like an old coat, would be willingly exchanged for a new one. Alas! Time and Antiquity, which make ſuch havock with *the muddy veſtures of decay*, give a new gloſs, as well as a ſtronger texture, to the *ſpiritual cloathing* of ideas. And if their old characters were like any old coat, it muſt be ſuch a one as Settle wore in Elyſium; which, as the Poet ſings, had, together with its owner, received a new luſtre in this its ſtate of beatification:

"All as the Veſt, appear'd the Wearer's frame,
"Old in new ſtate, another yet the ſame."

The truth is, the Chineſe, who have preſerved ſpecimens of all the various revolutions in their *real characters*, have the higheſt veneration for the moſt ancient. Now is it poſſible to conceive that a people, thus circumſtanced and diſpoſed, ſhould part with their native characters, the gift of their Demy-gods and Heroes, to receive others, of the ſame ſort, from ſtrangers: recommendable for no advantage which their own did not poſſeſs, and partaking of all the inconveniencies to which their own were ſubject. Had the Egyptians indeed offered them an ALPHABET (which, were they diſpoſed to be ſo communicative, we know, they had it in their power to do, at what time ſoever it can be *reaſonably* ſuppoſed they firſt viſited the coaſts of China), the offer had been humane, and, without doubt, the benefit had been gratefully accepted. But that the Egyptians did nothing of all this, appears from the Chineſe being without an ALPHABET to this very day. And yet I am perſuaded, it was the confounding of theſe two things, one of which was practicable and uſeful, the other uſeleſs and impracticable, I mean the communication of an Alphabet, which was common in the ancient world; and the communication of a real Character, which was never heard of till now,—I ſay, it was the confounding of theſe two things that gave birth to this ſtrange conceit. And then the ſimilitude of ſhape between the Egyptian and the Chineſe *marks*, was thought to compleat the diſcovery. The Letter-writer did not ſeem to reflect, that the ſhapes of *real characters*, after great improvements made in them by a long courſe of time, ſuch as the Egyptian and the

the Chineſe, muſt needs have a great reſemblance, whether the characters were formed by ANALOGY or INSTITUTION. In the firſt caſe, *nature* made the reſemblance, as being the common archetype to both nations. In the latter, *neceſſity*, for only ſtraight and crooked lines being employed to form theſe marks, there muſt needs ariſe from a combination of ſuch lines infinitely varied, a ſtriking reſemblance between the *real characters* of two people, though moſt diſtant in genius and ſituation. But the folly, which ſuch Conjecturers are apt to fall into, is, that, if the *forms* of the marks be alike, the *powers* muſt be alike alſo.

What is here ſaid will enable us likewiſe to appreciate another ingenious contrivance of one *M. de Guignes of the Academy Royal of Inſcriptions, &c.* to get to the ſame diſcovery. Upon a ſuppoſition of the truth of what I had laid down, that the firſt Egyptian alphabet was taken from their hieroglyphic characters *, this Academician fell to work, to ANALYSE, as he terms it, the Chineſe characters; when, to his great ſurpriſe, he found, that their contents were only a certain number of LETTERS belonging to the Oriental *Alphabets*, packed up, as it were, for carriage: which, when taken out, developed, and put in order, formed an Egyptian or Phenician *word*, that expreſſed the idea for which the Chineſe *real Character* ſtood, as its Repreſentatives. How precarious, and of how little ſolidity this fanciful Analyſis is, may be underſtood by all who have ſeen theſe *Chineſe marks* and *Oriental alphabets*; both of which conſiſt of the ſame ſtrait and curve lines variouſly combined; ſo that it cannot be otherwiſe but that in every Chineſe mark ſhould be found, that is, eaſily imagined, a compoſition of any alphabetic letters which the profound Decipherer ſtands in need of. But the pleaſantry of the conceit lies here, that though the Chineſe have alphabetic characters (which this ingenious Author has, with great aſtoniſhment, now firſt diſcovered) yet

* M. Warburton avoit penſé que le premier Alphabet avoit emprunté ſes elemens des Hieroglyphes mêmes; et M. l' Abbé Barthelemy avoit mis cette excellente théorie dans un plus grand jour, en plaçant ſur une colonne diverſes lettres Egyptiennes, en correſpondance avec les Hieroglyphes qui les avoient produits. On pouvoit donc preſumer que *les Egyptiens avoient communiqué aux Chinois* les caracteres que je venois de decouvrir, mais qu'ils les regardoient eux-mêmes alors comme des ſignes Hieroglyphiques, & non comme des lettres proprement dites.—De l'Origine des Chinois, p. 63, 64.

they

they themſelves know nothing of the matter, as he at the ſame time has aſſured us *.

I might likewiſe inſiſt upon this ſcheme's labouring under the ſame abſurdity with M. Needham's. For though when M. de Guignes ſpeaks of that part of the Chineſe real character whoſe marks are *ſymbolic*, or formed upon analogy, p. 71, 72. he is willing to have it believed (what his title-page enounces), that China was inhabited by an Egyptian Colony, which carried along with them the Hieroglyphics they now uſe: yet where he examines that other part, conſiſting of arbitrary marks, or marks by inſtitution, p. 64 & ſeq. he ſuppoſes them, as we ſee above, communicated to the Chineſe by the Egyptians. *On pouvoit donc preſumer* (ſays he) *que les Egyptiens avoient communiqué aux Chinois les caractères que je venois de decouvrir.*

To conclude, the learned world abounds with diſcoveries of this kind. They have all one common **Original**; the old inveterate error, that a ſimilitude of cuſtoms and manners, amongſt the various tribes of mankind moſt remote from one another, muſt needs ariſe from ſome communication. Whereas human nature, without any other help, will, in the ſame circumſtances, always exhibit the ſame appearances.

P. 403. [T]. L'Alphabeth Ethiopien eſt de tous ceux que l'on connoit qui tient encore des Hieroglyphes. Fourmont, Reflexions Crit. ſur les Hiſt. des Anc. Peuples, tom ſec. p. 501. Kircher illuſtrates this matter in his account of the Coptic alphabet. But as on his ſyſtem every thing that relates to Egypt is a myſtery, the ſhapes and names of the letters of their alphabet we may expect to find full of profound wiſdom: yet, methinks, nothing could be more natural, than for a people long uſed to hieroglyphic characters, to employ the moſt celebrated of them, when they invented an alphabet, in forming the letters of it: and if the Chineſe, who yet want an alphabet, were now to make one, it is not to be doubted but they would uſe the moſt venerable of their characteriſtic marks for the

* Les caracteres Chineiſe dans l'etat où nous les avons à preſent, conſtituent trois ſortes de caracteres; l'Epiſtolique ou ALPHABETIQUE, le hieroglyphique & le ſymbolique; c'eſt un nouveau rapport des plus ſinguliers avec l'Egypte, *qui n'a point été connu juſque* à preſent, QUE LES CHINOIS EUXMEMES IGNORENT, et qui me jette dans le plus grand étonnement, un examen attentif—me l'a fait connoitre, &c. Mem. de Lit. Tom. 29. p 15.

letters

letters of it. However, let us hear Kircher for the fact's ſake:—Ita Ægyptiis natura comparatum fuit, ut quemadmodum nihil in omnibus eorum inſtitutis ſine myſterio peragebatur, ita & in lingua communi, uti ex alphabeto eorundem, myſteriosa literarum inſtitutione ita concinnato, ut nulla ferè in eodem litera reconditorum ſacramentorum non undiquaque plena reperiretur, patet. De primævis Ægyptiorum literis variæ diverſorum ſunt opiniones. *Omnes tamen in hoc conſentiunt, pleraſque ex ſacrorum animalium forma, inceſſu, aliarumque corporis partium ſitibus & ſymmetrio deſumptas.* Ita Demetrius Phalereus, qui ſeptem vocales aſſignans, ſeptem Diis conſecratas, ait, cæteras ex animalium formâ deſumptas. Euſebius adſtruit idem.——Theatr. Hierogl. p. 42. tom. iii. of his Oedip. Ægypt. As for this fancy, mentioned by Demetrius Phalereus, it had a very different original from what Kircher ſuppoſes; being only an enigmatic intimation of the different natures of vowels and conſonants. The latter being brute ſounds without the aid of the former, by which they are as it were animated.

P. 404. [U]. The very learned and illuſtrious author of a work intituled, Recueil d'Antiquités Egyptiennes, Etruſques, Grecques et Romaines, vol. I. M. the Count Caylus, after having confuted the idle conjectures of certain learned men concerning the contents of a ſepulchral linen, marked over with Egyptian alphabetic characters, proceeds thus:—Il me ſemble qu'on tireroit de plus grands avantages de ce monument, ſi au lieu de s'obſtiner a percer ces ténébres, on tâchoit, de remonter par ſon moyen à l'origine de l'écriture, et d'en ſuivre le developpement et les progres: ſi l'on cherchoit enfin à connoître la forme des anciennes lettres, et le pays où l'on a commencé à les employer. Ces queſtions et tant d'autres ſemblables ne pourront jamais être eclaircies par les temoignages des auteurs Grecs et Latins. Souvent peu inſtruits des antiquites de leur pays, ils n'ont fait que recueillir des traditions incertaines, et multiplier des doutes, auxquels en prefereroit volontiers l'ignorance la plus profonde: c'eſt aux monumens qu'on doit recourir. Quand ils parleront clairement, il faudra bien que les anciens auteurs s'accordent avec eux. Avant le commencement de ce ſiécle on ne connoiſſoit point l'ecriture courante des Egyptiens, et pluſieurs critiques la confondoient tantôt avec celle des anciens Hebreux, et tantôt avec les hieroglyphes; mais depuis cette epoque il nous eſt venu pluſieurs fragmens, qui ont fixé nos idées; et il faut

eſpérer

eſpérer que de nouvelles recherches nous en procureront un plus grand nombre. Conſervons avec ſoin des reſtes ſi précieux, et tachons de les mettre en oeuvre, en ſuivant l'exemple de celui des modernes, qui a repandu les plus grandes lumieres ſur la queſtion de l'antiquité des lettres. M. Warburton a detruit l'erreur où l'on etoit que les prêtres Egyptiens avoient inventé les hieroglyphes pour cacher leur ſcience : il a diſtingué trois epoques principales dans l'art de ſe communiquer les idées par ecrit : ſous la premiere, l'ecriture n'etoit qu'une ſimple repreſentation des objets, une veritable peinture ; ſous la ſeconde, elle ne conſiſtoit qu'en hieroglyphes, ceſt-à-dire, en une peinture abrégée, qui, par exemple, au lieu de repreſenter un objet entier, n'en repreſentoit qu'une partie, un rapport, &c. Enfin ſous la troiſieme epoque, les hieroglyphes altérés dans leurs traits devinrent les élémens d'une écriture courante : M. Warburton auroit pû mettre cette excellente theorie à portée de tout le monde, en plaçant dans une premiére colomne une ſuite d'hieroglyphes, et dans une ſeconde les lettres qui en ſont dérivées ; mais ſans doute que les bornes qu'il s'etoit preſcrites ne lui ont pas permis d'entrer dans ce detail. Quoi qu'il ſoit, tous ceux qui recherchent l'origine des arts et des connoiſſances humaines, peuvent verifier le ſyſtême du ſçavant Anglois, et ſe convaincre que les lettres Egyptiennes ne ſont que des hieroglyphes deguiſés. Nous avons aſſez de ſecours pour entreprendre cet examin. Les recueils des antiquaires offrent pluſieurs monumens Egyptiennes chargés d'hieroglyphes : et la ſeule bande de toile que l'on publie ici [Pl. N° 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.] ſuffiroit pour donner une idée de l'écriture courante—de s'aſſurer que l'alphabet de la langue Egyptienne emanoit des hieroglyphes, il ſuffira d'avoir un aſſez grande quantité des lettres iſolées, et de comparer avec les figures repréſentées ſur les monumens Egyptiens. Or je puis aſſûrer que l'on appercevra entr'elles la liaiſon la plus intime, et les rapports les plus ſenſibles ; et pour s'en convaincre, on n'a qu'à jetter les yeux ſur le N° I. de la XXVI. planche. J'y ai fait graver ſur une premiere colomne une ſuite d'hieroglyphes tirés la plûpart des obeliſques, et dans une colomne correſpondante, les lettres Egyptiennes qui viennent de ces hieroglyphes. On trouvera, par exemple, que le premier hieroglyphe repreſentant une barque, a produit un element d'ecriture, dont la valeur a pû varier, ſuivant les points ou les traits dont il etoit affecté : que le troiſieme hieroglyphe, qu'on croit être l'image d'une porte, en perdant ſon aſron-

diſſement a formé la lettre qui lui eſt paralléle; que la figure d'homme ou d'animal accroupie au N° 4. eſt devenue une lettre qui ne conſerve que les linéamens du ſymbole original; enfin que le ſerpent figuré ſi ſouvent ſur les monumens Egyptiens, N° 19. s'eſt changé en un caractère qui retrace encore aux yeux les ſinuoſités de ce reptile. On trouvera auſſi que l'autres hieroglyphes, tels que le 2. le 5. le 6. le 11. le 13, &c. ont paſſé dans l'ecriture courante, ſans éprouver le moindre changement. Au reſte, ce n'eſt ici que le leger eſſai d'une operation qui pourroit être pouſſée plus loin, et dans laquelle on appercevroit peutêtre des rapports différens de ceux que j'ai établis entre certaines lettres Egyptiennes prouve viſiblement leur origine; et plus il eſt approfondi, plus il ſert à confirmer le ſentiment de M. Warburton, p. 69. Thus far this learned perſon. I have borrowed the ſcheme he refers to, and the reader will find it marked, plate VII.

P. 404. [X]. Mr. Voltaire, in a diſcourſe intituled, Nouveau plan de l'Hiſtoire de l'Eſprit humain, ſpeaking of the Chineſe printing, which is an impreſſion from a ſolid block, and not by moveable types, ſays they have not adopted the latter method, *out of attachment to their old uſages.*—On ſait que cette Imprimerie eſt une gravure ſur des planches de bois. L'Art de graver les caractéres mobiles et de fonte, beaucoup ſupérieure à la leur, *n'a point encore été adopté par eux*, TANT ILS SONT ATTACHES A LEURS ANCIENS USAGES. Now I deſire to know of M. Voltaire, how it was poſſible for them to adopt the method of a Font of types or moveable characters, unleſs they had an *alphabet*. That they had no ſuch, M. Voltaire very well knew, as he gives us to underſtand, in the ſame place. L'art de faire connoitre ſes idées par l'ecriture, qui devroit n'être qu'une methode très ſimple, eſt chez eux ce qu'ils ont de plus difficile; chaque mot a des caractéres differens: un ſavant à la Chine eſt celui qui connoit le plus de ces caractéres, et quelques uns ſont arrivés à la vieilleſſe avant que de ſavoir bien écrire. Would not Caſlon or Baſkerville be finely employed to make a font of letters for this people, who have ſo many millions of real characters? But this hiſtorian of men and manners goes on in the ſame rambling incoherent manner, and ſo he can but diſcredit the Jewiſh hiſtory he cares little for the reſt.—Qui leur donne une ſuperiorité reconnue ſur tous ceux qui raportent l'origine des autres nations, c'eſt qu'on n'y voit aucun *prodige* aucune *prediction*, aucune même de ces fourberies

beries politiques que nous attribuons aux Fondateurs des autres Etats, excepté peut-être ce qu'on a imputé à FOHI, d'avoir fait accroire qu'il avoit vû ſes Loix ecrites ſur le dos d'un ſerpent ailé. Cette imputation même fait voir qu'on connaiſſait l'ecriture avant *Fohi*. Enfin, ce n'eſt pas à nous, au bout de notre Occident, à conteſter les archives d'une nation que etait toute policée quand nous n'etions que des Sauvages—Firſt, China has the advantage of the weſtern world, becauſe the Founders of its religious policy employed neither Miracles nor Prophecies, nor the Founders of its civil policy ſtate tricks and cheats, like other Leaders. And yet he is forced, before the words are well out of his mouth, to own that *Fohi* pretended to have ſeen his laws written upon the back of a winged Serpent: and one can hardly think that Fohi now gotten into ſo good a train would ſtop there. Secondly, By this, however, the hiſtorian gains (and he bids us obſerve it) a very early date for *writing* amongſt the Chineſe, whereas in truth they have no *writing* in the ſenſe the hiſtorian gives to the word, even at this day: and as for Hieroglyphic Characters, all nations had them from the moſt early times, and as ſoon as men began to aſſociate. Thirdly, We barbarians of yeſterday muſt not pretend, he ſays, to contradict the records of this ancient nation. And why not, I pray, when ſuperior Science has enabled this upſtart people of the Weſt to detect the falſehood of the Records of Egypt, a nation which pretended to as high antiquity as the Chineſe? This they have done, and, I ſuppoſe, to the good liking of our hiſtorian, if ever he has heard of the names of Scaliger and Petavius, of Uſher and Marſham.

P. 405. [Y] —Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ μόνον Αἰγυπτίων οἱ λογικώτατοι, πρὸς δὲ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων, ὅσοι φιλοσοφίας ὠρέχθησαν, τὸ συμβολικὸν εἶδος ἐζήλωσαν· φασὶ γοῦν καὶ Ἰδανθύρσου τῶν ΣΚΥΘΩΝ βασιλέα, &c. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v. p. 567. Thus this learned Father; who being in the general prejudice that hieroglyphics were a late art, invented by philoſophic men, to ſecrete their knowledge, expreſſes himſelf accordingly, ὅσοι φιλοσοφίας ὠρέχθησαν: and yet, methinks, the ſtory he tells of the Scythian king might have directed him to another original.—Euſtathius ſays the ſame thing: Οἱ δέ γε παλαιοὶ, ὁποῦόν τι καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιον ἐποίουν, ζῴδιά τινα ἱερογλυφοῦντες καὶ λοιπὸν δὲ χαρακτῆρας εἰς σημασίαν ὧν λέγειν ἐβούλοντο, ὅτω καὶ αὐτοὶ καθὰ καὶ τῶν τινες ὕστερον Σκυθῶν, ἐσήμαινον ἃ ἤθελον εἰδωλά τινα καὶ πολυειδῆ γράμματα ξέσματα ἐγγράφοντες.—In Iliad. vi. ver. 168.

P. 405. [Z] In judging only from the nature of things, and without the ſurer light of Revelation, one ſhould be apt to embrace the opinion of

Diodorus Siculus [lib. ii.], and Vitruvius [lib. ii. cap. i.], that the firſt Men lived, for ſome time, in woods and caves, after the manner of beaſts, uttering only confuſed and indiſtinct noiſes; till aſſociating for mutual aſſiſtance, they came, by degrees, to uſe articulate ſounds, mutually agreed upon, for the arbitrary ſigns or marks of thoſe ideas in the mind of the ſpeaker, which he wanted to communicate to the hearer. Hence the diverſity of languages; for it is confeſſed on all hands, that ſpeech is not innate. This is ſo natural an account of the original of language, and ſo unqueſtioned by Antiquity, that Gregory Nyſſen [*adver. Eunomium*, lib. xii.] a father of the church, and Richard Simon [*Hiſt. Crit. du Vieux Teſt.* lib. i. cap. 14 & 15. lib. iii. cap. 21.] a prieſt of the Oratory, have both endeavoured to ſupport this hypotheſis: and yet, methinks, they ſhould have known better; Scripture plainly informing us, that *language* had a different original. This was juſt the caſe of SACRIFICES. It is very eaſy to conceive, that one ſort aroſe naturally from the ſenſe of gratitude to our Divine Benefactor, and the other from a ſenſe of our demerit towards him (as will be ſhewn hereafter); yet it is certain they were of divine appointment. In this indeed the two caſes differ; *language*, I believe, had, for its ſole original, divine inſtruction; whereas *ſacrifices* amongſt many people were certainly of human invention, and underived from tradition. But to return to the ſubject of language. It is ſtrange, as I ſay, that theſe learned men ſhould not have been better informed. We ſee, by Scripture, that God inſtructed the firſt man, in *religion*. And can we believe, he would not at the ſame time teach him *language*, ſo neceſſary to ſupport the intercourſe between man and his Maker? For Quietiſm is a thing of modern growth; this, with Myſticiſm of all kinds, is the iſſue of that wantonneſs which makes favoured man grow tired of his two great bleſſings, REASON and LANGUAGE.—If it be ſaid, Man might gain language by the uſe of reaſon, I reply, ſo might he gain religion likewiſe: and that much eaſier and ſooner. Again, when God created man, he made woman for his companion and aſſociate; but the only means of enjoying this benefit is the uſe of ſpeech. Can we think that God would leave them to themſelves, to get out of the forlorn condition of brutality as they could? But there is more than a probable ſupport for this opinion. If I am not much miſtaken, we have the expreſs teſtimony of MOSES, that God did indeed teach men language: It is where he tells us, that *God brought every beaſt of the field*,

field, and every fowl of the air, unto Adam, to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof. And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field. Gen. ii. 19, 20. Here, by a common figure of speech, instead of directly *relating* the fact, that God taught men language, the historian *represents* it, by shewing God in the act of doing it, in a particular mode of information; and that, the most apposite we can conceive, namely, elementary instruction, in the giving names to substances; such as those with which Adam was to be most conversant, and which therefore had need of being distinguished each by its proper name: How familiar an image do these words convey of a learner of his rudiments?—*And God brought every beast*, &c. *to Adam to* SEE *what he would call them.* In a word, the prophet's manner of relating this important fact, has, in my opinion, an uncommon elegance. But men of warm imaginations overlooked this obvious and natural meaning to ramble after forced and mysterious senses, such as this, that Adam gave to every creature *a name expressive of its nature.* From which fantastic interpretation, all the wild visions of Hutchinson, and his cabalistic followers, seem to have arisen. Nor are the Freethinkers much behind them in absurdities. "Some," says Tindal, "would be almost apt to imagine that the author of the book of "GENESIS thought that words had ideas naturally fixed to them, and not "by consent; otherwise, say they, how can we account for his supposing "that God brought all animals before Adam, as soon as he was created, "to give them names; and that *whatsoever Adam called every living crea-*"*ture, that was the name thereof?*" [Christianity as old as the Creation, 8vo ed. p. 228.] But though Moses *thought* no such thing, I can tell him of one who did: A very ancient writer, and frequently quoted by the men of this tribe to confront with Moses, I mean HERODOTUS; who not only thought this, but thought still more absurdly, that *Ideas had words naturally affixed to them.* See the famous tale of Psammetichus and his two boys, lib. ii. How would these men have rejoiced to catch Moses at the same advantage!—To conclude. From what hath been said, it appears, that God taught man, language: yet we cannot reasonably suppose it to be any other than what served his present use: after this, he was able of himself to improve and enlarge it, as his future occasions should require: consequently the first language must needs be very poor and narrow.

P. 427.

P. 407. [AA] "How many commands did God give his Prophets, "which, if taken according to the letter, ſeem unworthy of God, as mak- "ing them act like madmen or idiots? As for inſtance, the prophet *Iſaiah* "*walked for three years together naked for a ſign*; Jeremiah is commanded "*to carry his girdle as far as Euphrates,—to make bands and yokes, &c.*— "Ezekiel is commanded *to draw Jeruſalem on a tile*, &c. &c." [Tindal's Chriſtianity as old as the Creation, p. 229.]. *The prophet Jeremiah* (ſays a learned writer) *is ordered to buy a girdle*, &c.—*He is alſo ſent about with yokes—Ezekiel beſieges a pan-tile.—He ſhaves his head and beard.—No reaſonable man can believe theſe actions were really performed.* See Diſſertation on the Hiſtory and Character of Balaam.

P. 407. [BB] —Quemadmodum autem vidit in viſionibus [Propheta] quod juſſus fuerit [Ezech. cap. viii.] fodere in pariete, ut intrare et videre poſſet, quid intùs faciant, quod foderit, per foramen ingreſſus fuerit, et viderit id quod vidit; ita quoque id quod dictum eſt ad eum. *Et tu ſume tibi laterem*, &c. [Ezech. cap. iv.] quod item alibi ei dictum legitur, *Novaculam hanc tonſoriam cape tibi*, [Ezech. cap. v.] ita, inquam, iſta omnia in viſione prophetiæ facta ſunt, ac vidit, vel viſum fuit ipſi, ſe iſta opera facere, quæ ipſi præcipiebantur. Abſit enim ut Deus prophetas ſuos ſtultis vel ebriis ſimiles reddat, eoſque ſtultorum aut furioſorum actiones facere jubeat. More Nev. p. ii. cap. 46. But here the author's reaſoning is defective,—becauſe what Ezekiel ſaw in the *chambers of imagery* in his eighth chapter was in viſion, therefore his *delineation of the plan of the ſiege*, and the *ſhaving his beard*, in the fourth and fifth chapters, were likewiſe in viſion. But to make this illation logical, it is neceſſary that the circumſtance in the eighth, and the circumſtances in the fourth and fifth, be ſhewn to be ſpecifically the ſame; but examine them, and we ſhall find them very different: that in the eighth was to ſhew the Prophet the exceſſive idolatry of Jeruſalem, by a ſight of the very idolatry itſelf; thoſe in the fourth and fifth, were to convey the will of God, by the Prophet to the people, in a ſymbolic action. Now in the firſt caſe, as we have ſhewn above, the information was properly by viſion, and fully anſwered the purpoſe, namely, the Prophet's information; but, in the *latter*, a viſion had been improper; for a viſion to the prophet was of itſelf no information to the people.

P. 410.

P. 410. [CC] The general moral, which is of great importance, and is inculcated with all imaginable force, is, that weak and worthless men are ever most forward to thrust themselves into power; while the wise and good decline rule, and prize their native ease and freedom above all the equipage and trappings of grandeur. The vanity of base men in power is taught in the fifteenth verse, and the ridicule of that vanity is inimitably marked out in those circumstances; where the *bramble* is made to bid his new subjects, who wanted no shadow, to *come and put their trust in his*, who had none; and that, in case of disobedience, he would send out from himself *a fire that should devour the cedars of Lebanon*, whenas *the fire of brambles*, and such like trash, was short and momentary even to a proverb, amongst the Easterns.—TINDAL, speaking of the necessity of the application of reason to scripture, in order to a right understanding of those passages in the Old Testament, where God speaks, or is spoken of, after the manner of men, as being *jealous*, *angry*, *repentant*, *reposing*, *&c.* (Modes of expression very apposite, where the subject is God's moral government of the world; very necessary, where it is his civil government of a particular people.) Tindal, I say, brings this in, amongst his instances.—*Wine, that cheareth god and man*; as if Jotham had meant God, the governor of the universe; when all, who can read antiquity, must see his meaning to be, that *wine cheareth hero-gods and common men.* For Jotham is here speaking to an idolatrous city, which *ran a whoring after Baalim, and made Baalberith their god*; a god sprung from amongst men, as may be partly collected from his name, as well as from divers other circumstances of the story. But our critic, who could not see the sense, it is certain, saw nothing of the beauty of the expression; which contains one of the finest strokes of ridicule in the whole apologue, so much abounding with them; and insinuates to the Shechemites the vanity and pitiful original of their idolatrous gods, who were thought to be, or really had been, *refreshed with wine.* Hesiod tells us, in a similar expression, *that the vengeance of the fates pursued the crimes of gods and men:*

Αἵτ' ΑΝΔΡΩΝ τε ΘΕΩΝ τε παραιβασίας ἐφέπουσαι,
Οὐδέποτε λήγουσι θεαὶ δεινοῖο χόλοιο,
Πρίν γ' ἀπὸ τῷ δώωσι κακὴν ὅτιν ὅστις ἁμαρτῇ.

ΘΕΟΓ. ver. 220.

P. 410.

P. 410. [DD] Judges ix. 7. Collins, the author of the Scheme of literal Prophecy conſidered, ſpeaking of Dean Sherlock's interpretation of Gen. iii. 15. ſays—"What the Dean juſt now ſaid is nothing but an argument from the pretended abſurdity of the literal ſenſe, that ſuppoſes "the moſt plain matter of fact to be *fable, or parable, or allegory*; though "it be ſuited to the notions of the Ancients, *who thought that beaſts had, in "the firſt ages of the world, the uſe of ſpeech*, agreeable to what is related "in the Bible of Balaam's aſs, and told after a *ſimple hiſtorical manner*, like "*all the relations* in the Old Teſtament, wherein there is nothing ſavours "of *allegory*, and *every thing is plainly and ſimply expoſed.*" p. 234. By this it appears that Mr. Collins thought that *fable*, *parable*, and *allegory*, were the ſame mode of ſpeech, whereas they are very different modes. A *fable* was a ſtory familiarly told, without any pretended foundation of fact, with deſign to perſuade the hearers of ſome truth in queſtion; a *parable* was the ſame kind of ſtory, more obſcurely delivered; and an *allegory* was the relation of a real fact, delivered in ſymbolic terms: Of this kind was the ſtory of the Fall: a real fact, told allegorically. According to Mr. Collins, it is a *fable* to be underſtood literally, becauſe *it was ſuited to the notions of the ancients, who thought that beaſts had, in the firſt ages of the world, the uſe of ſpeech.* By the Ancients he muſt mean, if he means any thing to the purpoſe, thoſe of the Moſaic age: and this will be news. His authority is, in truth, an authentic one! It is Balaam's aſs.—*Agreeable*, ſays he, *to what is related in the Bible of Balaam's aſs, and told after a ſimple hiſtorical manner.* Now the Bible, to which he ſo confidently appeals, expreſsly tells us, that Balaam had the gift of prophecy; that an angel intervened; and that God Almighty opened the aſs's mouth. But however he is pleaſed to conceal the matter, he had a much better proof that *the Ancients thought beaſts had the uſe of ſpeech in the firſt ages of the world* than *Balaam's aſs*; and that was Esop's Fables. And this might have led him rather to the ſtory of Jotham, ſo plainly and ſimply expoſed, that, had not only the *ſerpent*, but the *tree of knowledge* likewiſe ſpoken, he could have given a good account of the matter, by Jotham's fable; *told after a ſimple hiſtorical manner, like all the relations in the Old Teſtament.* A great improvement, believe me, this, to his diſcovery,—*that the ancients thought not only that beaſts, but that trees ſpoke in the firſt ages of the world.* The *Ancients!* an' pleaſe you. It is true, they delighted in fabulous traditions,

traditions. But what then? they had always the ſenſe to give a ſufficient cauſe to every effect. They never repreſented things out of nature, but when placed there by ſome God, who had nature in his power. Even Homer, the father of fables, when he makes the horſes of Achilles ſpeak, or feel human paſſions, thinks it not enough to repreſent them as ſtimulated by a God, without informing us, that they themſelves were of a cœleſtial and immortal race.

P. 412. [EE]. This account ſhews how ridiculouſly the critics were employed in ſeeking out the inventor of the Apologue; they might as well have ſought for the inventor of the Metaphor, and carried their *reſearches* ſtill further, and with Sancho Pancha inquired after the inventor of eating and drinking.

P. 414. [FF].—Καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μὲν τοῖς ἱερεύσι συνῆν, καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ἐξέμαθε, καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων φωνήν. Γραμμάτων δὲ τρισσὰς διαφορὰς, ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΩΝ τε, καὶ ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΩΝ, καὶ ΣΥΜΒΟΛΙΚΩΝ· τῶν μὲν κοινολογεμένων καθὰ μίμησιν, τῶν δὲ ἀλληγορεμένων καθά τινας αἰνισμούς. De Vitâ Pythagoræ, cap. xi. & xii. p. 15. Ed. Kuſteri. Holſtenius tranſlates τῶν μὲν κοινολογεμένων καθὰ μίμησιν, τῶν δὲ ἀλληγορεμένων καθά τινας αἰνισμὸς, in this manner:—"Quorum illud *propriam* "& *communem loquendi conſuetudinem* imitatur; *reliqua* per allegorias ſub "quibuſdam ænigmatum involucris ſenſum exprimunt." By which, it ſeems, he underſtood τῶν μὲν κοινολογεμένων καθὰ μίμησιν to be an explanation of the nature of *epiſtolary writing*; and τῶν δὲ ἀλληγορεμένων καθά τινας αἰνισμὸς, of the nature both of *hieroglyphic* and *ſymbolic*; whereas the firſt words are an explanation of hieroglyphic writing, and the ſecond only of ſymbolic. For Porphyry having named three kinds of writing, the firſt common to all people; the two other peculiar, at that time, to the Egyptians; when he comes to ſpeak of their natures, he judiciouſly omits explaining the *epiſtolary*, which all the world knew, and confines his diſcourſe to the *hieroglyphic* and *ſymbolic*. But was it, as Holſtenius thought, that he explained the nature of the *epiſtolary* in the words τῶν μὲν κοινολογεμένων, &c. then has he entirely omitted the proper *hieroglyphic* (for the τῶν δὲ ἀλληγορεμένων, &c. relates only to the *ſymbolic*); which had been an unpardonable fault. But that this is Holſtenius's miſtake is further ſeen by the next paſſage from Clemens Alexandrinus: for what Porphyry calls *hieroglyphical and ſymbolical*, Clemens calls *hieroglyphical*; uſing hieroglyphical as a generic term, which Porphyry uſed as a ſpecific. Clemens, I ſay, giving

an account of the nature of hieroglyphic writing, tells us it was of two ſorts; the one, ΚΥΡΙΟΛΟΓΕΙΤΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΙΜΗΣΙΝ, *directly and ſimply imitates the thing intended to be repreſented*; by this he meant the proper hieroglyphic (which Porphyry, in his enumeration of the kinds, diſtinguiſhes from the *ſymbolic*); and what is more, Porphyry ſeems to have borrowed his expreſſion of τῶν μὲν κοινολογημένων καὶ μίμησιν, from Clemens's κυριολογεῖται καὶ μίμησιν, by which this latter evidently means to expreſs the nature of the proper hieroglyphic. Beſides, Clemens, who gives the nature of epiſtolary writing, with the ſame judgement that Porphyry omitted giving it, deſcribes it in a very different manner, and with great propriety, thus, ἧς ἡ μέν ἐστι διὰ τῶν πρώτων ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ ΚΥΡΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ. Yet a learned writer, ſupported by the authority of Holſtenius, which ſerved his purpoſe in an argument for the low antiquity of Egypt, would perſuade us that *Porphyry did not mean by the expreſſion* κοινολογούμενα καὶ μίμησιν, *that the characters he ſpoke of imitated the forms or figures of the things intended by them*; FOR *that was not the* μίμησις *which the ancient writers aſcribed to* LETTERS. [Sacr. and Prof. Hiſt of the World connect. vol. II. p. 296.] This argument is a *Petitio Principii*; which ſuppoſes Porphyry to be here deſcribing epiſtolary writing. On this ſuppoſition the writer ſays, *that the imitation of the forms or figures of things is not the* μίμησις *the ancient writers aſcribed to letters.* Certainly it is not. But Porphyry is not ſpeaking of the letters, but of hieroglyphic figures: therefore μίμησις does here, and may any where, mean (becauſe it is the literal ſenſe of the word) imitation of the figure of things. However, let us conſider his criticiſm on this word, though it makes ſo little to his purpoſe:—Socrates in Plato ſays, it ſeems, ἡ διὰ τῶν συλλαβόντες καὶ γραμμάτων τὴν δύναν τῶν πραγμάτων ΑΠΟΜΙΜΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ· and *the ancients*, the learned writer tells us, *were exceeding philoſophical in their accounts of both words and letters: when a word or ſound was thought fully to expreſs, according to their notions, the thing which it was deſigned to be the name of, then they called it the* εἰκὼν, *or picture of that thing.* The ancients were, without doubt, wonderfully profound; if we will believe Kircher and his ſchool: but if a plain man may be heard, all the myſtery of μίμησις and εἰκὼν was ſimply this: Alphabetic letters, as we have obſerved, ſprung from hieroglyphic characters; and even received their form from thence. Now the ancients, as was very natural, when they ſpoke of the power of letters, and of words compoſed of letters, frequently

frequently transferred the terms μίμησις and εἰκὼν, to theſe, which properly belonged to hieroglyphic characters: a plain proof of this is the very word ἀπομιμέομαι, quoted by the learned writer from Plato; which literally ſignifies, *to imitate from an exemplar*, but figuratively, to *expreſs*, at large: So πλάσμα originally ſignified any thing formed and faſhioned by art; traductively, a ſimilitude in ſpeech, nay, the muſical modulation of the voice. There is a remarkable paſſage in Plutarch's diſcourſe of the *Pythian propheteſs no longer rendering her prophecies in verſe*; where the word πλάσμα is generally thought to be uſed in the firſt of theſe traductive ſenſes, but I think it muſt be underſtood in the ſecond; ſpeaking of the ancient manner of delivering the oracles, he ſays,—οὐκ ἀνήδυντον, οὐδὲ λιτὴν, ἀλλ' ἐν μέτρῳ καὶ ὄγκῳ καὶ ΠΛΑΣΜΑΤΙ καὶ μεταφορᾶις ὀνομάτων, καὶ μετ' αὐλοῦ. Mr. Le Clerc, [De Prophetia, p. 18. tom. iv. Comm. in V. T.] tranſlates the latter part thus, pedibus vincta, tumida, *quæſitis & tralatitiis verbis* conſtantia, & cum tibia pronunciata. But πλάσμαλι ſignifies here, not *quæſitis verbis*, but that modulation of the voice which we may call *placida conformatio*, and is oppoſed to ὄγκῳ, a contrary modulation of the voice, which may be called *gravis conformatio*. Theſe two were uſed in the theatre (to which the matter is compared) in a kind of *recitative* on the flute: ſo that what Plutarch would ſay, is this, that the ancient oracles were not only delivered in verſe, and in a pompous figurative ſtyle, but were ſung likewiſe to the flute. To ὄγκῳ and πλάσμαλι he oppoſed ἀνήδυντον, in the ſenſe of *untunable*; and to μεταφορᾶις ὀνομάτων he oppoſed λιτὴν, *plain, ſimple*. Plutarch uſes πλάσμα again in the ſenſe of *conformatio*, where ſpeaking of the elocution of Pericles, he calls it ΠΛΑΣΜΑ φωνῆς εὐθρύπτου, *a compoſed modulation of voice*. But Quintilian employs it in the very ſenſe in queſtion, to expreſs *a ſoft and delicate modulation of voice*. Sit autem imprimis lectio virilis & cum ſuavitate quadam gravis, & non quidem proſæ ſimilis, quia carmen eſt, & ſe poetæ canere teſtantur. Non tamen in canticum diſſoluta, nec PLASMATE (ut nunc a pleriſque fit) effœminata, l. i. c. 14. Hence again, in another traduction, *plaſma* was uſed to ſignify a certain medicine, that ſpeakers in public took to render their voice ſoft and harmonious:

> Sede leges celſa, *liquido* cum *plaſmate* guttur
> Mobile conlueris———Perſ. Sat. i. ver. 17.

Turnebus, not attending to this progreſſive change in the ſenſe of words, and taking his ſignification of *plaſma* from the paſſage of Quintilian, ſuppoſed that *plaſma*, in this place of the poet, ſignifies not a medicament, but a ſoft and delicate modulation of the voice.—Eſt cùm molli & tenera fictaque vocula poema eliquaverit udo gutture. Eſt enim *plaſma*, ut alio loco docui, cum vox eſt tenera & mollis. On the other hand, Lubin, who had taken his ſignification of *plaſma* from this place, will needs have the ſame word in the paſſage quoted above from Quintilian to ſignify not a ſoft and delicate modulation of the voice, but a medicament. Turnebi hujus loci explicatio, l. xxviii. c. 26. Adverſar. mihi non placet, & hoc Quintiliani loco refutatur. Comment. in Perſ.

P. 415. [GG]. κατ' οἰκειότητα μελίσσουσι καὶ μελιθύουσι. That is, as I underſtand it, repreſented one thing by another, which other hath qualities bearing relation or analogy to the thing repreſented.

P. 415. [HH]. ἀναγράφουσι διὰ τῶν ἀναγλύφων. The Latin tranſlator keeps cloſe to his original, *anaglyphicis deſcribunt*; and Stanley, [Lives of Phil. p. 350. ed. 3d.] *they write by anaglyphics:* as if this was a new ſpecies of writing, now firſt mentioned by Clemens, and to be added to the other three: whereas, I ſuppoſe, it was Clemens's intention only to tell us that tropical ſymbols were chiefly to be met with on their ſtone monuments, engraven in relief: which was true.

P. 415. [II]. Αὐτίκα οἱ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις παιδευόμενοι πρῶτον μὲν πάντων Αἰγυπτίων γραμμάτων μέθοδον ἐκμανθάνουσι, τὴν ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΗΝ καλουμένην· δευτέραν δὲ, τὴν ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΗΝ, ἣ χρῶνται οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς· ὑστάτην δὲ καὶ τελευταίαν, τὴν ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΗΝ, ἧς ἡ μέν ἐστι διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων κυριολογική· ἡ δὲ συμβολική· τῆς δὲ συμβολικῆς ἡ μὲν κυριολογεῖται κατὰ μίμησιν· ἡ δ' ὥσπερ τροπικῶς γράφεται· ἡ δὲ ἀλληγορεῖται καθά τινας αἰνίγμους. Ἥλιον γὰρ γράψαι βουλόμενοι, κύκλον ποιοῦσι· Σελήνην δὲ, σχῆμα μηνοειδὲς, καθὰ τὸ κυριολογούμενον εἴδωλον· τροπικῶς δὲ, κατ' οἰκειότητα μεθάγοντες καὶ μεταλιθεύοντες, τὰ δ' ἐξαλλάττοντες· τὰ δὲ, πολλαχῶς μετασχηματίζοντες, χαράττουσι· τὰς γὰρ τῶν βασιλέων ἐταίρας θεολογούμενους μύθους παραδιδόντες, ἀναγράφουσι διὰ τῶν ἀναγλύφων· τὰ δὲ καθὰ τὰς αἰνίγμας, τρίτα εἴδους, δεῖγμα ἔχω τόδε. τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων, διὰ τὴν πορείαν τὴν λοξὴν, ὄφεων σώμασιν ἀπεικάζουσι· τὸν δὲ Ἥλιον, τῷ τοῦ κανθάρου. ἐπειδὴ κυκλοτερὲς ἐκ τῆς βοσκῆς ὄνθου σχῆμα πλασάμενος, ἀνυπερώπου κυλίνδει. Strom. lib. v. p. 555, 556. Ed. Morell.—ἧς ἡ μέν ἐστι διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων κυριολογική· ἡ δὲ, συμβολική, the Latin tranſlator turns thus, *Cujus una quidem eſt per prima elementa* κυριολογικὴ, *id eſt, proprie loquens; altera vero ſymbolica,*

lica, id eſt, per ſigna ſignificans. This is ſo faithfully tranſlated, that it preſerves the very ambiguity of the original, and leaves us ſtill to gueſs at the author's diviſion. Marſham takes it juſt wrong; and ſo does his nephew Stanley; the firſt of theſe learned men quotes and tranſlates the paſſage thus: *Triplex erat apud Ægyptios characterum ratio,* Ἐπιſτολογραφικὴ, *ad ſcribendas epiſtolas apta, ſive vulgaris;* Ἱερατικὴ, *qua utuntur* Ἱερογραμματεῖς, *qui de rebus ſacris ſcribunt, &* Ἱερογλυφικὴ, *ſacra ſculptura;* HUJUS *duæ ſunt ſpecies,* Κυριολογικὴ, *proprie loquens* per prima elementa, *&* Συμβολικὴ, *per ſigna* [Can. Chron. p. 38. Franeq. Ed.] The ſecond thus,—*the laſt and moſt perfect,* hieroglyphical; WHEREOF *one is* curiologic, *the other* ſymbolic. [Lives of Phil. p. 329. 3d ed.] By this interpretation, the learned Father is, 1. made to enumerate three kinds of writing, but to explain only the laſt, namely *hieroglyphics*; 2. which is worſe, he is made to ſay one kind of hieroglyphics was by letters of an alphabet; for that is the meaning of διὰ τῶν πρώτων ſτοιχείων: 3. which is ſtill worſe, he is made to divide hieroglyphics into two ſorts, *curiologic* and *ſymbolic*; and *ſymbolic* into three ſorts, *curiologic, tropical,* and *allegorical*; which makes the prior diviſion into curiologic and ſymbolic, inaccurate and abſurd; and ſpreads a general confuſion over the whole paſſage. Their miſtake ſeems to have ariſen from ſuppoſing μεθόδῳ ἱερογλυφικῆς (the *immediate antecedent*) was underſtood at ἧς ἡ μέν ἐſι; whereas it was the more *remote antecedent,* μεθόδῳ Αἰγυπτίων γραμμάτων; and what made them ſuppoſe this, was, I preſume, the author's expreſſing the common plain way of writing by letters of an alphabet, and the common plain way of imitating by figures (two very different things) by the ſame words, κυριολογικὴ and κυριολογεῖται; not conſidering that διὰ τῶν πρώτων ſτοιχείων, joined to the adjective, ſignified writing by letters; and, κατὰ μίμηſιν, joined to the verb, ſignified *writing by figures.* In a word then, the plain and eaſy meaning of Clemens is this,—"The Egyptian method of writing was epiſtolic, ſacerdotal, and hie-"roglyphical; of this method, the epiſtolic and ſacerdotal were by letters "of an alphabet; the hieroglyphical, by ſymbols: ſymbols were of three "kinds, curiologic, tropical, and allegorical."

P. 415. [KK]. This was indeed a very logical concluſion from the opinion *that hieroglyphics were invented to hide myſteries*; but the high improbability of the fact ſhould have led them, one would think, to the falſ-

hood

hood of the premiſſes. That the Egyptians had *letters* before they had *hieroglyphics*, ſeems to me as extravagant as that they danced before they could walk; and, I believe, will ſeem ſo to all who conſider the firſt part of this diſſertation. However, a modern writer has taken up that opinion: and tells us in plain terms, that *the hieroglyphical way of writing was not the moſt ancient way of writing in Egypt*; [Connect. of the Sacr. and Prof. Hiſt. vol. I. p. 230. and again to the ſame purpoſe, vol. II. 293, 294.] partly, I preſume, as it favoured the hypotheſis of the low antiquity of Egypt; and partly, perhaps, in compliment to that conſequential notion, that not only all arts and ſciences came from the Hebrews, but all the vehicles of knowledge likewiſe; whence, particularly, the author of the *Court of the Gentiles* derives hieroglyphics. *The greateſt pieces of the Jewiſh wiſdom*, ſays Mr. Gale, *were couched under the cover of ſymbols and types; whence the Egyptians and other nations borrowed their hieroglyphic and ſymbolic wiſdom.* [Part i. p. 77.] But on what ground does the author of the *Connection* build, in ſupport of his opinion? On this, that *letters* are very ancient; in which, without doubt, he is right: but ſurely not ſo ancient as he would have them. However, the Argument he uſes is certainly a very perverſe one: *There is one conſideration more*, ſays he, *which makes it very probable that the uſe of* LETTERS *came from Noah, and out of the firſt world, and that is the account which the Chineſe give of their* LETTERS. *They aſſert their firſt emperor, whom they name* Fohy, *to be the inventor of them; before* Fohy *they have no records, and their* Fohy *and* Noah *were the ſame perſon.* [vol. I. p. 236.] Now it unluckily happens that the Chineſe are without LETTERS, even to this day. Nor are we, for all this, to think our author ignorant of the nature of the Chineſe characters; for he tells us ſoon after, that *the Chineſe have no notion of alphabetical letters, but make uſe of characters to expreſs their meaning. Their characters ars not deſigned to expreſs words, for they are uſed by ſeveral neighbouring nations who differ in language.* [p. 244.] Thus the learned writer, before he was aware, in endeavouring to prove *letters* of higher antiquity than *hieroglyphics*, hath proved juſt the contrary; even that hieroglyphic characters, not letters, were the writing ſo early as his Noah: For the Chineſe characters are properly hieroglyphics, that is, marks for *things*, not *words*; and *hieroglyphics* they are called by all the miſſionaries from whom we have the moſt authentic accounts of China. But had their characters been indeed

indeed *letters*, as our author, in this place, by miſtake ſuppoſed them, yet ſtill his argument would have had no weight; and I will beg leave to tell him why: The Chineſe characters in uſe at preſent are very modern in compariſon of the monarchy. The miſſionaries tell us (as may be ſeen by the quotations given above) that the Chineſe character hath undergone ſeveral changes; that their firſt way of writing was, like the Mexican, by picture; that they then abbreviated it in the manner of the moſt ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics; and at length brought it, by many gradual improvements, to its preſent contracted form: yet a *real character* or *hieroglyphic* the Chineſe writing ſtill is; and ſo is likely to continue.

P. 418. [LL] A late curious Voyager, who had examined the larger PYRAMIDS with great exactneſs, and found no hieroglyphics inſcribed upon them, either without or within, concludes, rather too haſtily, that they were built before the uſe of hieroglyphic writing in Egypt; and from thence inſinuates another concluſion, in favour of the abſurd hypotheſis here confuted, that hieroglyphics were not the firſt ſpecies of writing known in Egypt; and, conſequently, did not come from picture-writing, but from alphabetic marks; a fooliſh error, which betrays great ignorance in the natural progreſs of human knowledge. "Si je ſuppoſe (ſays Captain Nor-"den) que les Pyramides, même les dernieres, ont été elevées avant que "l'on eût l'uſage des hieroglyphes, je ne l'avance ſans fondement. Qui "pourroit ſe perſuader, que les Egyptiens euſſent laiſſé ces ſuperbes monu-"mens, ſans la moindre inſcription hieroglyphique, eux, qui, comme on "l'obſerve de toutes parts, prodigueoient les hieroglyphes ſur tous les "edifices de quelque conſideration? Or on n'en apperçoit aucun, ni au "dedans, ni au dehors, des pyramides, pas même ſur les ruines des temples "de la ſeconde et de la troiſieme pyramide: n'eſt ce pas une preuve que "l'origine des pyramides précéde celle des hieroglyphes, que l'on re-"garde neanmoins comme les premiers caracteres dont on ait uſé en "Egypte."—Voyage d'Egypte, 3me partie, p. 75.

The curious voyager not only ſatisfies himſelf in accounting for the want of hieroglyphic characters on the Pyramids, by their being built before the invention of ſuch characters, but ſeems to value himſelf upon a diſcovery reſulting from it, that *Hieroglyphics were not the firſt ſort of writing in Egypt*. But there is a greater difficulty in this matter than he was aware of.

It

It hath been proved at large, that *marks for things*, by a kind of picture-writing, were the firſt rude effort of every people upon earth, to convey and perpetuate their intelligence and conceptions to one another, as ſoon as they began to aſſociate into tribes and nations. The Monuments in queſtion are a proof that the erectors of them had advanced in the arts of civil life. No one then, who underſtands what Society is, can doubt but that the Egyptians had then a method of conveying their thoughts at a diſtance, by viſible marks: and no one, acquainted with the ſlow progreſs of human inventions, can imagine that alphabetic writing was the firſt effort towards this conveyance. Hence ariſes the difficulty.

But this obſervation of the curious voyager, which furniſhes the difficulty, ſupplies the ſolution. Suppoſe only the Pyramids to be erected in the interval between the inventions of *curiologic* and *tropical* hieroglyphics, that is, between their natural and more artificial ſtate, and the difficulty vaniſhes: For in their natural ſtate, they would be only uſed out of neceſſity; and not for ornament, luxury, or decoration. So that it is no wonder we do not find them on the PYRAMIDS in pompous and flattering inſcriptions like thoſe on the OBELISKS.

His obſervation Norden, indeed, gives as a proof of the high antiquity of the pyramids; and very juſtly. But his drawings furniſh us with another argument in ſupport of this truth, which he himſelf ſeems not to have conſidered: It is this, that the general idea of Egyptian architecture was entirely taken from the PYRAMIDS: which nothing ſure but the high veneration for them, increaſed by their remote antiquity, could poſſibly have occaſioned; ſince the figure of theſe ſepulchral monuments, ſo well adapted to triumph over time, is the moſt inconvenient that can poſſibly be imagined for habitable ſtructures, whether public or private; and exceedingly groteſque, in all others. And yet we ſee, from the ancient ruins of Egypt, of which this diligent and exact Traveller has given us ſo fine drawings, that all their buildings, without exception, were raiſed on the idea and genius of the Pyramids. We are ſuppriſed to find not only their ports, their door-ſteads [See plates CIX.—CXVIII.] but even the very walls of their temples, [Pl. CXLVII.—VIII.—CLI.—CLIV.] nay, of their towns, narrowing upwards and inclining inwards, in the manner of a modern fortification. [Pl. XCIX.—CXV.—CXXXVIII.]—But to return to the ſolution given above: It may be ſaid, perhaps, "Allow the pyramids

pyramids to have been erected in the interval between the invention of *curiologic* and *tropical* hieroglyphics. What hindered the Egyptians from ſcribbling over theſe bulky monuments with their firſt rude eſſays, as other barbarous nations have done upon their rocks? of which we find ſpecimens enough in Scandinavia, North-Eaſt Tartary, and elſewhere." Indeed I know of nothing but CUSTOM that hindered them; that ſovereign Miſtreſs of the world, who only is of force to control and conquer Nature: And that Cuſtom did effectually hinder them, is very plain, from our finding no ſpecimens of any of their firſt rude hieroglyphic paintings; though, from them, their improved hieroglyphics received their birth. Nor did they want, any more than other Barbarians, their iſolated rocks for this purpoſe: they had them very commodiouſly bordering on the Nile, and in view of all paſſengers. And on theſe, it is remarkable, they have inſcribed their improved hieroglyphics, though we ſee no remains of any the earlier and ruder efforts of picture-writing.

But the modeſty and reſerve of this curious Traveller, and his deference to learned Antiquity, deſerves commendation. He is not of the number of thoſe who expect more faith from their Reader than they commonly find, or venture to entertain him with diſcoveries which he did not expect. For the learned reader acquieſces in Antiquity; the ſenſible reader prefers the evidence of a contemporary writer to the conjectures of a modern traveller: yet ſuch is the general humour of our Voyagers, that they think they do nothing, if they do not rectify the errors of Antiquity. I have an ingenious meaſurer of the Pyramids in my eye, and one of the lateſt too [Dr. Shaw], who, in the paſſion for ſaying ſomething new, aſſures us, that the opinion of their being SEPULCHRES is an old inveterate miſtake: that they are indeed no other than TEMPLES, for religious worſhip. To ſoften ſo rugged a paradox, he ſays, *there was no univerſal conſent amongſt the Ancients concerning the uſe or purpoſe for which theſe Pyramids were deſigned.* And was there any *univerſal conſent* amongſt them that ſnow was white? But would this ſave the modeſty or underſtanding of him who ſhould affirm, after a certain ancient Philoſopher, that it was black? And yet ſuch a one would have the advantage of our Traveller; who would be hard put to it to produce any Ancient, whether Philoſopher or otherwiſe, who ſaid the Pyramids were *Temples*. But if the poſitive and agreeing teſtimony of all the old writers extant may be called *univerſal conſent*, it certainly is

not wanting. Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pliny, Tacitus, &c. all aſſure us that the Pyramids were *Sepulchres*. Nay, Diodorus, to put the matter out of doubt, informs us, that the ſacred commentaries of their Prieſts ſaid ſo. But our Traveller ſuppoſed this univerſal conſent to be ſhaken at leaſt by Pliny, who tells us, *they were built for oſtentation, and to keep an idle people in employment.* As if this intimated that, in Pliny's opinion, they were not Sepulchres! Suppoſe I ſhould ſay the great Arch at Blenheim was *built for oſtentation*; and if not to ſet an idle people to work, yet at leaſt to make them ſtare: Does this contradict the univerſal conſent of its being a Bridge, though as much too large for the water that runs under it, as the Pyramids were for the bodies contained in them? In a word, Pliny is not ſpeaking of the *uſe* to which the buidings were applied, but of the *motives* for their erection.

P. 422. [MM] Againſt this, a late furious writer objects—"But is it "credible that the polite and learned prieſts of Egypt would uſe a method "to hide and ſecrete their knowledge, which the more rude and barba- "rous nations employed to publiſh and divulge theirs? Or can you con- "ceive that a curious and ſtudied refinement of ſo knowing and enlight- "ened a people as the Egyptians ſhould be one and the very ſame thing "with a rude and ſimple invention of thoſe nations which were moſt bar- "barous and uncivilized?" Jackſon's Chronol. vol. III. p. 357.

I anſwer by another queſtion—Is it credible that the polite and learned orators and hiſtorians of Greece and Rome ſhould, out of choice, uſe a method [FIGURATIVE EXPRESSION] to perfect their eloquence, which the firſt rude and barbarous nation employed out of neceſſity, and which rude and barbarous nations ſtill employ, for want of intellectual ideas, and more abſtract terms? Or can *you conceive, that a curious and ſtudied refinement* of dreſs, *in ſo knowing and enlightened a people* as the preſent French, *ſhould be one and the ſame thing with the rude and ſimple invention* of leathern garments to cover nakedneſs amongſt the Laplanders, a people moſt barbarous and uncivilized? But if it diſpleaſes our Chronologiſt, that ſo enlightened and refined a people as the Egyptians ſhould pride themſelves in the rude and ſimple invention of barbarians: what will he ſay to find, that the moſt ſavage people upon earth go a ſtep beyond the moſt poliſhed in the delicacy and luxury of ſpeech? Yet this is the caſe of the Greenlanders, or the miſſionary Egede deceives us. *The women* (ſays he) *have a dialect different from the men, making uſe of the ſofteſt letters at the ends of words, inſtead of the hard ones.* Hiſt. of Greenland, p. 160.

P. 423.

P. 423. [NN] This hieroglyphic likewiſe ſignified the *earth*; for the firſt rude mortals imagined, that that which ſuſtained them was the Deity which gave them Being. So Heſiod, who took his notions of the *earth* from the Egyptians, deſcribes her after their paintings; ΓΑΙ' ΕΥΡΥΣΤΕΡΝΟΣ, which the figure of the Diana multimammia well explains. But Shakſpeare, who, as Mr. Pope finely obſerves, had *immediately from nature what the two Greek poets, Homer and Heſiod, received through Egyptian ſtrainers*, paints this famous *hieroglyphic* with much more life and ſpirit:

" Common Mother thou!
" Whoſe womb unmeaſurable and INFINITE BREAST
" Teems and feeds all."

That Heſiod had there the Egyptian Goddeſs in his mind, is plain from the character he gives of her in the words ſubjoined,

πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
Ἀθανάτων,

for the *earth* was the firſt habitation of thoſe Gods which *Greece* borrowed of the *Egyptians:* from whence, as the poet inſinuates, they were transferred into heaven:

Γαῖα δέ τοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐγείνατο ἶσον ἑαυτῇ
Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντ', ἵνα μιν περὶ πάντα καλύπτοι,
Ὄφρ' εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεί.

P. 425. [OO] A very curious ſpecimen of this haſty delineation of the outlines of the figures (which gave birth to the running-hand character we are here ſpeaking of) the reader will find in Kircher, p. 350. of his *Oedip. Ægypt.* tom. iii. where he has given the characters on the Florentine obeliſk, which, though dignified by that name, is only a late mimic in miniature of the ſuperb monuments ſo intitled. See plate VIII.

P. 425. [PP] The account which a miſſionary jeſuit gives us of the ſeveral ſorts of writing amongſt the Chineſe will illuſtrate this matter:— *Parmi ces caracteres il y en a de pluſieurs ſortes. Les premiers ne ſont preſque plus d'uſage, & on ne les conſerve que pour faire honneur à l'antiquité. Les ſeconds beaucoup moins anciens n'ont place que dans les inſcriptions publiques: quand on en a beſoin, on conſulte les livres, & à la faveur des dictionnaires il eſt facile de les dechiffrer. Les troiſiemes, beaucoup plus reguliers & plus beaux, ſervent dans l'impreſſion et même dans l'ecriture ordinaire. Neanmoins*

comme les traits en ſont bien formez, il faut un temps conſiderable pour les écrire; c'eſt pour cela qu'on a trouvé une quatrieme eſpece d'ecriture, dont les traits plus liez & moins diſtinguez les uns des autres, donnent la facilité d'ecrire plus vîte—*ces trois derniers caracteres ont entre eux beaucoup de reſſemblance, et reſpondent aſſez à nos lettres capitales, aux lettres d'impreſſion, et à l'ecriture ordinaire.—Nouveaux Memoires ſur l'etat preſent de la Chine, par le P. L. Le Comte*, tom i. *Amſt.* 1698, p. 258, 259. And here let me juſt take notice of a ridiculous miſtake into which the equivocation of the word *Notæ* (a term ſignifying as well *ſhort-hand* characters, as *hieroglyphical*) drew a certain learned grammarian: who in a letter to his friend [*Gloſſ. Ant Rom.* p. 414. ed. 1731] undertaking to give the original of *ſhort-hand characters*, rejects the account of the ancients (which makes them a Roman invention) to fetch them from the Barbarians; and will have them to be indeed the ſame as the *Ignorabiles Literæ* of the Egyptians (mentioned by Apuleius) and the preſent Chineſe characters; that is, real *hieroglyphics*. But had he conſidered, that the *notes of ſhort-hand* were marks for *words*, and the *notes of hieroglyphics* marks for *things*, he would have ſeen that they had no manner of relation to one another, but were of different original, and employed to different ends: He thinks, however, he has found a ſupport for his notion in St. Jerom; who, he ſays, tells us ſomewhere or other, that they came from the Barbarians: *Reſtant adhuc* NOTÆ, *quæ cum ex Barbarorum puto ortu natæ ſint, rationem amiſere.* But without ſearching for the place, and recurring to the context, we may ſafely pronounce, that St. Jerom meant here by NOTÆ, not *the notes of ſhort-hand*, but *hieroglyphic notes*; by his ſaying of them *rationem amiſere*; which was not true of *ſhort-hand notes*, but very true of *hieroglyphical*.

P. 428. [QQ]. To this, perhaps, it may be objected that *literary writing* had the name of *epiſtolary*, rather for its being afterwards employed in ſuch kind of compoſitions; becauſe Clemens Alexandrinus ſays, *That Atoſſa the Perſian empreſs was the firſt that wrote epiſtles*; and Tatian, where he gives a liſt of ſome Inventors, expreſſes himſelf, from Hellanicus the hiſtorian, in this manner, Ἐπιστολὰς ΣΥΝΤΑΞΣΕΙΝ ἐξεῦρεν ἡ Περσῶν τοῖς ἡγησαμένη γυνὴ, καθάπερ φησὶν Ἑλλάνικος, Ἄτοσσα δὲ ὄνομα αὐτῇ ἦν. But to this it may be replied, that the ſuppoſition of literary writing's having the name of *epiſtolary* from any later application of alphabetic letters to this ſort of compoſition, is very precarious: for it may be aſked, why

rather

rather a name from *epiſtles* than from any nobler ſort of compoſition, in which we muſt needs conclude letters had been employed, before the uſe of epiſtles, if epiſtles were ſo lately invented? But the truth is, if by σύνθεσιν, which word Clemens likewiſe uſes, we are to underſtand the *compoſing*, and not the *artificial cloſing and ſealing* up of the tablets in which the Ancients wrote their epiſtles (the more natural ſenſe of the word, and an invention more to the genius of a court lady) we muſt needs ſay the whole ſtory of Atoſſa's invention is a very idle *one*, and worth only the attention of ſuch triflers as the writers *Of the invention of things*; from whence Tatian and Clemens had it: they might as well have enquired after the inventors of *ſpeech*: writing epiſtles being as early as the occaſions of communicating the thoughts at a diſtance; that is, as early as human commerce. We find in the *Il. ζ.* ver. 169. Bellerophon carrying an epiſtle from Prætus to Iobates. "No, ſays a great Critic, [ſee p 539. of *the Diſſertation* "*upon Phalaris*] this was no epiſtle, as Pliny rightly remarks, but *codi-* "*cilli*; and Homer himſelf calls it πίναξ πτυκτός." I do not comprehend the force of the learned perſon's argument; the point between him and his noble adverſary was concerning the *thing*, not the *name*; but Pliny's obſervation, and his own, is concerning the *name*, not the *thing*. Let what *Bellerophon* carried be πίναξ πτυκτός, *ſmall leaves of wood covered with wax, and written upon by a pen of metal*, yet was it eſſentially an *epiſtle*, if Cicero's definition of an *epiſtle* be a true one: *Hoc eſt*, ſays he, *Epiſtolæ proprium, ut is ad quem ſcribitur, de iis rebus quas ignorant, certior fiat.* Why Pliny ſaid, this πίναξ πτυκτός was not an *epiſtle*, but a *codicil*, was becauſe ſmall leaves of wood covered with wax, when written on, were called by his countrymen *codicilli*; and a miſſive-paper, *epiſtola*: that this was his meaning appears from the account he gives of the pretended *paper epiſtle of Sarpedon* mentioned as a great rarity by Licinius Mucianus. [See the Diſſert. mentioned above.]

P. 429. [RR]. By *ſones vocis* Cicero means *words*: It was impoſſible he could ever conceive that brute and inarticulate ſounds were almoſt infinite.—See what is ſaid on this matter below.

Long before this addition was made to the diſcourſe on Hieroglyphic writing, one of the ableſt Philoſophers of this age, M. l'Abbé de Condillac, in his Eſſai ſur l'origine des connoiſſances humaines, had the candour to ſay, that I had perfectly well diſcovered the progreſs by which men arrived to the invention of letters. Cette ſection [De L'ecriture], ſays he, étoit

étoit preſque achevée, quand l'Eſſai ſur les Hieroglyphes traduit de l'Anglois de M. Warburton me tomba entre les mains: Ouvrage ou l'eſprit philoſophique et l'erudition régnent egalement, &c. mes propres reflexions m'avoient auſſi conduit à remarquer que l'écriture n'avoit d'abord été qu'une ſimple peinture: mais je n'avois point encore tenté de découvrir par quels progrès on étoit arrivé à l'invention des lettres, et il me paroiſſoit difficile d'y reuſſir. La choſe a été parfaitement executée par M. Warburton, p. 178. ſec. partie.—My own countrymen have been leſs candid: and to them the above addition is owing.

P. 433. [SS]. Τὸ περὶ τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱερῶν γραμμάτων. περὶ τῶν ἐν Μερόη ἱερῶν γραμμάτων. In Vit. Democr. Segm. xlix. lib. 9. But Reineſius and Menage, not apprehending there was any ſacred myſterious writing out of Egypt and its confines, will have the *Babylon* here mentioned to be Babylon in Egypt; but they ſhould have reflected how unlikely it was, if Democritus had choſen to write of the *ſacred letters of the Egyptians*, that he ſhould denominate his diſcourſe from a place not at all celebrated for their uſe, when there were ſo many other that theſe characters had rendered famous.

P. 436. [TT]. I have the pleaſure to find, that ſo ſenſible a writer as the celebrated Mr. Aſtruc, in his Conjectures ſur la Geneſe, has eſpouſed this opinion, that *alphabetic writing* was in uſe amongſt the Egyptians before the time of Moſes: He has likewiſe adopted the arguments here employed in ſupport of it, as well as this whole theory of *hieroglyphic writing*.

P. 437. [UU]. Exod. xxviii. 21. *And the ſtones ſhall be with the names of the children of* Iſrael, *twelve, according to their names*; LIKE THE ENGRAVINGS OF A SIGNET, *every one with his name ſhall they be, according to the twelve tribes.* And again, ver. 36. *And thou ſhalt make a Plate of pure gold, and grave upon it, like the engravings of a ſignet*, HOLINESS TO THE LORD. Had letters been invented by MOSES, and unknown till then to the Iſraelites, would he not naturally have ſaid, when he directed the workmen to engrave names and ſentences on ſtones and gold,—*and in theſe engravings you ſhall employ the alphabetic characters which I have now invented and taught you the uſe of?* On the contrary, he gives them a very different direction; he refers them to a model in familiar uſe,—*like the engravings of a ſignet.* For the ancient people of the Eaſt engraved

names

names and ſentences on their ſeals, juſt as the Mahometan princes do at preſent.—Mr. Fleuri with great ingenuity confeſſes the high perfection of the arts at this time amongſt the Iſraelites. " Ils ſçavoient tailler & graver " les pierres precieuſes. Ils etoient Menuiſiers, Tapiſſieurs, Brodeurs & " Parfumeurs. Entre ces arts, il y en a deux que j'admire principale- " ment: la taille des pierreries, & la fonte des figures, telles qu'étoient " les Chérubins de l'Arche & le Veau d'or. Ceux qui ont tant ſoit peu " connoiſſance des arts, ſçavent combien il faut d'artifices & de machines " pour ces ouvrages. Si des-lors on les avoit trouvées, on avoit déja " bien raffiné, même dans les arts qui ne ſervent qu'à l'ornement; & ſi " l'on avoit quelque ſecret pour faire les mêmes choſes plus facilement, " c'étoit encore une plus grande perfection, ce qui ſoit dit en paſſant, pour " montrer que cette antiquité ſi eloignée n'etoit pas groſſiére & ignorante, " comme pluſieurs s'imaginent." Mœurs des Iſraelites, ſect. 9.

P. 437. [XX]. A certain anonymous writer, quoted by Crinitus from an ancient MS, in his *de honeſta diſciplina*, is of this opinion. But I quote him chiefly for his pacific diſpoſition to accommodate and compromiſe matters, by giving every nation its ſhare in the glory of the invention; not, I mean, of the alphabetic *powers*, but of the various alphabetic *characters*:

" Moſes primus Hebraicas exaravit literas;
" Mente Phœnices ſagaci condiderunt Atticas;
" Quas Latini ſcriptitamus, edidit Nicoſtrata;
" Abraham Syras, & idem repperit Chaldaicas;
" Iſis arte non minore, protulit Ægyptiacas:
" Gulfila promſit Gerarum, quas videmus, literas."

P. 445. [YY]. Les Iroquois, comme les Lacedemoniens, veulent un diſcours vif & concis; leur Style eſt cependant figuré, & *tout metaphorique*. *Mœurs des Sauvages Ameriquains comparées aux Mœurs des premiers Temps, par Lafitau*, tom. i. p. 480. 4to. And of the various languages of all the people on that great continent in general, he expreſſeth himſelf thus, La plûpart de ces Peuples Occidentaux, quoiqu'avec des Langues tres differentes, ont cependant à peu pres la même genie, la même façon de penſer, et les même tours pour s'exprimer; tom. ii. p. 481. *Condamine* gives pretty much the ſame account of the Savages of South America.

Speaking

Speaking of their languages he ſays, pluſieurs ſont energiques & ſuſceptibles d'eloquence, &c. p. 54. which can mean no other than that their terms are highly figurative. But this is the univerſal genius of the language of Barbarians. *Egede*, in his *Hiſtory of Greenland*, ſays, *the Language is very rich of words and ſenſe*; *and of ſuch* ENERGY, *that one is often at a loſs, and puzzled to render it in Daniſh*, p. 165. This *energy* is apparently what the French Miſſionary calls *tout metaphorique*. Quintilian, ſpeaking of *metaphors*, ſays, Qua quidem cum ita eſt ab ipſa nobis conceſſa natura, ut indocti quoque ac non ſentientes ea frequenter utantur, lib. viii. c. 6. which ſhews, by the way, that Quintilian did not apprehend their true cauſe or original.—By all this may be ſeen how much M. Bullet miſtakes the matter, where, in his Memoires ſur la langue Celtique, he ſays, "*Dans les pays chauds* une imagination ardente decouvre aiſe-"ment la plus petite reſſemblance qu'une choſe peut avoir avec une "autre. Elle voit d'abord, par exemple, la report qui ſe trove entre un "homme cruel & une bête feroce; et pour faire connoitre qu' elle apper-"çoit cette reſſemblance elle donne à cet homme le nom de Tigre. *Voila* "*l'origine du langage figuré & metaphorique*. Dans *les pays froides*, ou "l'imagination n'a pas une vivacité pareille, on ſe ſert *de terms propres pour* "*exprimer chaque choſe*, ou appelle tout par ſon nom." Vol. I. p. 6. But we find the fact to be juſt otherwiſe.

P. 445. [ZZ]. Καὶ τὰς δὲ τὰς ὁμιλίας βραχυλόγοι, καὶ αἰνιγματῶδεις, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αἰνιττόμενοι συνεκδοχικῶς· πολλὰ δὲ λεγοντες ἐν ὑπερβολαῖς.—p. 213. This being the nature and genius common to all the barbarous nations upon earth, I am almoſt tempted to believe *Geofry of Monmouth*, when he ſays, that he tranſlated his worthy hiſtory of Britain from the Welch; of which, his original, he gives this character,—*Phallerata verba & ampulloſæ dictiones*. If this was not ſo, one can hardly tell why he ſhould mention a circumſtance that neither recommended his copy nor his original. But the character of the ballads of the old Welch Bards fully ſupports Diodorus's account of the ſtyle of the ancient Gauls.

P. 446. [AAA]. But the important uſe to which the very learned the Abbé *de Condillac* has employed all that has been here ſaid on this matter, may be ſeen in his excellent Eſſay on the origin of human Knowledge, Part II. which treats of Language.

P. 446.

P. 446. [BBB]. Quintilian makes an objector to the *figurative ſtyle* argue thus,—Antiquiſſimum quemque maxime ſecundum naturam dixiſſe contendunt; mox Poetis ſimiliores extitiſſe, etiamſi parciùs, ſimili tamen ratione, falſa & impropria virtutes ducentes. On which he obſerves—qua in diſputatione non nihil veri eſt.—It is true, there is *ſomething of truth* in it, and indeed, not much; for though the poliſhers of human ſpeech did, as the objector ſays, turn the improprieties of ſpeech into ornament, it is utterly falſe that the moſt ancient ſpeakers uſed only ſimple and proper terms.

P. 450. [CCC]. So I thought: and ſo it has been generally thought. But M. de Beauſobre, in his *Hiſtoire de Manichée*, lib. iv. c. 4. has made it probable, that the heretics had no hand in theſe *Abraxas*, but that they are altogether Pagan.

P. 451. [DDD]. This charm, which the Arabs called *Taliſman* or *Tſalimam*, the later Greeks, when they had borrowed the ſuperſtition, called ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ; which ſhews of what houſe they ſuppoſed it to have come; στοιχεῖα being, as we have obſerved, the technical Greek name for *hieroglyphic* characters.

P. 451. [EEE]. The ſame error has made the half-paganized Marſilius Ficinus fall into the idle conceit, that the *Golden Calf* was only a *Taliſman*:—Hebræi quoque (ſays he) in Ægypto nutriti, ſtruere vitulum aureum didicerant, ut eorundem aſtrologi putant, ad aucupandum veneris lunæque favorem, contra Scorpionis atque Martis influxum Judæis infeſtum. De Vita Cœlit. Com. l. iii. c. 13.

P. 452. [FFF]. This Diſcourſe on the EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHICS hath had the ſame fortune abroad, that the Diſcourſe on the BOOK OF JOB hath had at home: Like this, it hath been the occaſion of much waſte paper, and violation of common ſenſe. For the Diſcourſe on the Hieroglyphics having been well tranſlated and well received in France, both the *ſubject* and the *author* became known enough to invite all *gentlemen ſcholars*, better able to entertain the Public, to oblige us with their ingenious conjectures; and many a French pen, even to that of a captain of grenadiers, hath been drawn, to ſhew that the nature of Hieroglyphics is yet as unknown as ever. A nameleſs diſſertator, *ſur l'Ecriture Hieroglyphique*, (who chuſes to write, as he himſelf very truly ſays, in his title-page,—*ſub luce maligna*)

aſſures us, that Hieroglyphics were not a ſpecies of writing to convey intelligence to the reader, but a mere ornament upon ſtone, to entertain the eye of the ſpectator: So there is an end of the SUBJECT. The learned captain, who wheels in a larger circle, and takes in all the wiſdom of Egypt, laments with much humanity, the ſuperficiality and ignorance of all who have gone before him, and their utter incapacity of getting to the ſource of things: So there is an end of the AUTHOR. Indeed, the Journaliſt who recommends this important work to the public ſeems to have his doubts as to this point.—N'eſt ce pas s'avancer un peu trop, (ſays he), et peut-on dire que MARSHAM pour la Chronologie & l'Hiſtoire, M. WARBURTON pour les Hieroglyphes, & d'autres ſçavans ayent negligé de conſulter les ſources?

To ſay the truth, theſe wonderful inveſtigators of the learning of ancient Egypt, by the mere dint of modern ingenuity, had *provocation* enough to fall upon this unlucky Diſcourſe, which no ſooner appeared amongſt them in the fine tranſlation of a very learned French lawyer, than the celebrated writers of the Journal des Sçavans, of March, 1744, and of Trevoux of July, in the ſame year, announced it to the public in theſe terms. "Il regne (ſays the firſt) une ſi belle analogie dans le ſyſteme de "Mr. Warburton, et toutes ſes parties tiennent les unes aux autres par "un lien ſi naturel, qu'on eſt porté à croire que l'origine, & les progrès "de l'ecriture & du language ont été tels qu'il les a decrits. Le public "doit avoir bien de l'obligation au Traducteur de lui avoir fait connoi-"tre un Ouvrage ſi curieux."——"M. Warburton (ſays the other) n'a pu "ſans une erudition profonde, une lecture murement digerée et des re-"flexions infinies traiter avec tant de preciſion, de juſteſſe et de netteté, "un ſujet de lui même ſi difficile à mettre en œuvre. Les plus ſavans "hommes ſe ſont laiſſé ſeduire ſur l'origine des Hieroglyphes; et la "plupart ont regardé un effet du peu d'experience des Egyptiens comme "un refinement de la plus myſterieuſe ſageſſe. C'eſt cette erreur que "M. Warburton s'applique particulierement à detruire dans la pre-"miere partie. Il le fait de la maniere la plus naturelle. Ce n'eſt "point un ſyſteme fondé SUR DES IMAGINATIONS VAGUES. Ses rai-"ſonnemens, ſes preuves, ſont appuiées ſur des FAITS, ſur la NATURE "des choſes, & ſur LES PRINCIPES LES PLUS LUMINEUX DU SENS "COMMUN."

P. 453.

P. 453. [GGG]. Amongſt the reſt, the author of Sacred and Profane Hiſtory connected; who ſays: "We have no reaſon to think that theſe "hieroglyphics [namely, what we call the *curiologic*] were ſo ancient as "the firſt letters:" This is his firſt anſwer to the opinion that hieroglyphics were more ancient. His ſecond is in theſe words: "They would "have been a very imperfect character; many, nay moſt occurrences, "would be repreſented by them but by halves," vol. II. p. 295. Now this to me appears a very good argument why *hieroglyphics* were indeed the *firſt* rude effort towards recording the human conceptions; and ſtill, a better, why they could not be the *ſecond*, when men had already found out the more compleat method of alphabetic letters.

P. 454. [HHH]. What hath been ſaid above of the reaſon why *Egypt* alone continued their *hieroglyphic* characters after the invention of *letters*, and why all other nations thenceforward left them off, will give an eaſy ſolution to what a curious traveller ſeems to think matter of ſome wonder, namely, that "the ſymbolic learning was the only part of Egyptian wiſ-"dom not tranſlated into Greece." [Dr. Shaw's Travels, p. 391.]—But if this learned man meant not *hieroglyphic characters*, but only the *mode* of Egyptian wiſdom employed therein, he raiſes a wonder out of his own miſtake: that mode was *tranſlated into Greece* with the reſt; for the precepts of Pythagoras were a fantaſtic kind of *tranſlation* of hieroglyphic pictures into verbal propoſitions; and on that account, doubtleſs, called SYMBOLS:— Μάλιϛα (ſays Plutarch) δὲ ὅτῳ [ὁ Πυθαγόρας] ὡς ἔοικε, θαυμασθεὶς καὶ θαυμάσας τὸς ἄνδρας, ἀπεμιμήσαλο τὸ συμβολικὸν αὐτῶν καὶ μυϛηριῶδες, ἀναμίξας αἰνίγμασι τὰ δόγμαλα· τῶν γὰρ καλεμένων γραμμάτων ἱερογλυφικῶν ἔθεν ἀπολείπει τὰ πολλὰ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν παραγελμάτων, οἷόν ἐϛι τὸ Μὴ ἐσθίειν ἐπὶ δίφρε μηδ' ἐπὶ χοίνικῳ καθῆσθαι, μηδὲ φοίνικα φυλέυειν, μηδὲ πῦρ μαχαίρῃ σκαλεύειν ἐν οἰκίᾳ. De Iſ. & Oſ. p. 632. Edit. Steph. 8vo. Αὐτίκα τῆς βαρβάρε (ſays Clemens Alex.) φιλοσοφίας, πάνυ σφόδρα ἐπικεκρυμμένης ἥρτηλαι τὰ Πυθαγόρια ΣΥΜΒΟΛΑ. παραίνει γοῦν ὁ Σάμιος χελιδόνα ἐν οἰκίᾳ μὴ ἔχειν, τοῖϛι, λάλον καὶ ψίθυρον καὶ πρόγλωϛον ἄνθρωπον, &c. Strom. lib. v. p. 558. Edit. Colon. 1688, fol.

P. 456. [III]. The reader may now ſee how inconſiderately the learned W. Baxter pronounced upon the matter when he ſaid, "The ἱερα γράμματα "of the *Egyptians* were *notæ ſacræ* borrowed from the Onirocritics, and "therefore divine." [App. to his Gloſſ. Antiq. Rom. pag. 414.] Nor does the more judicious Mr. Daubuz conclude leſs erroneouſly, when he

ſuppoſes that both *onirocritic* and *hieroglyphics* ſtood upon one common foundation. But he was miſled by Kircher, and certain late Greek writers, who pretended that the *ancient Egyptians* had I can't tell what notion of a cloſe union between viſible bodies in heaven, the inviſible deities, and this inferior world, by ſuch a concatenation from the higheſt to the loweſt, that the affections of the higher link reached the lower throughout the whole chain; for that the intellectual world is ſo exact a copy and idea of the viſible, that nothing is done in the viſible, but what is decreed before and exemplified in the intellectual. [Prelim. Diſcourſe to his Comm. on the REVELATIONS.] This was the ſenſeleſs jargon of Jamblichus, Porphyry, Proclus, and the reſt of that fanatic tribe of Pythagorean-Platoniſts; and this they obtruded on the world for old Egyptian wiſdom; the vanity of which pretence has been confuted in the firſt volume. It is hard to ſay whether theſe Enthuſiaſts believed themſelves, there is ſuch an equal mixture of folly and knavery in all their writings: however, it is certain, Kircher believed them.

P. 457. [KKK]. But hieroglyphic writing, as we have obſerved, not only furniſhed rules of interpretation for their Onirocritics, but figures of ſpeech for their Orators. So Iſaiah expreſſeth the king of Aſſyria's invaſion of Judea by the *ſtretching out of his* WINGS, *to fill the breadth of the land* *: And afterwards, propheſying againſt Egypt and Ethiopia, he ſays, *Wo to the land ſhadowing with* WINGS †. Moſt of the interpreters, indeed, explain wings to ſignify the ſails of their veſſels on the Nile: but the expreſſion evidently means, in general, the over-ſhadowing with a mighty power: of which *wings* in hieroglyphic language were the emblem.

P. 457. [LLL]. Thus Suidas on the word ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ· αἱ εἰκόνες καὶ διαπλάσεις τῶν ὀνείρων αἱ δι' ὀλίγε ἢ πολλῆ χρόνε τὴν ἔκβασιν ἔχεσαι. Artemidorus tells us this was the *technical word* for the phantaſms in dreams: Ὄνειρός ἐςι, κίνησις ἢ πλάσις ψυχῆς πολυσχήμων· σημαντικὴ τῶν ἐσομένων ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν· τότε δὲ ἅτως ἔχοντος, ὅσα μὲν ἀποβήσεσθαι μέλλει χρόνε διελθόντος, ἢ πολλῆ, ἢ ὀλίγε, ταῦτα πάντα δι' εἰκόνων ἰδίων φυσικῶν τῶν καὶ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ καλεμένων, προαγορεύει ἡ ψυχὴ τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον νομίζεσα ἡμᾶς δύνασθαι λογισμῷ διδασκομένης τὰ ἐσόμενα μαθεῖν. Oneir. lib. i. cap. 2. And in his fourth book he begins a chapter which

* C. viii. v. 8. † C. xviii. 1.

he

he entitles περὶ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ in this manner: Περὶ δὲ τῶν ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιφθόνως εἰρῆσθαι δοκοῦντας, ἔτ' ὁ λόγος ἁρμόττει, ὅπως ἔχῃς ἀποκρίνασθαι καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ μὴ ἐξαπατηθῇς ὑπὸ τῶν πλείονα λεγόντων εἶναι. cap. 3.

P. 457. [MMM]. But the learned Daubuz, in conſequence of his truſting to the fanatic notion of the late Greek philoſophers, ſuppoſes that hieroglyphic marks were called Στοιχεῖα, becauſe the firſt compoſers of them *uſed the heavenly bodies to repreſent the notions of their minds, there being, according to them, a myſtic ſympathetic union and analogy between heavenly and earthly things*; conſequently that Στοιχεῖα, in this uſe, ſignifies the *hoſt of heaven:* That it may do ſo, according to the genius of the Greek tongue, he endeavours to prove by its coming from στίχω, which is a military term, and ſignifies to *march in order.* [p. 10. of the Prel. Diſc.] But this learned man ſhould on this occaſion have remembered his own quotation from the excellent Quintilian, p. 54. *that analogy is not founded upon reaſon, but example. Non ratione nititur analogia, ſed exemplo; nec lex eſt loquendi, ſed obſervatio: ut ipſam analogiam nulla res alia fecerit, quam conſuetudo.* Inſt. lib. i. cap. 10.

P. 458. [NNN]. Here perhaps I ſhall be told, with the candour I have commonly experienced, that I have applied the hiſtory of Pharaoh's *dream* in illuſtrating the old Pagan method of onirocritic for no other purpoſe than to diſcredit Joſeph's prophetic interpretation of it: Therefore, though this matter be explained afterwards at large, I muſt here inform the reader, of what every one will be content to know, except ſuch as theſe, who never think but to ſuſpect and never ſuſpect but to accuſe, that when GOD pleaſes to deal with men by his miniſters, he generally condeſcends to treat them according to their infirmities; a method which hath all the marks of higheſt wiſdom as well as goodneſs. Phantaſms in dreams were ſuperſtitiouſly thought to be *ſymbolical:* GOD, therefore, when it was his good pleaſure to ſend dreams to Pharaoh, made the foundation of them two well-known ſymbols; and this, doubtleſs, in order to engage the dreamer's more ſerious attention: But then to confound the Egyptian *Onirocritics*, theſe dreams were ſo circumſtanced with matters foreign to the principles of their art, that there was need of a truly divine Interpreter to decipher them.

P. 459. [OOO]. But if you will believe a late writer, *Animal-worſhip* was ſo far from coming from *Hieroglyphics*, that Hieroglyphics came out of Animal-

mal-worſhip. This is an unexpected change of the ſcene; but, for our comfort, it is only the forced conſequence of a falſe hypotheſis, which will be well conſidered in its place: "The *hieroglyphical* inſcriptions of "the Egyptians (ſays he) are pretty full of the figures of birds, fiſhes, "beaſts, and men, with a few letters ſometimes between them; and this "alone is ſufficient to *hint* to us, that they could not come into uſe be-"fore the animals, repreſented in inſcriptions of this ſort, were become "by allegory and mythology capable of expreſſing various things by "their having been variouſly uſed in the ceremonies of their religion." Connect. of the Sacred and Profane Hiſtory, vol. II. p. 294. But if this were the caſe, How came theſe animals to be *ſo capable* of expreſſing by *allegory* and *mythology?* or in other words, How came they to be the objects of worſhip? We are yet to ſeek; and it muſt be more than a *hint* that can ſupply us with a reaſon.

P. 463. [PPP]. As unanſwerable a proof as this appears to be, that the *living Animal* was not yet worſhipped in Egypt, (for if it were, what occaſion for this trouble and expence?) yet a learned German, ſo oddly are men's heads ſometimes framed, brings this circumſtance to prove that the *living Animal* was at this time worſhipped in Egypt.—Eadem hiſtoria Moſaica cultus vivorum animalium in Ægypto, veſtigia alia non inficienda, tum ſæpe alias, tum vero omnium clariſſime in VITULO AUREO nobis offert. Jabloński, Pantheon Ægyptorum Prolegom. p. 85.

P. 466. [QQQ]. Sis, in the eaſtern languages, ſignified a *ſwallow*; under whoſe form, as this fable ſays, Iſis concealed herſelf: and BUBASTE, which ſignifies a *cat*, was the Egyptian name of Diana, who lay hid under that ſhape. Hence the learned Bochart ſuppoſes, in his uſual way, that the original of this fable was only an equivoque of ſome Greek ſtory-teller, whoſe countrymen delighted in the marvellous. But 1. The fable was not of Greek invention, if we may believe Diodorus and Lucian; the latter of whom, ſpeaking of the Egyptian account of it, ſays, ταῦτα γὰρ ἀμέλει ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις ἀπόκειλα γραφέντα. περὶ ἢ πρὸ ἐτῶν μυρίων, *de ſacrificiis.* 2. This only places the difficulty a ſtep backward, without removing it: For one might aſk, How came the Egyptian name of Diana to ſignify a *cat*; or the word Sis or Iſis to ſignify a *ſwallow?* Can any other good reaſon be given, but that theſe Goddeſſes were expreſſed by ſuch *ſymbols* in hieroglyphic writing? Agreeably to this, Horapollo tells us

[lib.

[lib. i. cap. 7.] that the *hieroglyphic* for the *ſoul* was a *hawk*, which in the Egyptian tongue was called *Baieth*, a word compounded of *Bai* and *Eth*, the firſt of which ſignified, in that language, the *ſoul*; the other the *heart*: for according to the Egyptians the heart was the incloſure of the ſoul. But if this were the caſe, what we have given above ſeems the more natural original of the ſtory.

P. 469. [RRR]. *Ipſi, qui irridentur, Ægyptii, nullam leluam, niſi ob aliquam utilitatem, quam ex ea caperent, conſecraverunt.—Ita concludim tamen beluas a Barbaris propter beneficium conſecratas.* Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 36. This, in the perſon of *Cotta the academic*. How ill it agrees with what the ſame Cotta ſays afterwards, I have ſhewn above: *Omne ferè genus* Beſtiarum Ægyptii conſecraverunt. lib. iii. cap. 15. Now this being a fact, and the other but a ſpeculation, we ſee the reaſon has no weight. The wonder is that Tully ſhould not ſee it. But the notion was plauſible, and antiquity ſeemed enamoured of it. When Plutarch [Iſ. & Oſ.] had ſaid, the Jews worſhipped ſwine; not content with this ſimple calumny, he invents a reaſon for it; and takes up this which lay ſo commodious for theſe occaſions; namely, gratitude to that animal for having taught men to plow the ground.

P. 469. [SSS.] A paſſage in Euſebius ſtrongly confirms our opinion of the origin of brute-worſhip; and, conſequently, accounts for the adoration paid to *noxious* animals: Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς πάλιν περὶ τῶν Φοινίκων στοιχείων ἐκ τῶν Σαγχουνιαθῶνος μελεταλῶν, θεὰ ὁποῖά φησι περὶ τῶν ἑρπυστικῶν καὶ ἰοβόλων θηρίων, ἃ δὴ χρῆσιν μὲν ἀγαθὴν ἀνθρώποις οὐδεμίαν συνίστησι, φθορὰν δὲ καὶ λύμην οἵᾳ ἂν τὸν δυσαλθῆ καὶ χαλεπὸν ἰὸν ἐκχρίμψειεν ἀπεργάζεσθαι· γράφει δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς λέξιν ὧδέ πως λέγων. Τὴν μὲν ἐν τῷ Δράκοντος φύσιν καὶ τῶν Ὄφεων αὐτὸς ἐξεθείασεν ὁ Τάαυτος, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν αὖθις Φοίνικές τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. [Pr. Evang. lib. i. cap. 10.] *Conſider again what he* [*Philo*] *ſays in his tranſlation of Sanchoniatho's diſcourſe of the Phœnician elements, concerning* certain reptiles and other venomous animals, *which not only bring no benefit to man, but convey certain miſchief and deſtruction on whomſoever they ſhed their deadly venom. Theſe are his very words. Taautus therefore* conſecrated *the ſpecies of dragons and ſerpents, and the Phœnicians and Egyptians followed him in this ſuperſtition.* The quotation from Philo then goes on to ſhew, from the nature of the ſerpent-kind, why it was made a ſymbol of the Divinity. The diſcourſe of Sanchoniathon here mentioned, as tranſlated by Philo, was part of a larger work, which he wrote concerning,

cerning the Phœnician and Egyptian wiſdom and learning, and treated of *hieroglyphic characters*, as appears from the title of Φοινίκων ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ, which latter word I have ſhewn to be the technical term for *hieroglyphics*: but how a digreſſion concerning the conſecration of noxious animals ſhould come into this diſcourſe, unleſs the author underſtood *hieroglyphics* to be the origin of *brute-worſhip*, is difficult to conceive.

P. 474. [TTT]. And it is remarkable that this, which was done to hide the ignominy of *vulgar Paganiſm*, the advocates of the Church of Rome have lately revived, to hide the ignominy of *vulgar Popery*, in their ſaint-worſhip: nothing having been of late more faſhionable amongſt the French Philologiſts than the contending againſt that moſt eſtabliſhed doctrine of early Antiquity, that the greater Gods of Paganiſm were all dead men deified. Il ſoit aiſé de prouver (ſays one of them) que, de tous les Dieux du Paganiſme, Hercule, Caſtor & Pollux ſont les ſeuls qui aient eté veritablement des hommes. Hiſt. de l'Academie Royale des Inſcript. &c. tom. xxiii. p. 17.

P. 476. [UUU]. Winckelman, in his Hiſtoire de l'Art chez les Anciens, vol. I. p. 97, ſays I am miſtaken, in ſuppoſing it to be made at Rome. And that this is an opinion I have adopted without any foundation—il ne paroît avoir adopté cette opinion, deſtituée de fondement, que parce qu'elle cadre avec ſon ſyſteme. That I told my opinion, becauſe it quadrated with my ſyſtem, is certain. But that it is not without *foundation* he might have underſtood by the very hint I gave of the *devotees of Iſis in Rome*. Theſe were very numerous, and had the liberty of celebrating their own country rites. And when they had this, it would be hard upon them not to permit a Roman Artificer to make them one of the proper implements of their worſhip, and decent furniture for their Temple. The Jews at the ſame time had the like indulgence in Rome, and without doubt made the like uſe of it in directing Roman workmen to make them utenſils like theſe, once employed in their Temple worſhip. Now ſhould one of theſe chance to fall into the hands of an antiquarian of the ſize of Winckelman, he would ſay they could never have been made at Rome, but at Jeruſalem, for that they were intirely different from the ſtile of the Roman ſchool. And this wiſe remark Winckelman makes with regard to the *Bembine Table*—les Hieroglyphes qui s'y trouvent, et qu'on ne voit ſur aucun ouvrage *imité* par les Romains, en prouvant l'antiquité et refutent *d'avance*,

d'avance, tous les ſentimens qui pourroient y être contraires. But after all how does he know but that the Romans might be at one time as fond of *Egyptian Hieroglyphics* as we in England (whom he ſays have neither art nor taſte) have lately been of *Chineſe filigrane?* Would he therefore, becauſe there is certainly as wide a difference between the Chineſe and the Engliſh ſtile as there was between the Egyptian and the Roman, deprive us of a faſhion which we have been at ſo much pains to make our own? They ſeem to have been fond enough of Hieroglyphics when they were at ſo much coſt and labour of tranſporting to Rome the gigantic Obeliſques covered all over with them. And though the grandees procured theſe for their bulk, and not for their literature, the common people might miſtake, and grow fond of theſe overbearing ſtrangers, for the ſake of their imputed learning, which they might take upon truſt, and be ready to tranſcribe into ſmaller volumes, ſuch as the *Bembine Table*. In a word, the good man, with all the advantage of eye-ſight—je n'ai parlé, ſays he, que de ce que j'ai vu—has not been able to diſtinguiſh between works which a Roman artificer was employed to make for a *Barbarian* cuſtomer, and thoſe he made according to his own fancy, or on Grecian rules, to pleaſe the more elegant taſte of his own countrymen.

P. 484. [XXX] To this I ſhall be bold to add one or two more: For though Antiquity be full and clear in this matter, yet leſt it ſhould be ſaid, that as the Greeks talk of things done long before their time, it might very well be that, for the credit of the God, tradition would pretend a very early deification, how ſhort ſoever, in reality, of the age of the hero; leſt this, I ſay, ſhould be objected, I ſhall give an inſtance or two of the fact from contemporary evidence. God ſpeaking by the Prophet to the king of Tyre ſays: *Thine heart is lifted up, and thou haſt ſaid, I am a God, I ſit in the ſeat of God in the midſt of the ſeas; yet thou art a man and not God.—Wilt thou yet ſay before him that ſlayeth thee, I am a God? but thou ſhalt be a man and no God, in the hand of him that ſlayeth thee*, Ezek. xxviii. 2—9. This I underſtand to denote a real worſhip paid to the living king of Tyre, by his idolatrous ſubjects: it is not unlikely but he afterwards became one of the *Greek Neptunes*. The Rabbins ſeem to have underſtood the text in this ſenſe, when, as Jerom obſerves, they made him to have lived a thouſand years. For the Egyptians taught (whoſe ceremonial of the *apotheoſis* was followed by the reſt of the nations) that their firſt God-

Kings reigned a thouſand or twelve hundred years a-piece. Μυθολογέσι (ſays Diodorus) δὲ καὶ τῶν θεῶν τὸς ἀρχαιοτάτος βασιλεῦσαι πλείω τῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων ἐτῶν.—p. 15. We have already taken notice of Odin and his early conſecration. But Tacitus aſſures us, it was a general cuſtom amongſt the Northern Barbarians to deify without loſs of time: and this not in jeſt, like their contemporary Romans. For ſpeaking of the German nations he ſays: *Ea virgo* [Velleda] *nationis Bructeræ late imperitabat:* VETERE *apud Germanos* MORE, *quo pleraſque feminarum fatidicas &* augeſcente ſuperſtitione, *arbitrentur* DEAS, lib. iv. hiſt. And again of the ſame heroine: *Vidimus* DIVO *Veſpaſiano* Velledam, *diu apud pleroſque* NUMINIS LOCO *habitam. Sed & olim Auriniam, & complures alias venerati ſunt,* NON ADULATIONE NEC TANQUAM FACERENT DEAS. Here the hiſtorian hints at the mock deifications in Rome, and inſinuates, that theſe in Germany were of another nature, and believed in good earneſt.

P. 489. [YYY] This paradox, as we ſay, is advanced in defiance of Antiquity. The *Myſteries*, in their ſecret communications, taught that ALL THE NATIONAL GODS WERE DEAD MEN DEIFIED. Of this we are aſſured by the expreſs teſtimony of the moſt learned ancients, both Gentile and Chriſtian; Cicero, Julius Firmicus, Plutarch, Euſebius, Clemens Alexandrinus, Cyprian, and St. Auſtin. See the firſt volume of the *Divine Legation*. And will this author pretend to ſay, that the inſtitutors of the *Myſteries* did not know the true original of their national Gods? But we have much more than their bare teſtimony; almoſt every rite in the ancient worſhip of theſe Gods declared them to be DEAD MORTALS: ſuch as the ſolemn mournings and lamentations with which they began their celebrations; the cuſtom of never coming to worſhip empty-handed, but with a preſent, as was the Eaſtern uſe when they approached their princes; the building ſumptuous houſes for their Gods, and ſetting meat before them for their refreſhment; with a number of other domeſtic uſages, too tedious to dwell upon. Thus the cleareſt facts and moſt creditable teſtimony concur to ſupport this notorious truth; a truth, which they who moſt eagerly defended Paganiſm, and they who moſt maliciouſly undermined it; as well the miniſters of the *Myſteries*, as Euhemerus and his followers, equally allowed. On what then is this author's paradox ſupported? On the common foundation of moſt modern philologic ſyſtems, ETYMOLOGIES; which, like fungous excreſcencies, ſpring up from old Hebrew roots, mythologically

cally cultivated. To be let into this new method of improving barren ſenſe, we are to underſtand, that in the ancient oriental tongues the few *primitive* words muſt needs bear many different ſignifications; and the numerous *derivatives* be infinitely equivocal. Hence any thing may be made of Greek proper names, by turning them to Oriental ſounds, ſo as to ſuit every ſyſtem paſt, preſent, and to come. To render this familiar to the reader by example: M. Pluche's ſyſtem is, that the Gentile Gods came from *Agriculture:* All he wants then, is to pick out (conſonant to the Greek proper names) Hebrew words which ſignify a *plow, tillage,* or *ears of corn*; and ſo his buſineſs is done. Another comes, let it be Fourmont, and he brings news, that the Greek Gods were *Moſes* or *Abraham*; and the ſame ductile ſounds produce, from the ſame primitive words, a *chief,* a *leader,* or a *true believer*; and then, to uſe his words, *Nier qu'il s'agiſſe ici du ſeul Abraham, c'eſt être aveugle d'eſprit & d'un aveuglement irremediable.* A third and fourth appear upon the ſcene, ſuppoſe them, Le Clerc and Bannier; who, prompted by the learned Bochart, ſay, that the Greek Gods were only *Phenician voyagers*; and then, from the ſame ready ſources, flow *navigation, ſhips,* and *negociators.* And when any one is at a loſs in this game of crambo, which can never happen but by being duller than ordinary, the kindred dialects of the Chaldee and Arabic lie always ready to make up their deficiencies. To give an inſtance of all this in the caſe of poor diſtreſſed OSIRIS, whom hoſtile Critics have driven from his family and friends, and reduced to a mere vagabond upon earth. M. Pluche derives his name from *Ochoſi-erets, domaine de la terre*; Mr. Fourmont from *Hoſcheiri, habitant de Seir,* the dwelling of Eſau, who is his Oſiris; and Voſſius from *Shicher* or *Sior,* one of the ſcripture names for the Nile. I have heard of an old humouriſt, and a great dealer in etymologies, who boaſted, *That he not only knew whence Words came, but whither they were going.* And indeed, on any ſyſtem-maker's telling me his Scheme, I will undertake to ſhew *whither all his old words are going:* for in ſtrict propriety of ſpeech they cannot be ſaid to be *coming from,* but *going to* ſome old Hebrew root.—There are certain follies (of which this ſeems to be in the number) whoſe ridicule ſtrikes ſo ſtrongly, that it is felt even by thoſe who are moſt ſubject to commit them. Who that has read M. Huet's Demonſtratio Evangelica, would have expected to ſee him ſatiriſe, with ſo much ſpirit, the very nonſenſe with which his own learned book abounds?

Le veritable uſage de la connoiſſance des langues étant perdu, l'abus y a ſuccédé. On s'en eſt ſervi pour ETYMOLOGISER—on veut trouver dans l'Hebreu et ſes dialectes la ſource de tous les mots et de toutes les langues, toutes les barbares et étranges qu'elles puiſſent être—Se preſente-t-il un nom de quelque Roi d'Ecoſſe ou de Norvége, on ſe met aux champs avec ſes conjectures; on en va chercher l'origine dans la Paleſtine. A-t-on de la peine à l'y rencontrer? On paſſe en Babylone. Ne ſ'y trouve-il point, l'Arabie n'eſt pas loin: & en un beſoin même on pouſſeroit juſqu'en Ethiopie, plutot que de ſe trouver court d'ETYMOLOGIES: et l'on battant de païs qu'il eſt impoſſible enfin qu'on ne trouve un mot qui ait quelque convenance de lettres et de ſon avec celui, dont on cherche l'origine.—Par cet art on trouve dans l'Hebreu ou ſes dialectes, l'origine des noms du Roi Artur, & tous les Chevaliers de la Table ronde; de Charlemagne, & des douze pairs de France; et même en un beſoin de tous les Yncas du Perou. Par cet art, un Allemand que j'ai connu, prouvoit que Priam avoit été le même qu'Abraham; et Æneas le même que Jonas.—Lettre au Bochart. On ſuch ſubjects as theſe, however, this trifling can do no great harm. But when, by a ſtrange fatality of the times, it is transferred from matters of profane Antiquity, to ſuch important queſtions as the redemption of mankind, and faith in the Meſſiah, we are ready to execrate a Caballiſtic madneſs which expoſes our holy religion to the ſcorn and deriſion of every unbeliever, whoſe bad principles have not yet deprived him of all remains of common ſenſe.

P. 511. [ZZZ] As Sir Iſaac's own words ſeem ſo much to ſhake his ſyſtem, I ſhall quote them at length: "The lower part of Egypt being "yearly overflowed by the Nile, was ſcarce inhabited before the inven- "tion of corn, which made it uſeful: and the king, who by this invention "firſt peopled it and reigned over it, perhaps the king of the city Meſir, "where Memphis was afterwards built, ſeems to have been worſhipped by "his ſubjects after death, in the ox or calf, for this benefaction," p. 197, 198.

P. 511. [AAAA] I apprehend ſuch miſtakes were pretty general in the traditional accounts of nations, concerning their early times. Garcillaſſo's hiſtory of the YNCAS affords us juſt ſuch another inſtance. "Ils pretendent "(ſays the French tranſlator) qu'un de leur Rois fût un grand *Legiſlateur*. "Ils diſent de plus, qu'il fût un excellent capitaine, qui *conquit un grand*

"*nombre*

" *nombre de Provinces & de Royaumes.* Mais pour le tirer de ce Labyrinte, " ils *attribuent au premier Inca tous ces choſes*, tant pour ce qui eſt de leurs " Loix, que du fondement de leur Empire." Vol. i. p. 150.

P. 516. [BBBB] Julius Cæſar had ſo little doubt of this matter, that ſpeaking of the Gauls, he ſays, *Deum maximè* Mercurium *colunt—Poſt hunc*, Apollinem & Martem & Jovem & Minervam. *De his eandem ferè, quam reliquæ gentes, habent opinionem.* De Bell. Gall. l. vi. ſect. 15. The reaſon he gives is, that the ſeveral Gods of Gaul had attributes correſpondent to thoſe of Greece and Rome. Hence he, and moſt other writers, concluded them to be the ſame. So Tacitus obſerves of the Germans, that they worſhipped Mercury, Hercules, and Mars, deorum maxime Mercurium colunt—Herculem ac Martem conceſſis animalibus placant. [*De mor. Ger.* c. ix.] and ſpeaking of the Æſtii, a nation of the Suevians, he ſays, they worſhipped the *mother of the Gods.—Ergo jam dextro Suevici maris littore Æſtiorum gentes adluuntur: quibus ritus habituſque Suevorum, lingua Britannicæ propior.* Matrem Deûm venerantur. [c. 45.] But this *Mother of the Gods* was, as we learn from the ancient Northern Chronicles, an idol peculiar to thoſe people, called Solotta Babba, or *the golden woman.* Yet as ſhe moſt reſembled the *Mother of the Gods*, ſhe is called ſo by Tacitus without any heſitation: who yet, in another place, ſpeaking of the worſhip paid to Caſtor and Pollux amongſt this people, gives us to underſtand by his expreſſion that no more was meant than that the Germans had a couple of Gods whoſe attributes and relation to one another bore a reſemblance to the Greek and Roman *Dioſcuri.* " Præſidet ſacerdos muliebri " ornatu, ſed Deos, *interpretatione Romana*, Caſtorem Pollucemque me- " morant." [c. 43.] But what greatly confirms our opinion is, that, when theſe people were converted from Paganiſm to the Chriſtian faith, their Convertiſts, who had the beſt opportunities and fitteſt occaſion to enquire thoroughly into the ſtate of their ſuperſtition, found neither Greek nor Roman Gods amongſt them; but Idols of their own growth only. And though, indeed, the vulgar herd of Antiquarians, miſled by the Claſſic writers, are wont to ſpeak after them, in this matter, yet the moſt learned inveſtigators of the hiſtory of this people expreſsly affirm the contrary. Of whom I need only mention the celebrated Saxo Grammaticus, who ſays, " Eos qui a noſtris colebantur non eſſe quos Romanorum vetuſtiſſimi " Jovem Mercuriumque dixere, vel quibus Græci Latiumque plenum ſu- " perſtitionis

" perſtitionis obſequium exſolverunt, ex ipſa liquidò feriarum appellatione " colligitur." *Hiſt. Dan.* l. vi. But Tacitus has recorded a circumſtance which fully evinces the miſtake of this ſuppoſed identity. For when he had told us that the Germans worſhipped Mercury, Hercules, Mars, &c. he immediately adds, that they did not worſhip their Gods in Temples, nor under a Human figure. Ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris ſpeciem aſſimilare ex magnitudine cœleſtium arbitrantur. [c. ix.] I quote the words for the *fact*. The *reaſon* ſeems to be a conjecture of his own. Now if the Germans had borrowed their Mercury, Hercules, and Mars, from Greece and Rome, they probably would have worſhipped them in Temples; moſt certainly, under a Human form. And, what is ſtrangeſt of all, Tacitus himſelf afterwards, in the caſe of the Naharvali, ſeems to be ſenſible of this; for having told us that they worſhipped two young Brother Gods, which the Romans conjectured to be Caſtor and Pollux, he makes the following obſervation, as ſeeming to diſſent from them. Nulla SIMULACRA, nullum peregrinæ ſuperſtitionis veſtigium, c. xliii.

A celebrated French author, M. Freret, has borrowed and adopted this ſyſtem. He holds with me, that the Gods of theſe Barbarians were not the ſame with the Greek and Roman Gods; and that the miſtake aroſe from the reſemblance between their attributes, which he ſhews, in the manner I have done (and I ſuppoſe from the obſervations I had made) muſt needs be alike. " Chaque Dieu dans toute religion Polytheiſte avoit ſon diſtrict, ſes " occupations, ſon caractere, &c. Le partage avoit été réglé ſur les paſ- " ſions & ſur les beſoins des hommes: et comme leurs paſſions & leurs " beſoins ſont les mêmes par tout, les départemens des Dieux barbares " avoient neceſſairement du rapport avec ceux des divinités de la Gréce. " Il falloit par tout une intelligence qui gouvernât le ciel, & qui " lancât le tonnerre. Il en falloit d'autres pour gouverner les élémens, " pour préſider à la guerre, au commerce, à la paix, &c. La conformité " des emplois entraînoit une reſſemblance d'attributs: & c'étoit ſur ce " fondement, que les Grecs & les Romains donnoient les noms de leurs " Dieux aux divinités des Barbares."—Voiez M. de la Bleterie, ſes remarques ſur la Germanie de Tacit. p. 155.

In concluſion; the learned reader will remark, that this is a ſpecies of that general *conformity* which I had obſerved commonly aſcribed to *imitation*, when in truth its ſource is in our common nature, and the ſimilar circum

circumſtances in which the partakers of it are generally found. Here again I have the pleaſure of finding this M. Freret agree with me in this general principle, as before in the particular ſyſtem of polytheiſm here advanced. " Il ſeroit utile, dit M. Freret, de raſſembler les conformités " qui ſe trouvent entre des nations qu'on ſait n'avoir jamais eu de commerce " enſemble. Ces exemples pourroient rendre les critiques un peu moins " hardis à ſuppoſer qu'une nation a emprunté certains opinions & certains " coûtumes d'une autre nation, dont elle étoit ſéparée par une très-grande " diſtance, & avec qui l'on ne voit point qu'elle ait jamais eu la moindre " communication." See M. de la Bleterie, p. 168. and compare it with what I had ſaid many years before at the end of the laſt ſection of this IVth Book. When I reflect upon the honours of this kind, which ſeveral writers of this *humane* nation have done me in ſilence, it puts me in mind of what Muret ſays of Macrobius on the like occaſion,—ut appareat eum factitaſſe eandem artem, quam plerique hoc ſæculo faciunt, qui ita humani a ſe nihil alienum putant, ut alienis æquè utantur ac ſuis.

P. 518. [CCCC] It is remarkable, that though Herodotus tells us, theſe Pelaſgians, before their knowledge or admiſſion of the *Egyptian names*, ſacrificed to their Gods, [Ἔθυον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οὗτοι Πελασγοὶ], yet when they had admitted theſe *names*, he gives the matter of ſacrificing as one change which this admiſſion had introduced; *from that time*, ſays he, *they ſacrificed* [ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τότε τοῦ χρόνου ἔθυον]. A paſſage in Julius Cæſar will explain this difficulty: After he had given an account of the Gods of the Gauls, who, living under a civil Policy, worſhipped Hero-gods; he goes on to thoſe of the uncivilized Germans, which, he tells us, were only the celeſtial Luminaries and Elements. *Deorum numero eos ſolos ducunt, quos cernunt, & quorum opibus apertè juvantur*; Solem & Vulcanum & Lunam. *Reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt*. De Bell. Gall. vi. ſect. 19. The very Gods, as we obſerved, of all the uncivilized idolaters upon earth. Now of theſe Barbarians he adds, *Neque* Druides *habent, qui rebus divinis præſint*; *neque* SACRIFICIIS STUDENT. They were not nice and exact in the matter of *ſacrificing:* and no wonder, for he tells us, they had no Prieſts. Now Herodotus, ſpeaking of his Barbarians, informs us of the ſame thing, though in other words, and on a different occaſion. *They ſacrificed*, ſays he, *every thing without diſtinction*; this was the *neque ſacrificiis ſtudent* of Cæſar. But when they came to uſe the *names* of the Egyptian Gods, then

ἔθυον,

ἔθυον, *they ſacrificed*, i. e. made a *ſtudy* of it, had a large Ritual concerning it, and no longer ſacrificed without diſtinction. For theſe *names* being expreſſive of each God's peculiar nature, qualities, and diſpoſitions, ſoon introduced a diſtinction of ſacrifices, according to the imaginary agreement or diſagreement between the *ſubject* and the *object*.

P. 518. [DDDD] This *communication of names* (from whence the men we are arguing againſt inferred, that the Grecian Gods were originally Egyptian) made another party, ſuch as Bochart, Huet, and Fourmont, conclude they were originally Jewiſh. Thus the laſt of theſe writers in one place ſays, *Par tout ce diſcours il eſt clair, que les Romains, les Grecs, les Phrygiens, les Thraces, les Getes, les autres Scythes, & en general tous les peuples Guerriers ont adoré* Mars ſans le connoître, *& que c'etoit un Dieu originairement Phenicien, comme les autres grands Dieux.* [Reſl. Crit. vol. i. p. 103.] And in another place, *Mais en voilà aſſez ſur ce Dieu ou Heros, qui, comme l'on voit, avoit été fort illuſtre* SANS ETRE CONNU. [p. 156.] For, according to theſe Critics, a pagan Hero was never *known* till his pedigree had been traced up into the Holy family.

P. 524. [EEEE] But, beſides the Greek and Egyptian, there was certainly an *Indian* Bacchus: whoſe exiſtence and hiſtory the learned Mr. Shuckford has well diſembarraſſed. I ſhall quote his words, and this with more pleaſure than I have yet done on moſt occaſions. "There have been "ſeveral perſons called by the name of *Bacchus*; at leaſt one in *India*, one "in *Egypt*, and one in *Greece*; but we muſt not confound them one with "the other, eſpecially when we have remarkable hints by which we may "ſufficiently diſtinguiſh them. For, 1. The Indian Bacchus was the firſt "and moſt ancient of all that bore that name. 2. He was the firſt that "preſſed the grape and made wine. 3. He lived in theſe parts before there "were any cities in India. 4. They ſay he was twice born, and that he "was nouriſhed in the thigh of *Jupiter*. Theſe are the particulars which "the Heathen writers give us of the Indian Bacchus; and from all theſe "hints it muſt unqueſtionably appear that he was Noah, and no other. "Noah being the firſt man in the *poſt-diluvian* world, lived early enough to "be the moſt ancient Bacchus; and Noah, according to Moſes, was the "firſt that made wine. Noah lived in thoſe parts as ſoon as he came out "of the ark, earlier than there were any cities built in India; and as to the "laſt circumſtance of Bacchus being twice born, and brought forth out

"of

" of the thigh of Jupiter, Diodorus gives us an unexpected light into the " true meaning of this tradition; he says, *that Bacchus was said to be* " *twice born, because in Deucalion's flood he was thought to have perished with* " *the rest of the world, but* GOD *brought him again as by a second nativity* " *into the sight of men, and they say, mythologically, that he came out of* " *the thigh of Jupiter.*" Connection, vol. II. p. 49, 50.

P. 530. [FFFF]. Τὴν δὴ μελεξέτεροι φασὶ Ἑλλήνων Ῥοδώπιδι ἑταίρης γυναικὸς εἶναι. Herod. l. ii. c. 134. Their handle for this was a story the Egyptian priests told of their king Cheops, the great builder of Pyramids. That, having exhausted his revenues, he raised a new fund for his expences by the prostitution of his DAUGHTER: By which the priests, in their figurative way of recording matters, only meant, as I suppose, that he prostituted JUSTICE. This interpretation is much confirmed by the character they give of his son *Mycerinus*, δίκας δέ σφι πάντων βασιλέων δικαιοτάτας κρίνειν. [See Herod. l. ii. c. 126, 129.] However the Greeks took it literally.

P. 531. [GGGG]. Plutarch, in Theseus, tells us, that when the daughter of Pitheus bore Theseus of Ægeus, her father gave out that the infant was begot by Neptune.

P. 540. [HHHH]. That Homer collected his materials from the old Songs and Poems of his predecessors, I conclude from this circumstance; In those things wherein he might be instructed by the records of poesy, we find him calling upon the MUSES to inform him: But when he relates what happened amongst the Gods, which he could only learn by poetical inspiration, he goes boldly into his story, without invoking the *Muses*, at all. Thus when he speaks of the squabbles between Jupiter, and his wife Juno, he tells them with as little preparation as if they had been his next door neighbours. But when he comes to give a catalogue of the Grecian forces which went to the siege of Troy, the likeliest of all subjects to be found in the old poems of his Ancestors, he invocates the Muses in the most solemn and pompous manner: which therefore I understand as only a more figurative intimation (to give the greater authority to what followed), that he took his account from authentic records, and not from uncertain tradition. And these old poems being, in his time, held sacred, as supposed to be written by a kind of divine impulse, an in-

vocation to them, under the name of the Goddeſſes, who were ſaid to have inſpired them, was an extreme natural and eaſy figure:

Ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι, Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι·
Ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαί ἐστε, πάρεστέ τε, ἴστέ τε πάντα,
Ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἷον ἀκούομεν, οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν·
Οἵτινες ἡγεμόνες——Ιλ. β. ver. 484.

"Say, Virgins, ſeated round the throne divine,
"All-knowing Goddeſſes! immortal nine!
"Since Earth's wide regions, Heaven's unmeaſured height,
"And Hell's abyſs hide nothing from your ſight,
"We wretched mortals loſt in doubt below,
"But gueſs by rumour, and but boaſt we know,
"Oh, ſay what Heroes."——Mr. Pope.

Which, put into a plain dreſs, is no more than this, *That as the old records of the poets had preſerved a very circumſtantial account of the forces warring before Troy, he choſe rather to fetch his accounts from thence than from uncertain and confuſed tradition.*

This obſervation will help to explain another particular in Homer, and as remarkable; namely, his ſo frequently telling us, as he is deſcribing perſons or things, that they bore one name amongſt the Gods, and another amongſt Mortals. Which, we may now collect, means no more than that, in thoſe old poems, they were called differently from what they were in the time of Homer. Thus ſpeaking of Titan he ſays,

Ὣκα δ' Ἐκαλέσσατο μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον,
Ὃν Βριάρεων καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δέ τε πάντες
Αἰγαίων——Ιλ. α. ver 402.

"Then call'd by thee, the monſter Titan came,
"Whom Gods, Briareus, men Ægeon name." Mr. Pope.

So again,

Ἔστι δέ τις προπάροιθε πόλεως αἰπεῖα κολώνη,
Ἐν πεδίῳ ἀπάνευθε, περίδρομος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα·
Τὴν ἦτοι ἄνδρες βατίειαν κικλήσκουσιν,
Ἀθάνατοι δέ τε σῆμα πολυσκάρθμοιο Μυρίνης. Ιλ. β. ver. 811.

"Amidſt

" Amidſt the plain in ſight of Ilion ſtands
" A riſing mount, the work of human hands,
" This for Myrinnè's Tomb th' immortals know,
" Tho' call'd Bateïa in the world below." Mr. POPE.

And again,

Ἄνλα δ' ἄρ' Ἡφαίστοιο μέγας πολεμὸς βαθυδίνης,
Ὃν Ξάνθον καλέεσι θεοὶ, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον. Ιλ. υ. ver. 73.

" With fiery Vulcan laſt in battle ſtands
" The ſacred flood that rolls on golden ſands;
" Xanthus his name with thoſe of heav'nly birth,
" But call'd Scamander by the ſons of earth." Mr. POPE.

Now ſuppoſing theſe names were not taken by Homer from the old poems, no reaſonable account can be given for his ſo particular an information of this circumſtance. But allow them to be taken thence, and the reaſon is evident. It was to remind the reader, from time to time, that he ſtill kept their own venerable records in his eye; which would give weight and authority to what he delivered. The old names are called by Homer, the *Names uſed by the immortals*, on theſe three accounts: 1. As they were the names employed in the old ſacred poems. 2. As they were in uſe in the firſt heroic ages. And 3. As they were of barbarous and Egyptian original; from whence came the mythologic hiſtory of the Gods. Two lines of the pretended Chaldaic oracles, collected by Patricius, explain this whole matter well, as they ſhew the great reverence of the Ancients for the *Religion of Names*:

Ὀνόμαλα βάρβαρα μήποτ' ἀλλάξῃς,
Εἰσὶ γὰρ ὀνόμαλα παρ' ἑκάστοις θεόσδοτα.

Never change barbarous Names; for every nation hath Names which it received from God.

P. 544. [IIII], The late biſhop Sherlock ſuppoſed, that " the divine original of the Law might be inferred from this prohibition of the uſe of Cavalry: for that nothing but a divine command could have prevailed with Moſes *to forbid the princes of his country the uſes of Horſes and Chariots for their defence.*" [4th Diſſert. p. 329. Ed. 4.] But I chuſe not to inſiſt on this, as the uſe of Cavalry could not be neceſſary for their defence after they were in poſſeſſion of the country.

P. 551. [KKKK]. It is true Diodorus ſuppoſes, the principal reaſon was to cover and ſecure the flat country from hoſtile incurſions: τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδους ὀχυρὰν καὶ δυσέμβολον ἐποίησε τὴν χώραν, p. 36. But ſure he hath choſen a very unlikely time for ſuch a proviſion. The return of Seſoſtris from the conqueſt of the habitable world would hardly have been attended with apprehenſions of any evil of this kind.

P. 556. [LLLL]. The reader may not be diſpleaſed to ſee Homer's ideas of this matter: who ſuppoſes the ſcience of architecture to be arrived at great perfection in the time of the Trojan war. For ſpeaking of the habitation of Paris (whom, as his great tranſlator rightly obſerves, Homer makes to be *a bel-eſprit and a fine genius)* he deſcribes it in this manner:

Ἕκτωρ δὲ πρὸς δώματ' Ἀλεξάνδροιο βεβήκει
ΚΑΛΑ, τά ῥ' αὐτὸς ἔτευξε σὺν ἀνδράσιν, οἳ τότ' ΑΡΙΣΤΟΙ
Ἦσαν ἐνὶ Τροίῃ ἐριβώλακι ΤΕΚΤΟΝΕΣ ἄνδρες,
Οἵ οἱ ἐποίησαν ΘΑΛΑΜΟΝ, καὶ ΑΥΛΗΝ, καὶ ΑΥΛΗΝ. Ιλ. ζ. 310.

Here, we ſee a magnificent palace, built by profeſt architects, with all ſuits of apartments; as different from the deſcription of Hector's dwelling, as the character of the maſters from one another; of which laſt he only ſays, it was a commodious habitation.

Αἶψα δ' ἔπειθ' ἵκανε δόμους ΕΥ ΝΑΙΕΤΑΟΝΤΑΣ
Ἕκτορος.— Ibid. 497.

P. 567. [MMMM]. In the hiſtory of the acts of Hezekiah, king of Judah, it is ſaid, that, "He removed the high places, and brake the ima-"ges, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces the braſen ſerpent "that Moſes had made: for unto thoſe days the children of Iſrael did "burn incenſe to it: and he called it NEHUSHTAN." [2 Kings xviii. 4.] The hiſtorian's care to record the *name* which the king gave to the braſen ſerpent, when he paſſed ſentence upon it, will appear odd to thoſe who do not reflect upon what hath been ſaid, about the ſuperſtition of NAMES. But that will ſhew us the propriety of the obſervation. This idol, like the reſt, had doubtleſs its *name of honour*, alluding to its ſanative attributes. Good Hezekiah, therefore, in contempt of its title of deification, called it NEHUSHTAN, which ſignifies A THING OF BRASS. And it was not

not out of ſeaſon either to nickname it then, or to convey the mockery to poſterity: For the NAME of a demoliſhed God, like the ſhade of a deceaſed Hero, ſtill walked about, and was ready to prompt men to miſchief.

P. 571. [NNNN]. A learned writer [Mr. Fourmont, Reflexions Critiques ſur les Hiſtoires de anciens Peuples] hath followed a ſyſtem which very well accounts for this unconquerable propenſity to Egyptian ſuperſtitions. He ſuppoſeth that the Egyptian, and conſequently the Jewiſh idolatry, conſiſted in the worſhip of the dead Patriarchs, Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, &c. The miſchief is, that this ſhould have the common luck of ſo many other learned Syſtems, to have all Antiquity obſtinately bent againſt it. Not more ſo, however, than its Author is againſt Antiquity, as the reader may ſee by the inſtance I am about to give him. Mr. Fourmont, in conſequence of his ſyſtem, having taken it into his head, that Cronus, in Sanchoniatho, was ABRAHAM; notwithſtanding that fragment tells us, that Cronos rebelled againſt his father, and cut off his privities; buried his brother alive, and murdered his own ſon and daughter; that he was an idolater; and a propagator of idolatry, by conſecrating ſeveral of his own family; that he gave away the kingdom of Athens to the Goddeſs Athena; and the kingdom of Egypt to the God Taaut; notwithſtanding all this, ſo foreign and inconſiſtent with the hiſtory of Abraham, yet, becauſe the ſame fragment ſays, that Cronos, in the time of a plague, ſacrificed his only ſon to appeaſe the ſhade of his murdered father; and circumciſed himſelf and his whole army; on the ſtrength of this, and two or three cold, fanciful etymologies, this great Critic cries out, *Nier qu'il s'agiſſe ici du ſeul Abraham, c'eſt être* AVEUGLE D'ESPRIT, ET D'UN AVEUGLEMENT IRREMEDIABLE. Liv. ii. ſect. 3, c. 3.

P. 581. [OOOO]. Fornication, adultery, whoredom, are the conſtant figures under which the Holy Spirit repreſents the idolatries of the Iſraelites: conſequently, by this character of the *Egyptians being great of fleſh*, and in another place, *their fleſh was as the fleſh of aſſes, and their iſſue like the iſſue of horſes*, Ezek. xxiii. 20. we are given to underſtand that Egypt was the grand origin and incentive of idolatry, and the propagator of it amongſt the reſt of mankind: which greatly confirms our general poſition concerning the antiquity of this Empire.

P. 586.

P. 586. [PPPP]. Yet this evaſive reaſoning a ſyſtematic writer, who has therefore often fallen in our way, would ſeem to inſinuate in an argument deſigned to make ſhort work with Spencer's learned volumes. His words are theſe—" It is remarkable that ſome learned writers, and Dr. " Spencer in particular, have imagined, that the reſemblance between the " ancient Heathen Religions, and the *ancient Religion which was inſtituted* " *by* God, was in many reſpects ſo great, that they thought that God " *was pleaſed to inſtitute the one in imitation of the other.* This concluſion " is indeed a very wrong one, and it is the grand miſtake which runs " through all the works of the very learned author laſt mentioned." " The " ancient Heathen Religions do indeed in many particulars agree with the " inſtitutions and appointments of that Religion, *which was appointed to* " Abraham *and to his family, and which was afterwards revived by* Moſes; " not that theſe were derived from thoſe of the Heathen nations, but " much more evidently the Heathen religions were copied from them; for " there is, I think, ONE OBSERVATION, which, as far as I have had op- " portunity to apply it, will fully anſwer every particular that Dr. Spencer " has offered, and that is this; He is able to produce no one ceremony or " uſage, practiſed both *in the religion of* Abraham *or* Moſes, and in that of " the Heathen nations, but that it may be proved, that it was uſed by " *Abraham* or *Moſes*, or by ſome other of the true worſhippers of God " earlier than by any of the Heathen nations." Sacred and Prof. Hiſt. Connected, vol. I. 2d ed. p. 316, 317. This writer, we ſee, ſeems here to ſuppoſe a palpable falſhood; which is, that there is an impalpable difference between the *Moſaic* and *Patriarchal* Religions. But this was not the principal reaſon of my quoting ſo long a paſſage. It was to conſider his ONE OBSERVATION, which is to do ſuch wonders. Now I cannot find that it amounts to any more than this; That the Bible, in which is contained the account of the Jewiſh Religion, is a much older book than any other that pretends to give account of the national Religions of Paganiſm. But how this diſcredits Dr. Spencer's opinion I cannot underſtand. I can eaſily ſee indeed the advantage this learned writer would have had over it, had there been any ancient books which delivered the *origin of Gentile religions* in the ſame circumſtantial manner that the Bible delivers this of the *Jewiſh*; and that, on a proper application of this ONE OBSERVATION, it appeared that Dr. Spencer, with all his labour, *was able to produce no one ceremony or uſage practiſed both in true and falſe religion, but that it might*

might be proved it was uſed firſt in the true. But as things ſtand at preſent, what is it this learned writer would be at? The Bible is, by far, the oldeſt book in the world. It records the hiſtory of a Religion given by GOD to a people who had been long held in a ſtate of ſlavery by a great and powerful empire. The ancient hiſtorians, in their accounts of the religious rites and manners of that monarchy, deliver many which have a ſurpriſing relation to the Jewiſh ritual; and theſe rites, theſe manners, were, they tell us, as old as the monarchy. Thus ſtands the evidence on the preſent ſtate of things. So that it appears, if, by *it may be proved*, the learned writer means to confine his proof to contemporary evidence, he only tells us what the reader knew before, *viz.* That the Bible is the oldeſt book in the world. But if, by *it may be proved*, he means proved by ſuch arguments as the nature of the thing will admit, then he tells us what the reader knows now to be falſe. Sir Iſaac Newton hath given us much the ſame kind of paralogiſm in his account of the original letters. *There is no inſtance*, ſays he, *of letters for writing down ſounds being in uſe before the days of David in any other nation beſides the poſterity of Abraham.* [Chron. p. 209.] So that what hath been ſaid above in anſwer to the other will ſerve equally againſt this. I would only remark, that the learned writer ſeems to have borrowed his ONE OBSERVATION from a chapter of Witſius's *Ægyptiaca*, thus intitled, *Nullius Hiſtorici ſufficienti Teſtimonio probari poſſe, ea quæ in Religione laudabilia ſunt apud Ægyptios, quam apud Hebræos antiquiora fuiſſe*, l. iii. c. 1. to which, what I have here ſaid is, I think, a full anſwer.—The learned writer will forgive me, if, before I leave this paſſage, I take notice of an expreſſion which ſeems to reflect on that good man, and ſincere believer, Dr. Spencer; but I ſuppoſe not deſignedly, becauſe it ſeems a mere inaccuracy. The words are theſe: *they thought* [i. e. Dr. *Spencer* and others] *that* GOD *was pleaſed to inſtitute the one in imitation of the others.* Now this neither Dr. Spencer nor any believer ever thought. They might indeed ſuppoſe that he *inſtituted one in reference to the other*, i. e. that part of its Rites were in direct oppoſition to the cuſtoms of the idolaters; and part, out of regard to the people's prejudices, in conformity to ſuch of their cuſtoms as could not be abuſed to ſuperſtition. But this is a very different thing from *inſtituting one religion in imitation of another.* As no believer could ſuppoſe GOD did this; ſo neither, I will add, could any unbeliever. For this opinion, *That the Jewiſh religion was*

inſtituted

inſtituted in imitation of the Heathen, is what induces the unbeliever to conclude, that God was not its author.

P. 586. [QQQQ]. The parentheſis ſeems odd enough. It may not therefore be unſeaſonable to explain the admirable reaſoning of our divine Maſter on this occaſion. Jesus, being charged by the Jews as a tranſgreſſor of the law of Moſes, for having cured a man on the ſabbath-day, thus expoſtulates with his accuſers. "Moſes therefore gave unto you "circumciſion, not becauſe it is of Moſes, but of the Fathers, [οὐχ ὅτι ἐκ "τῦ Μωσέως, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πατέρων] and ye on the ſabbath-day circumciſe a "man. If a man on the ſabbath-day receive circumciſion, that the law "of Moſes ſhould not be broken, are ye angry at me, becauſe I have "made a man every whit whole on the ſabbath-day?" That is, "Moſes enjoined you to obſerve the Rite of Circumciſion, and to perform it on the eighth day: but if this day happen to be on the ſabbath, you interrupt its holy reſt by performing the Rite upon this day, becauſe you will not break the law of Moſes, which marked out a day certain for this work of charity. Are you therefore angry at me for performing a work of equal charity on the ſabbath-day? But you will aſk, why was it ſo ordered by the Law, that either the precept for Circumciſion, or that for the ſabbatical-reſt, muſt needs be frequently tranſgreſſed? I anſwer, that though Moſes, as I ſaid, gave you Circumciſion, yet the Rite was not originally of Moſes, but of the Fathers. Now the Fathers enjoined it to be performed on the eighth day; Moſes enjoined the ſeventh day ſhould be a day of reſt; conſequently the day of reſt and the day of Circumciſion muſt needs frequently fall together. Moſes found Circumciſion inſtituted by a previous covenant which his *law could not diſannul* *. But had he originally inſtituted both, 'tis probable he would have contrived that the two Laws ſhould not have interfered."—This I take to be the ſenſe of that very important parentheſis, *not becauſe it is of Moſes, but of the Fathers*.

P. 586. [RRRR]. No one ever yet miſtook *Circumciſion* for a natural duty; while it has been eſteemed a kind of impiety to deny the *ſabbath* to be in that number. There are two circumſtances attending this latter inſtitution, which have miſled the Sabbatarians in judging of its nature.

* See Gal. iii. 17.

1. The

1. The firſt is, *that* which this poſitive inſtitution and a natural duty hold in common, namely, the ſetting apart a certain portion of our time for the ſervice of Religion.—Natural reaſon tells us, that that Being, who gave us all, requires a conſtant expreſſion of our gratitude for the bleſſings he has beſtowed, which cannot be paid without ſome expence of time: and this time muſt firſt be ſet apart before it can be uſed. But things of very different natures, may hold ſome things in common.

2. The ſecond circumſtance is this, that Moſes, the better to impreſs upon the minds of his People the obſervance of the ſabbath, acquaints them with the early inſtitution of it; that it was enjoined by God himſelf, on his finiſhing the work of creation. But theſe Sabbatarians do not conſider, that it is not the time when a command was given, nor even the author who gave it, that diſcover the claſs to which it belongs, but its *nature* as diſcoverable by human reaſon. And the ſabbath is as much a poſitive inſtitution when given by God to Adam and his poſterity, as when given by Moſes, the meſſenger of God, to the Iſraelites and to their poſterity. To judge otherwiſe, is reducing all God's commands to one and the ſame ſpecies.

Having thus far cleared the way, I proceed to ſhew that the Jewiſh ſabbath is a mere poſitive inſtitution,

1. From the account the Prophet Ezekiel gives of it—*Moreover alſo I gave them my* SABBATH, *to be a* SIGN *between me and them* *. A *ſign* of what? A ſign of a *covenant*. And ſo was *circumciſion* called by God himſelf—*And ye ſhall circumciſe the fleſh of your fore-ſkin, and it ſhall be a* TOKEN [or *ſign*] OF THE COVENANT *between me and you* †. Now nothing but a Rite by inſtitution of a POSITIVE LAW could ſerve for a *ſign* or *token of a covenant* between God and a particular ſelected People; for beſides it's uſe for a *remembrance* of the covenant, it was to ſerve them as a *partition-wall* to ſeparate them from other nations: And this a Rite by poſitive inſtitution might well do, though uſed before by ſome other people, or even borrowed from them. But a natural duty has no capacity of being thus employed: becauſe a practice obſerved by *all* nations would obliterate every tract of a ſign or token of a covenant made with *one*. Indeed, where the Covenant is with the whole race of mankind, and ſo, the *ſign of the covenant* is to ſerve only for a *remembrance*, there, the ſign may

* Chap. xx. ver. 12. † Gen. chap. xvii. ver. 11.

be either a *moral duty* or a *natural phænomenon*. This latter was the caſe in God's promiſe or covenant, not to deſtroy the earth any more by water. Here the Almighty, with equal marks of wiſdom, made a natural and beautiful phænomenon, ſeen over the whole habitable earth, the *token* of that covenant. *And* God *ſaid, This is the* TOKEN OF THE COVENANT. *I do* SET *my bow in the cloud, and it ſhall be for a token of a Covenant between me and the earth*, Gen. ix. 12, 13. Yet it is wonderful to conſider how this matter has been miſtaken. Perhaps the word *ſet* did not a little contribute to it: the expreſſion being underſtood abſolutely; when it ſhould have been taken in the relative ſenſe, of *ſet for a token*. And in this ſenſe, and only in this ſenſe, the *bow* was then FIRST *ſet in a cloud*. However, Dr. Burnet of the Charterhouſe, who had a viſionary theory to ſupport, which made it neceſſary for him to maintain that the phenomenon of the Rain-bow did not exiſt before the flood, endeavours to countenance that fancy from the paſſage above, by ſuch a kind of reaſoning as this, "That, had there been a Rain-bow before the flood, it could not have been properly uſed as a *token* of God's *Covenant*, that he would no more drown the earth, becauſe, being a common appearance, it would give no extraordinary aſſurance of ſecurity." And to this reaſoning Tindal, the author of *Chriſtianity as old as the Creation*, alludes. *Perhaps* (ſays he) *the not knowing the natural cauſe of the rain-bow, occaſioned that account we have in Geneſis of its inſtitution*, page 228, 229. Its *inſtitution!* The expreſſion is excellent. God's appointing the rain-bow to be a *token* or memorial, *for perpetual generations*, of his covenant with mankind, is called, *his inſtitution of the rain-bow*. But ill expreſſion is the homage to nonſenſe, for the privilege of Freethinking. However, his words ſhew, he took it for granted that Moſes repreſents God as then FIRST *ſetting his bow in the clouds*. And it is the reaſoning which we are at preſent concerned with. Now this, we ſay, is founded in groſs ignorance of the nature of *ſimple* compacts and promiſes: in which, the *only ſecurity* for performance is the known good faith of the Promiſer. But, in the caſe before us, the moſt novel or moſt ſupernatural appearance could add nothing to their aſſurance, which aroſe from the evidence of God's veracity. As, on the contrary, had the children of Noah been ignorant of this attribute of the Deity, ſuch an extraordinary phenomenon could have given no aſſurance at all. For what then ſerved the rain-bow? For the wiſe purpoſe ſo well expreſſed by the ſacred writer, for THE TOKEN OF THE COVENANT.

COVENANT. That is, for a memorial or remembrance of it throughout all generations. A method of univerſal practice in the contracts of all civilized nations. Indeed, had this remnant of the human race been made acquainted with GOD's Covenant or promiſe by a third perſon, and in a common way, there had then been occaſion to accompany it with ſome extraordinary or ſupernatural appearance. But for what? Not to give credit to GOD's veracity; but to the veracity of the meſſenger who brought his Will. Now GOD revealed this promiſe *immediately* to the children of Noah. But here lies the miſtake: Our Deiſts have put themſelves in the place of thoſe Patriarchs, when a much lower belonged to them; and, the promiſe being revealed to them only by a third hand, and in a common way, they refuſe to believe it, becauſe not accompanied with a miracle. In the mean time they forget the condition of the Patriarchs when this covenant was made with them; filled with terror and aſtoniſhment at the paſt, and with the moſt diſquieting apprehenſions of a future Deluge, they needed ſome ſuperior aſſurance to allay their fears. Had not that been the caſe, a particular Covenant had not been made with them; and had their poſterity all along continued in the ſame condition, we may certainly conclude, from the uniformity of GOD's dealings with mankind, that he would, from time to time, have renewed this Covenant, in the way it was firſt given; or have ſecured the truth of the tradition by a ſupernatural appearance. But thoſe fears ſoon wore out: and Poſterity, in a little time, became no more concerned in this particular promiſe, than in all the other inſtances of divine goodneſs to mankind. But *Moſes*, as this great philoſopher concludes, *had no knowledge of the natural cauſe of the rain-bow.* It may be ſo: becauſe I know of no uſe that knowledge would have been to his Miſſion. But he was acquainted with the *moral cauſe*, and the *effects* too, of COVENANTS, which was more to the purpoſe of his office and character; and which this freethinkinng DOCTOR OF LAWS ſhould not have been ſo ignorant of.

2. But ſecondly, if the Jewiſh Prophets cannot convince our Sabbatarians, that the Moſaic day of reſt was *a poſitive inſtitution*; yet methinks the expreſs words of Jeſus might, who told the Sabbatarians of that time, the Phariſees, That *the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath.* Mark ii. 27. Now were the obſervation of the Sabbath a natural duty, it is certain, *man was made for the Sabbath*, the end of his

creation being for the obſervance of the MORAL LAW,—the worſhip of the Deity, Temperance and Juſtice: nor can we by natural light conceive any other end. On the contrary, all poſitive inſtitutions *were made for man*, for the better direction of his conduct in certain ſituations of life; the obſervance of which is therefore to be regulated on the end for which they were inſtituted: for (contrary to the nature of moral duties) the obſervance of them may, in ſome circumſtances, become hurtful to man, for whoſe benefit they were inſtituted; and whenever this is the caſe, God and nature grant a diſpenſation.

3. Thirdly, the primitive Chriſtians, on the authority of this plain declaration of their bleſſed Maſter, treated the Sabbath as a poſitive Law, by changing the day dedicated to the ſervice of Religion from the ſeventh to the firſt day, and thus aboliſhed *one* poſitive Law, THE SABBATH inſtituted in memory of the *Creation*, and, by the authority of the Church, erected another, properly called THE LORD'S DAY, in memory of the Redemption.

P. 593. [SSSS] The author of the *Grounds and Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion* ſays—"'They [the Pagans] learnt the art [divination] in ſchools, "or under diſcipline, as the Jews did *propheſying* in the *Schools* and *Colleges* "*of the Prophets*. [For which *Wheatly's Schools of the Prophets* is quoted] "where the learned Dodwell ſays, the candidates for prophecy were taught "the rules of divination practiſed by the Pagans, who were ſkilled therein, "and in poſſeſſion of the art long before them." P. 28.

P. 594. [TTTT] Dr. Mead, in his *Medica Sacra*, cap. iii. p. 25. obſerves that *what is ſaid of the ſpirit of the Lord is not to be underſtood literally*. He did not reflect that the Vicegerent of the Theocracy is here ſpoken of. Otherwiſe, ſurely, he could not but acknowledge that if there was any ſuch thing as the SPIRIT OF THE LORD exiſting in that adminiſtration, it muſt needs reſide in the ſupreme Magiſtrate.

P. 595. [UUUU] There is a difficulty in the hiſtory of *David*, in which SPINOZA much exults, as it ſupports him in his impious undertaking on Sacred Scripture. It is this, in the xvith chapter of the firſt book of Samuel, we find David ſent for to Court, to ſooth Saul's melancholy with his harp. On his arrival, he gave ſo much ſatisfaction, that the diſtempered Monarch ſent to his father to deſire he might *ſtand before him*, ver. 22. that is, remain in his ſervice. David hath leave; and becomes Saul's *Armour-*

mour-bearer, [ver. 21.] Yet in the very next chapter, viz. the xviith (which relates an incurſion of the Philiſtines, and the defiance of Goliah), when David goes to Saul for leave to accept the challenge, neither the king, nor the captain of his hoſt, know any thing of their champion or of his lineage. This is the difficulty, and a great one it is. But it would ſoon become none, in the uſual way Critics have of removing difficulties, which is by ſuppoſing, that, whatever occaſions them is *an interpolation*; and ſome blind manuſcript is always at hand to ſupport the blinder Criticiſm. But had more time been employed in the ſtudy of the *nature of Scripture Hiſtory*, and ſomewhat leſs in *collations* of manuſcripts, thoſe would have found a nearer way to the wood, who now cannot ſee wood for trees. In a word, the true ſolution ſeems to be this: David's adventure with Goliah was prior in time to his ſolacing Saul with his muſic. Which latter ſtory is given by way of anticipation in chap. xvi. but very properly and naturally. For there the hiſtorian having related at large how GOD had rejected Saul, and anointed David, goes on, as it was a matter of higheſt moment in a RELIGIOUS HISTORY, to inform us of the effects both of one and the other; though we are not to ſuppoſe them the inſtantaneous effects. The effect of Saul's rejection was, he tells us, the departure of GOD's ſpirit from him, and his being troubled with an evil ſpirit [ver. 14.]: this leads him, naturally, to ſpeak of the effect of David's election, namely, his being endowed with many divine graces; for Saul's malady was only to be alleviated by David's ſkill on the harp. When the hiſtorian had, in this very judicious manner, anticipated the ſtory, he returns from the 14th to the 23d verſe of the xvith chapter, to the order of time, in the beginning of the xviith chapter. So that the true chronology of this part of David's life ſtands thus: He is anointed by Samuel—he carries proviſions to his brethren, incamped againſt the Philiſtines, in the valley of Elah—he fights and overcomes Goliah—is received into the king's court—contracts a friendſhip with Jonathan—incurs Saul's jealouſy—retires home to his father—is, after ſome time, ſent for back to court, to ſooth Saul's melancholy with his harp—proves ſucceſsful, and is made his armour-bearer—and, again, excites Saul's jealouſy, who endeavours to ſmite him with his javelin. This whole hiſtory is to be found between the firſt verſe of the xvith, and the tenth of the xviiith chapter. Within this, is the anticipation above-mentioned, beginning at the fourteenth verſe of the xvith

xvith chapter, and ending at the twenty-third verſe. Which anticipated hiſtory, in order of time, comes in between the 9th and 10th verſes of the xviiith chapter, where, indeed, the breach is apparent. For in the 9th verſe it is ſaid, *And Saul eyed David from that day forward.* He had juſt begun, as the text tells us, to entertain a jealouſy of David from the women's ſaying in their ſongs, *Saul hath ſlain his thouſands, and David his ten thouſands.*—"*From that day forward Saul eyed David,*" *i. e.* watched over his conduct. Yet, in the very next verſe, it ſays *And it came to paſs on the* MORROW, *that the evil ſpirit from* GOD *came upon Saul—And David played with his hand—And Saul caſt the javelin.* This could never be on the *morrow* of that day on which he firſt began to entertain a jealouſy; for the text ſays, *from that day forward* he began to watch over his conduct, to find whether his jealouſy was well grounded. Here then is the breach, between which, in order of time, comes in the relation of the evil ſpirit's falling upon Saul; his ſending for David from his father's houſe, *&c.* For when Saul began firſt, on account of the ſongs of the women, to grow jealous of David, and to watch his behaviour, David, uneaſy in his ſituation, aſked leave to retire; which we may ſuppoſe was eaſily granted. He is ſent for again to court: Saul again grows jealous: but the cauſe, we are now told, was different: *And Saul was afraid of David,* BECAUSE *the Lord was* WITH HIM, *and was* DEPARTED FROM SAUL, ver. 12. This plainly ſhews, that the departing of GOD's ſpirit from Saul was after the conqueſt of Goliah: conſequently, that all between ver. 14 and 23 of the xvith chapter is an anticipation, and, in order of time, comes in between ver. 9 and 10 of the xviiith chapter, where there is a great breach diſcoverable by the disjointed parts of diſtant time. Thus the main difficulty is maſtered. But there is another near as ſtubborn, which this ſolution likewiſe removes. When David is recommended by the courtiers for the cure of Saul's diſorder, he is repreſented as a *mighty valiant man, a man of war and prudent in matters, and that the Lord was with him,* chap. xvi. 18. *i. e.* a ſoldier well verſed in affairs, and ſucceſsful in his undertakings. Accordingly he is ſent for; and preferred to a place which required valour, ſtrength, and experience; he is made Saul's *armour-bearer.* Yet when afterwards, according to the common chronology, he comes to fight Goliah, he proves a raw unexperienced ſtripling, unuſed to arms, and unable to bear them; and, as ſuch, deſpiſed by the Giant. I will not miſpend the

the reader's time, in reckoning up the ſtrange and forced ſenſes the critics have put upon theſe two paſſages, to make them conſiſtent; but only obſerve, that this reformation of the chronology renders all clear and eaſy. David had vanquiſhed the Philiſtine; was become a favourite of the people; and, on that account, the object of Saul's jealouſy; to avoid the ill effects of which, he prudently retired. During this receſs, Saul was ſeized with his diſorder. His ſervants ſuppoſed it might be alleviated by muſic; Saul conſents to the remedy, and orders an artiſt to be ſought for. They were acquainted with David's ſkill on the harp, and likewiſe with Saul's indiſpoſition towards him. It was a delicate point, which required addreſs; and therefore they recommend him in this artful manner—*The ſon of Jeſſe is cunning in playing, and a mighty valiant man, and a man of war, and prudent in matters, and a comely perſon:*—That is, "as you muſt have one conſtantly in attendance, both at court, and in your military expeditions, to be always at hand on occaſion, the ſon of Jeſſe will become both ſtations well: he will ſtrengthen your camp, and adorn your court; for he is a tried ſoldier, and of a graceful preſence. You have nothing to fear from his ambition, for you ſaw with what prudence he went into voluntary baniſhment, when his popularity had incurred your diſpleaſure."—Accordingly Saul is prevailed on: David is ſent for, and ſucceeds with his muſic. This diſſipates all former umbrage; and, as one that was to be ever in attendance, he is made his *armour-bearer*. This ſunſhine continued, till David's great ſucceſſes again awakened Saul's jealouſy; and then the lifted javelin was, as uſual, to ſtrike off all court-payments. Thus we ſee how theſe difficulties are cleared up, and what light is thrown upon the whole hiſtory by the ſuppoſition of an anticipation in the latter part of the xvith chapter, an anticipation the moſt natural, proper, and neceſſary for the purpoſe of the hiſtorian. The only reaſon I can conceive of its lying ſo long unobſerved is, that, in the xviith chapter, ver. 15. it is ſaid, *But David went, and returned from Saul, to feed his father's ſheep at Beth-lehem.* Now this being when the Iſraelites were encamped in Elah againſt the Philiſtines, and after the relation of his going to court to ſooth Saul's troubled ſpirit with his muſic, ſeems to fix the date of his ſtanding before Saul in quality of muſician in the order of time in which it is related. But the words, *David went and returned from Saul,* ſeem not to be rightly underſtood: they do not mean, David left Saul's Court where he had reſided, but that he

left

left Saul's Camp to which he had been ſummoned. The caſe was this: A ſudden invaſion of the Philiſtines had penetrated to Shochoh, *which belonged to Judah*. Now on ſuch occaſions, there always went out a general ſummons for all able to bear arms, to meet at an appointed rendezvous; where a choice being made of thoſe moſt fit for ſervice, the reſt were ſent back again to their ſeveral homes. To ſuch a rendezvous, all the tribes at this time aſſembled. Amongſt the men of Beth-lehem, came Jeſſe and his eight ſons; the three eldeſt were enrolled into the troops, and the reſt ſent home again. But of theſe, David is only particularly named; as the hiſtory related particularly to him. *Now David was the ſon of that Ephrathite of Bethlehem-Judah, whoſe name was Jeſſe, and he had eight ſons: and the man went amongſt men for an old man in the days of Saul. And the three eldeſt ſons of Jeſſe went and followed Saul to the battle—And David was the youngeſt, and the three eldeſt followed Saul. But David went, and returned from Saul, to feed his father's ſheep at Beth-lehem*, i. e. he was diſmiſſed by the captains of the hoſt, as too young for ſervice. And in theſe ſentiments, we find, they continued, when he returned with a meſſage from his father to the camp.—I have only to add, that this way of anticipation is very frequent with this ſacred hiſtorian.—In the xviiith chapter, ver. 11. it is ſaid, *And Saul caſt the javelin; for he ſaid, I will ſmite David even to the wall with it: and David avoided out of his preſence* TWICE. But one of theſe times relates to a ſecond caſting of the javelin a conſiderable time after the firſt, here ſpoken of, which is recorded in chap. xix. 10. So again the hiſtorian telling us in the xth chapter, how Saul, when he was firſt anointed by Samuel, propheſied amongſt the Prophets, ſays, *And it came to paſs, when all that knew him beforetime ſaw, that behold, he propheſied among the prophets; then the people ſaid one to another, What is this that is come unto the ſon of Kiſh? Is Saul alſo among the prophets?—Therefore it became a proverb, Is Saul alſo among the prophets?* ver. 11, 12. But it is evident, that the original of the proverb, was his ſecond propheſying amongſt the prophets at *Naioth*, recorded chap. xix. both for the reaſons given above, and for theſe: 1. Saul was not at this time known to the people; and, 2. The original of the proverb is ſaid to ariſe from this ſecond propheſying, ver. 24. Therefore the account of the proverb in the xth chapter is given by way of anticipation.

P. 596.

P. 596. [XXXX]. A malignant and very dull buffoon, who appears to have had little idea of this matter, and leſs inclination to be better inſtructed, lately publiſhed a large and virulent invective againſt the perſonal character of DAVID; his pretended provocation was as extraordinary; it was a pulpit parallel; of which he ironically complains, as injurious to a modern character of great name, who is complimented with a likeneſs to the King of Iſrael. He was anſwered as he deſerved.—But, if Divines think they can manage infidel cavils by the aid of ſums and ſyſtems, inſtead of ſtudying to acquaint themſelves with the nature and genius of the Jewiſh diſpenſation, as it lies in the Bible, unbelievers will have little to apprehend, how bad ſoever be the cauſe which a low vanity has put them upon ſupporting.

P. 608. [YYYY]. There were no ſort of men more averſe to the ſyſtem here defended of Jewiſh cuſtoms borrowed from Egypt, than thoſe Puritans. Yet when they could ſerve a turn by adopting it, they made no ſcruple of ſo doing. Thus, in order to diſgrace the *ſurplice*, they venture to ſay, in the *Declaration of the Miniſters of London*, publiſhed 1566, That *the ſurplice, or white linen garment, came from the* EGYPTIANS *into the Jewiſh Church.*

P. 612. [ZZZZ]. For, with regard to *every thing's being exactly preſcribed; from which direction it was not lawful to make the leaſt deviation*, Spencer acknowledges this as fully as Witſius himſelf. "Nihil enim cultum divinum ſpectans verbis obſcuris aut incerti ſenſus a Moſe traditum, "nil cæco vel præcipiti zelo, nihil prurienti Judæorum ingenio, vel naturæ humanæ rerum novarum in ſacris avidæ, relictum fuit. Nempe "lex de minimis pleriſque curavit. Ipſi arcæ annuli, &c." De Leg. Rit. Heb. l. 1. c. 10. ſect. 5. And it is remarkable, that he employs this very circumſtance, with great weight as well as ingenuity, to inforce the oppoſite concluſion; namely, that God admitted ſome rites in uſe amongſt the Gentile nations in compliance to the people's prejudices.——Ipſe ritus Moſaïcos inſtituendi modus huic ſententiæ non parum præſidii præbet. Deus enim non tantum eorum materiam, ſed et locum, tempus, ipſum etiam corporis ſitum quandoque quo præſtari debebant, aliaſque minoris notæ circumſtantias, accurate præſcripſit. Et poſtquam Deus minimas quaſque circumſtantias rituum ſingulorum tradidiſſet, præcepto cautum eſt, Deut. iv. 2. ne quid e ceremoniis nempe vetitis iis adderetur; aut quic-

quam e ceremoniis nempe præceptis adimeretur. Nemo vero qui judicio valet, opinari poteſt Deum horum rituum minutias accurate adeo præſcripſiſſe, ex ullo quo ipſe eorum amore vel deſiderio tangebatur. A ratione multo minus abeſt, gentium et Hebræorum ritus haud paucos (ſi materiam eorum vel ſubſtantiam ſpectemus) proximam inter ſe ſimilitudinem et affinitatem habuiſſe, IDEOque lege curatum fuiſſe, ne eodem modo peragerentur, ſed ut circumſtantiis quibuſdam peculiaribus et a Deo præſcriptis ab invicem diſcernerentur. Nam Iſraëlitæ ritus ſuos omnes e Dei præſcripto peragentes, ſe in Jehovæ [non dei alicujus ethnici] honorem ſacra ſua præſtare teſtarentur; et ratio temporum exegit, ut cultus Deo præſtitus quandam ἰδιότητα retineret, nec ad ritus gentium nimis accedere, vel ab iis pluſquam par erat abire videretur. Moſis ætate res in loco tam lubrico et ancipiti ſitæ ſunt, quod ſumma tantum ſapientia limites eos definire nôrat, quos ultra citrave non potuit conſiſtere Dei veri cultus. Lib. iii. cap. 2. ſect. 1.

P. 614. [AAAAA]. I cannot therefore agree with Mr. Whiſton in the high value he ſets upon a paſſage of Manetho—*This* (ſays he) *is a very valuable teſtimony of Manetho's, that the laws of Oſarſiph or Moſes were not in compliance with, but in oppoſition to, the cuſtoms of the Egyptians.* Tranſlat. of Joſephus, p. 993. However, though this fairy treaſure vaniſh, it is ſome comfort that we do not want it.

P. 640. [BBBBB]. That very able interpreter of Scripture, father Houbigant, underſtands theſe words of the Prophet as ſpoken of the *Jewiſh Law.* "Itaque in præceptis *non bonis* intelligendæ veniunt ejuſmodi leges "quæ ad pœnam propoſitæ erant, non ad mercedem; quales erant leges de "ſuppliciis, de aquis ab uxore ſuſpectæ pudicitiæ bibendis, de leproſis ab "hominum cœtu arcendis, et aliæ quædam, quæ ab irato Legiſlatore pro-"ficiſci videbantur." In loc. This learned perſon was too well verſed in the ſtyle of Scripture, in the ſubject of the Propheſy, and in the hiſtory of the Jews, to imagine, when God ſpeaks in the character of Legiſlator, of *giving Statutes and Judgments,* that he meant the general permiſſion of divine Providence to ſuffer a people to fall into a number of ſenſeleſs and idolatrous practices. Indeed, a little to ſoften the character given of *Statutes not good,* he ſuppoſes they were thus qualified on account of their being *penal Laws:* and ſo makes what I underſtand to be a repreſentation of the moral genius of the ritual Law in general, only the phyſical quality of

ſome

ſome particular Rites. But the very words of the Propheſy evince that a Body of laws was meant; and the character of the Speaker ſhews, that the ſubject is of *moral*, not of *phyſical* good and evil.

P.[1] 641. [CCCCC]. Speaking of MARSHAM and SPENCER, he ſays: I[n] omnium nunc fere eruditorum manibus verſatur Nobiliſſimi Viri Johannis Marſhami CANON CHRONICUS. Opus quantivis pretii; quod uti Authori ſuo multa lectione, accurata meditatione, plurimiſque lucubrationibus ſtetit, ita Lectori per ſalebroſos obſcuriſſimæ Antiquitatis receſſus viam non paullo faciliorem expeditioremque effecit. Sed ut in humanis rebus nihil omni ex parte beatum eſſe ſolet, ita nec pulcherrimo huic corpori ſuos deeſſe nævos videas—Eandem ſententiam magno nuper animo atque apparatu tuitus eſt Johannes Spencerus in Diſſertatione *de Urim & Thummim*. Ubi ita vir doctiſſimus inſtituit, *&c.*—Multa a viris doctiſſimis congeſta ſunt, quibus huic ſuæ aſſertioni fidem faciant. Ea autem quum plurimum reconditæ contineant eruditionis, non videntur Clariſſimi Authores ſua laude, uti nec ſtudioſi lectores jucunditate atque utilitate, quæ exinde percipi poteſt, fraudandi eſſe.—Super omnibus denique ἐπίκρισιν meam ſubjungam, eo argumentorum robore quod ſuſcepti negotii ratio patitur firmandam. Nequaquam ea mente ut doctiſſimorum virorum laboribus detraham; ſed ut me & Lectores meos in inveſtiganda veritate exerceam, ſit forte detur curva corrigere & egregio inſperſos abſtergere corpore nævos, p. 1—4. This candour was the more extraordinary, as Sir J. Marſham had given but too many marks of diſaffection to revealed Religion. And though that great and good man Dr. Spencer was entirely free from all reaſonable ſuſpicion of this kind; yet, it muſt be owned, that too intent on a favourite argument, he was apt to expreſs himſelf ſomewhat crudely. He had a bright and vigorous imagination, which, now and then, got the better of his judgment; and the integrity of his heart made him careleſs in giving it the reins; ſometimes in a dangerous road. Thus, for inſtance, in his fine diſcourſe *concerning Prodigies*, ſpeaking of a certain quality in the ſoul, which, as he ſays, makes it *greatly impreſſive to the perſuaſion of parallels, equalities, ſimilitudes, in the frame and government of the world*, he goes on in this ſtrange manner, "This general temper of the "ſoul eaſily inclines it to believe great and mighty changes in ſtates, "uſher'd with the ſolemnity of ſome mighty and analogous changes in "nature, and that all terrible evils are prefac'd or attended with ſome

" prodigious and amazing alterations in the creation—Hence, perhaps, it " is that we generally find great troubles and judgments on earth de- " ſcribed, eſpecially by perſons *ecſtatical, Prophets and Poets* (whoſe ſpeeches " uſually rather follow the eaſy ſenſe of the ſoul than the rigid truth of " things) by all the examples of horror and confuſion in the frame of " the creation. The prophet David deſcribes God's going out to judg- " ment thus," *&c.* p. 71, 72. 2d ed. Dr. Spencer ſeems to have been miſled in this philoſophic ſolution by a greater Maſter, who, however, talks ſtill more groſly of what he ſeems to have underſtood as little. " In mat- " ters of faith and religion (ſays lord Verulam) we raiſe our imagination " above our reaſon: which is the cauſe why Religion ſought ever acceſs " to the mind by ſimilitudes, types, parables, viſions, dreams." Adv. of learning, b. 2d. The ſerious chriſtian reader connot but be offended at this injurious repreſentation of the holy Prophets. Such remarks as theſe are altogether unworthy theſe two excellent men. It is falſe in fact that Prophetic figures were enthuſiaſtic or fantaſtic viſions raiſed by, and then repreſented to, the imagination. I have ſhewn that the images, which the Prophets employed, compoſed the common phraſeology of their times; and were employed by them becauſe this figurative language was well underſtood, and ſtill better reliſhed by the People. [See p. 407, of this vol.]— But is it therefore fitting that ſuch writers ſhould be treated, by every dirty ſcribbler, as Libertines, Deiſts, and ſecret propagators of Infidelity, for inadvertencies, which a man like the candid Witſius would only call *nævi in pulcherrimo corpore?*

P. 643. [DDDDD]. Let me here obſerve how this very circumſtance in Moſes's conduct, acquits him of all ſuſpicion of that kind of FRAUD ſo much in uſe amongſt the beſt human Lawgivers of Antiquity. The Moſaic Diſpenſation had been treated by our Freethinkers with great liberties. It was therefore offered by the late learned and ingenious Dr. Middleton, as a means to reſcue it from their contempt, and to ſolve the difficulties which attend it, without hurting the authority whereon it ſtands, to ſuppoſe SOME DEGREE OF FICTION in certain caſes, in the Moſaic writings. And this he endeavoured to make credible, from the practice of the ancient Lawgivers. Now I think this ſuppoſition neither true nor probable. 1. If we conſider what it was that induced the ancient Lawgivers to employ *fiction*, we ſhall find it aroſe, in part, from their falſe

falſe pretences to a divine Miſſion; and, in part, from the imaginary neceſſity of propagating Polytheiſm. As to the firſt, Moſes's pretenſions to a divine miſſion are here allowed. And it is notorious that he preached up the one true GOD, the Creator, in oppoſition to all kinds of Polytheiſm. No occaſion therefore remained for the uſe of *fiction*. And we can hardly think he would employ it without occaſion. What we have then to ſhew is, that the only cauſe why the ancient ſages employed *fiction* (beſides the ſupport of a falſe miſſion) was to hide the abſurdities of Polytheiſm. This indeed hath been already done for other purpoſes, in ſeveral places of this Work: So that I ſhall here confine myſelf to one ſingle proof. Macrobius aſſures us, that the ancient ſages did not admit the fabulous in all their diſputations; but in thoſe only which related to the SOUL, to the HEAVENLY BODIES, and to the HERO-GODS. Sciendum eſt tamen non in omnem diſputationem philoſophos admittere *fabuloſa* vel *licita*, ſed his uti ſolent cum vel de animâ vel de AERIIS, ÆTHERIISVE POTESTATIBUS, vel de CETERIS DIS loquuntur. [in Somn. Scip. l. i. c. 2.] On the contrary, when they diſcourſed of the FIRST CAUSE, then every thing was delivered exactly agreeable to the truth. Ceterum cum ad SUMMUM ET PRINCIPEM OMNIUM DEUM—tractatus ſe audet attollere—NIHIL FABULOSUM penitus attingunt. [*id. ib.*] The reaſon of their uſing *fiction* or fable, in treating of their falſe Gods, was to hide the abſurdities attendant on their Worſhip; a Worſhip thought to be neceſſary. Hence, as hath been ſhewn elſewhere, [vol. I. of the Div. Leg. b. iii. ſect 6.] they were led from the *abſurdity* and the *neceſſity* together, to conclude *that utility, and not truth, was the end of Religion*; and from another miſtake there mentioned, *that utility and truth do not coincide*. From theſe two principles neceſſarily aroſe a third, *that it was expedient and lawful to deceive for the Public good*. And, on this laſt, was founded the practice of *fiction* above-mentioned. Now the whole Religion of Moſes being eſtabliſhed on that very doctrine, in the handling of which the ancient Sages neither needed nor uſed *fiction*; and at the ſame time directly oppoſing that very ſuperſtition, for the ſake of which, the *fiction* was employed; we conclude, with certainty, that Moſes employed NO DEGREE OF FICTION in the compoſition or in the propagation of the Jewiſh Religion. But 2. That which he had no occaſion to uſe, we think it impoſſible he ſhould uſe, if his pretenſions were (as is here

here allowed) real. We have, indeed, in order to display the wisdom of God's Dispensation, endeavoured to shew that he employed, in the contrivance of it, all those arts (though in an infinitely more perfect degree) which human Lawgivers are wont to use, in the legitimate exercise of civil Government: for that, without forcing the Will, no other method was sufficient to accomplish the end designed. But this, we presume, is as different from *fiction* as truth is from falshood. Thus far, we think, God, in his dispensations to men, would chuse to do, rather than to force the Will. But could we suppose a People, favoured with a divine Revelation, so absurdly circumstanced as to be incapable of being worked upon by common means, without the use of *some degree of fiction*, we should then conclude God would rather chuse miraculously to over-rule the Will: because we conceive *divine Revelation* with *human fiction* to be a mixture of things utterly incompatible; that there can be no alliance between God and Belial; nor any union between the Spirit of Truth, and the Father of Lies.

P. 644. [EEEEE]. "Suppose (says Dr. Stebbing) a Deist should "alledge that the Israelites learned this doctrine in Egypt where Moses "himself also might have learnt it, *How would you prove the contrary?*" Examination, p. 33, 34.

Should a *Deist alledge this*, as making any thing *against* my argument, or *for* his own cause, I should say he knew as little either of one or the other as Dr. Stebbing himself does: For my argument being addressed to the Deist, supposes that Moses and the Israelites might have learnt the doctrine in Egypt; and on that supposition, defies them to find a reason, exclusive of the *extraordinary Providence*, why Moses did not make so useful and necessary a doctrine (in favour of which his People were much prejudiced) the Sanction of his Laws. Their acquaintance with the doctrine in Egypt, I supposed: This acquaintance my argument required me to suppose: and yet this Answerer of my Book knew so little of its contents as to ask, How I WOULD PROVE THE CONTRARY? If the learned Doctor had any pertinent drift in this question, you can discover it only by supposing him to go upon this ridiculous assumption, that what the Jews once learned they could never either *unlearn* or forget, and therefore if they had learned the doctrine of a future state in Egypt, they could not be so ignorant of it as, I say, they were. But to clear up his conceptions

in

in this matter he may have recourſe, if he pleaſes, to the latter diviſion of the fifth ſection of the fifth Book, of the Divine Legation.

P. 645. [FFFFF]. This was the character it bore even ſo late as the time of Jeremiah, who tells us, that the rebellious Iſraelites, frightened at the power of the king of Babylon, refuſed to ſtay any longer in Judea, ſaying, *No, but we will go into the land of Egypt, where we ſhall ſee no war, nor hear the ſound of the trumpet, nor have hunger of bread, and there will we dwell.* chap. xlii. 14.

P. 651. [GGGGG]. This famous book (as is the fortune of all which bring new proofs for Revelation in a new way) hath undergone many heavy cenſures both from Jews and Chriſtians. Thoſe blame him for attempting to aſſign reaſons for the Ceremonial ordinances; Theſe for explaining Scripture on the principles of Ariſtotle. But both, as uſual, expoſe their own ignorance and prevention. In this work, the excellent author ſtudied the real honour of GOD, together with the good of thoſe to whom his diſcourſe was addreſſed. And becauſe its end and deſign appears to be little underſtood, and depends on a curious piece of hiſtory, neglected by his editors and tranſlators, I ſhall give the Reader a ſhort account of it. In the firſt flouriſhing times of the Saracene Empire, (as we learn from William of Paris in his book *De Legibus*) a great number of Jews, devoting themſelves to the ſtudy of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, (then cultivated by the Arabs with a kind of ſcientific fanaticiſm) and thereby contracting not only an inquiſitive but a diſputatious habit, ſet themſelves to examine into the REASONS OF THE JEWISH LAWS; which being unable to diſcover, they too haſtily concluded them to be uſeleſs, abſurd, and of human invention; and ſo apoſtatized, in great numbers, from the Religion of their fathers.—"Poſtquam autem Chaldæis ſive Baby-
"loniis & genti Arabum commixti ſunt, & miſcuerunt ſe ſtudiis eorum
"& philoſophiæ; & ſecuti ſunt opiniones philoſophorum; neſcientes legis
"ſuæ credulitates & Abrahæ fidem contra diſputationes eorum & rationes
"defendere: hinc eſt quod facti ſunt in lege erronei, & in fide ipſius Abrahæ
"hæretici; maxime poſtquam regnum SARACENORUM diffuſum eſt ſuper
"habitationem eorum. Exinde enim æternitatem mundi & alios Ariſto-
"telis errores ſecuti ſunt multi eorum. Hincque pauci veri Judæi (hoc
"eſt, qui non in parte aliquâ credulitatis ſuæ Saraceni ſunt, aut Ariſtote-
"licis conſentientes erroribus) in terrâ Saracenorum inveniuntur, de his
"qui

" qui inter philoſophos commorantur. Dedit enim occaſionem non levem " apoſtaſiæ hujuſmodi ea quæ videtur multorum mandatorum abſurditas " vel inutilitas: dum enim apparet in eis abſurditas & inutilitas, nulla au- " tem præceptionis aut inhibitionis earum ratio, nulla obſervantiarum uti- " litas, non eſt mirum ſi ab eis receditur: ſed tanquam onera ſupervacanea " projiciuntur." ſol. 18. In theſe times, and under this Empire, our Author wrote. So that nothing could be more uſeful than to ſhew his apoſtatizing brethren that the SCRIPTURES might be defended, nay, even explained on the principles of ARISTOTLE, and that the precepts of the CEREMONIAL LAW were founded in the higheſt reaſonableneſs and convenience—— Maimonides, where, in his preface, he gives his reaſons for writing this diſcourſe, plainly hints at that apoſtaſy—*Vertiginoſos vero quod attinet, quorum cerebrum eſt pollutum & vanis futilibuſque ac falſis opinionibus repletum, quique ſibi imaginantur ſe magnos eſſe* PHILOSOPHOS, *ac theologos, illos ſcio fugituros a multis, contra multa etiam objectiones moturos.—Deus vero benedictus novit, quantopere timuerim conſcribere ea, quæ explicare & conſignare volui in hoc libro. Nam quia talia ſunt de quibus nullus ex gente noſtra in hac captivitate quicquam ſcripſit hactenus, quâ ratione primus ego prodire in hac palæſtra audeo: verum ſuffultus ſum duobus principiis; primo, quod de iſtius modi negotio dictum ſit, tempus eſt faciendi Domino:* IRRITAM FECERUNT LEGEM TUAM, *&c. ſecundo, eo quod ſapientes noſtri dicunt, Omnia opera tua fiant ad gloriam Dei.*

P. 653. [HHHHH]. The learned author of the elegant and uſeful *Letter from Rome* has here taken to himſelf what was meant in general of the numerous writers on the ſame ſubject; and ſo has done it the honour of a confutation, in a poſtſcript to the laſt edition of that *Letter*. But the ſame friendly conſiderations, which induced him to end the poſtſcript with declaring his unwillingneſs to enter further into controverſy with me, diſpoſed me not to enter into it at all. This, and neither any neglect of him, nor any force I apprehended in his arguments, kept me ſilent. However, I owe ſo much both to myſelf and the public, as to take notice of a miſrepreſentation of my argument; and a change of the queſtion in diſpute between us: without which notice, the controverſy (as I agree to leave it where it is) can ſcarce be fairly eſtimated.——" A paragraph " in Mr. Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moſes* obliges me (ſays Dr. Mid- " dleton) to detain the reader a little longer, in order to obviate the " prejudices

" prejudices which the authority of ſo celebrated a writer may probably " inject, to the diſadvantage of my argument.—I am at a loſs to conceive " what could move my learned friend to paſs ſo ſevere a cenſure upon an " argument which has hitherto been eſpouſed by all proteſtants; admitted " by many papiſts; and evaded rather than contradicted by any. But " whatever was his motive, which, I perſuade myſelf, was no unfriendly " one, he will certainly pardon me, if, purſuing the full conviction of my " mind, I attempt to defend an eſtabliſhed principle, confirmed by ſtrong " and numerous facts, againſt an opinion wholly new and ſtrange to me; " and which, if it can be ſuppoſed to have any force, overthrows the " whole credit and uſe of my preſent work.—He allows that the writers, " who have undertaken to *deduce the rites of popery from paganiſm, have* " *ſhewn an exact and ſurpriſing likeneſs between them in a great variety of* " *inſtances.* This (ſays he) one would think, is allowing every thing that " the cauſe demands: it is every thing, I dare ſay, that thoſe writers de- " ſire *." That it is *every thing thoſe writers deſire*, I can eaſily believe, ſince I ſee, my learned friend himſelf hath conſidered theſe two aſſertions, 1. *The religion of the preſent Romans derived from that of their Heathen anceſtors*; and, 2. *An exact conformity, or uniformity rather of worſhip between popery and paganiſm:* He hath conſidered them, I ſay, as convertible propoſitions: for, undertaking, as his title-page informs us, to prove *the religion of the preſent Romans derived from that of their Heathen anceſtors*; and having gone through his arguments, he concludes them in theſe words, "But it is " high time for me to conclude, being perſuaded, if I do not flatter my- " ſelf too much, that I have ſufficiently made good WHAT I FIRST UNDER- " TOOK TO PROVE, an exact conformity, or uniformity rather, of worſhip " between popery and paganiſm †." But what he *undertook to prove*, we ſee, was, *The religion of the preſent Romans derived from their Heathen anceſtors:* That I have therefore, as my learned friend obſerves, *allowed every thing thoſe writers deſire*, is very likely. But then whether I have *allowed every thing that the cauſe demands*, is another queſtion: which I think can never be determined in the affirmative, till it be ſhewn that no other probable cauſe can be aſſigned of this *exact conformity between Papiſts and Pagans*, but a borrowing or derivation from one to the other. And I gueſs, that now this is never likely to be done, ſince I myſelf have actually aſſigned another probable cauſe, namely the ſame ſpirit of ſuperſtition operating in the like circumſtances.

* Poſtſcript, p. 228. † Letter, p. 224.

But this juſtly celebrated writer goes on—"This queſtion according to "his [the author of *The Divine Legation*] notion is not to be decided by "facts, but by a principle of a different kind, *a ſuperior knowledge of "human nature* *." Here I am forced to complain of a want of candour, a want not natural to my learned friend. For, whence is it, I would aſk, that he collects, *that, according to my notion, this queſtion is not to be decided by facts, but a ſuperior knowledge of human nature?* From any thing I have ſaid? Or from any thing I have omitted to ſay? Surely, not from any thing I have ſaid (though he ſeems to inſinuate ſo much by putting the words *a ſuperior knowledge of human nature* in Italic characters as they are called) becauſe I leave him in poſſeſſion of his *facts*, and give them all the validity he deſires; which he himſelf obſerves; and, from thence, as we ſee, endeavours to draw ſome advantage to his hypotheſis:—Nor from any thing I have omitted to ſay; for, in this ſhort paragraph where I deliver my opinion, and, by reaſon of its evidence, offer but one ſingle argument in its ſupport, that argument ariſes from a FACT, *viz.* that the *ſuperſtitious cuſtoms in queſtion were many ages later than the converſion of the imperial city to the Chriſtian faith:* whence I conclude, that the ruling Churchmen could have no motive in borrowing from Pagan cuſtoms, either as thoſe cuſtoms were then faſhionable in themſelves, or reſpectable for the number or quality of their followers. And what makes this the more extraordinary is, that my learned friend himſelf immediately afterwards quotes theſe words; and then tells the reader, that *my argument conſiſts of an* HISTORICAL FACT, *and of a conſequence deduced from it.* It appears therefore, that, according to my notion, the queſtion *is* to be decided by *facts*, and not by a *ſuperior knowledge of human nature.* Yet I muſt confeſs I then thought, and do ſo ſtill, that a *ſuperior knowledge of human nature* would do no harm, as it might enable men to judge better of *facts* than we find they are generally accuſtomed to do. But will this excuſe a candid repreſenter for ſaying, that *the queſtion, according to my notion, was not to be decided by facts, but a ſuperior knowledge of human nature?* However, to do my learned friend all juſtice, I muſt needs ſay, that, as if theſe were only words of courſe, that is, words of controverſy, he goes on, through the body of his poſtſcript, to invalidate my argument from *fact*; and we hear no more of

* Poſtſcript, p. 228.

a *ſuperior*

a *ſuperior knowledge of human nature* than in this place where it was brought in to be laughed at.

As to the argument, it muſt even ſhift for itſelf. It has done more miſchief already than I was aware of: and forced my learned friend to extend his charge from the *modern* to the *ancient church of Rome*. For my argument, from the low birth of the ſuperſtitions in queſtion, coming againſt his hypotheſis, after he had once and again declared the purpoſe of his letter to be the expoſing of the Heatheniſh idolatry and ſuperſtition of the PRESENT *church of Rome*; he was obliged, in ſupport of that hypotheſis, to ſhew that even the early ages of the church were not free from the infection. Which hath now quite ſhifted the ſubject with the ſcene, and will make the argument of his piece from henceforth to run thus, *The religion of the preſent Romans derived from their early Chriſtian anceſtors*; *and theirs, from the neighbouring Pagans*. To ſpeak freely, my reaſoning (which was an argument *ad hominem*, and, as ſuch, I thought, would have been reverenced) reduced the learned writer to this dilemma; either to allow the fact, and give up his hypotheſis; or to deny the fact, and change his queſtion. And he has choſen the latter as the leſſer evil. As to the fact; that the Churches of the firſt ages might do that on their own heads, which Moſes did upon authority, i. e. indulge their Pagan converts with ſuch of their cuſtoms as could not be eaſily abuſed to ſuperſtition, may be ſafely acknowledged. My learned friend has produced a few inſtances of ſuch indulgence, which the cenſure of ſome of the more ſcrupulous of thoſe times hath brought to our knowledge. But the great farraginous body of Popiſh rites and ceremonies, the ſubject of my learned friend's *Letter from Rome*, had ſurely a different original. They were brought into the Church when Paganiſm was in part abhorred and in part forgotten; and when the ſame ſpirit of ſordid ſuperſtition which had overſpread the Gentile world, had now deeply infected the Chriſtian.

THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

ERRORS OF THE PRESS IN VOL. II.

P. 16. *l.* 15. for wor*d*s, r. wor*k*s.
35. *l.* 20. for contrarium, r. contrari*a*rum.
35. *l.* 3. in *n.* for Academios, r. Academi*c*os.
38. *l.* 14. for M*a*garicorum, r. M*e*garicorum.
43. *l.* ult. for *well*, r. were.
45. *l.* 4. *n.* †. for P*re*s, r. pr*i*s.
50. *l.* ult. for mulcer*i*, r. mulcer*e*.
60. *l.* 3. for *portentious*, r. portentous.
61. *l.* 11. for *esoterical*, r. exoterical.
73. *l.* 6. for *Alexander*, r. Alexandrinus.
193. *l.* 4. for Palm*i*grians, r. Palm*y*rians.
198. *l.* 5. for Her*e*clides, r. Her*a*clides.
206. *l.* 24. for ped*a*ntrie, r. pedant*e*rie.
n. *. for p. 330, r. 198.
215. *l.* 6. for a*v*ant, r. a*y*ant.
240. *l.* 24. for qu*a*m Philosophi, r. qu*e*m Philosophi.
393. *l.* 2. *n.* ††. for De*a*s, r. De*u*s.
429. *l.* ult. *n.* ‡. for Ὄνομα τὸ ποιΐα, r. ὀνοματοποιΐα.
445. *l.* ult. for sitiv*e*, r. sitiv*e*.
461. *l.* 22. for representative Osiris, r. representative *of* Osiris.
465. *l.* 22. for *septedim scretus*, r. septem discretus.
466. *l.* 5. from the bottom, for *al*luded, r. *e*luded.
491. *l.* 4. for improp*e*t r. improp*e*r.
534. *n.* ‡ *l.* 2. for Min*o*s, r. Min*o*a.
585. *l.* 15. for *No*, r. Now.
675. *l.* 25. for λογικώτατοι r. λογικώτατοι.

University of California
SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
Return this material to the library
from which it was borrowed.

LD URL APR 01 1990
RECD LD-URL
JUL 28 1990

WARKENTIN, R.
10-21-90
Haydock, R
2-16

LD URL MAR 30 1992
APR 15
LD URL OCT 05 1992
NOV 11

3 1158 00487 9069

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
D 000 001 366 4